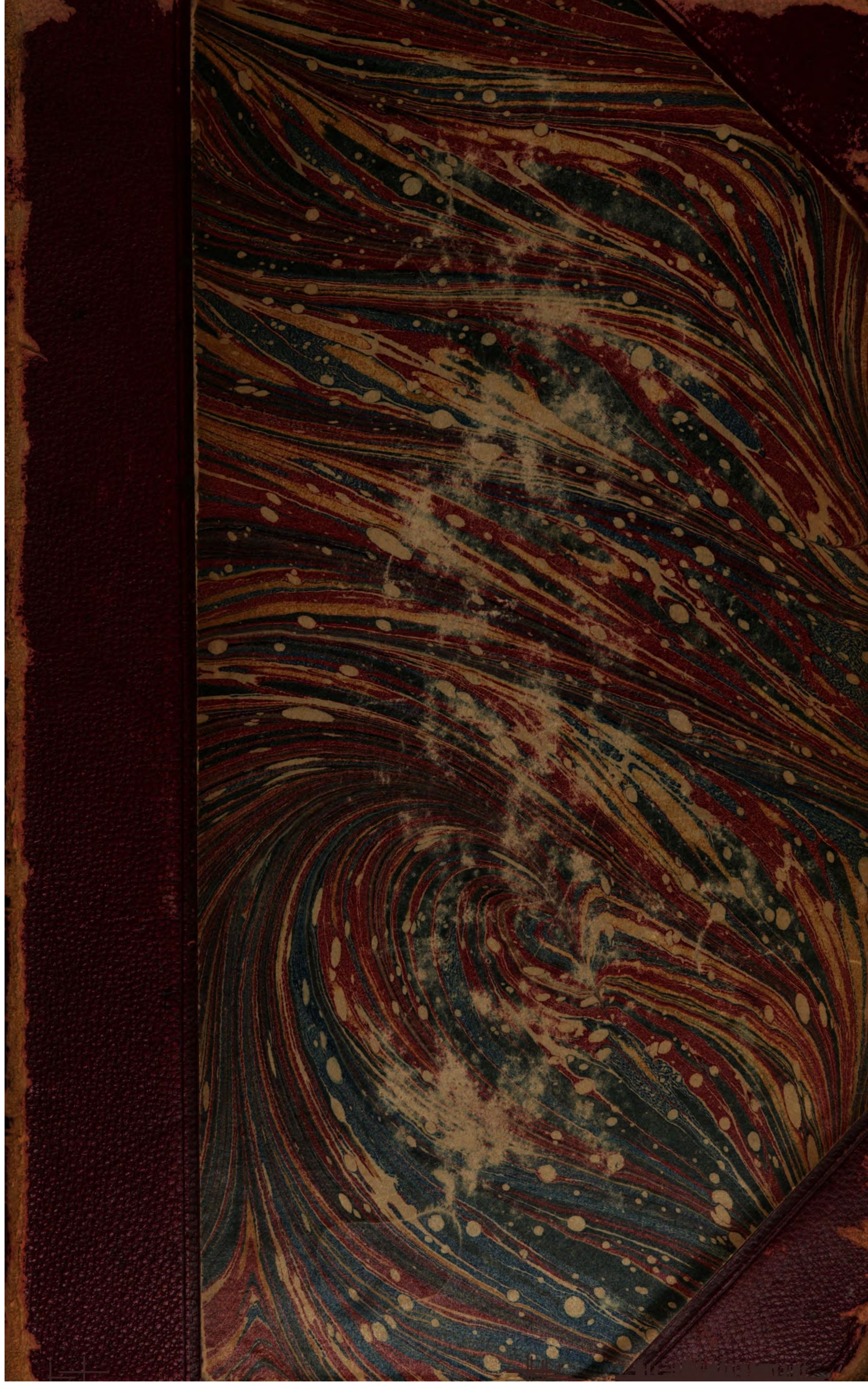
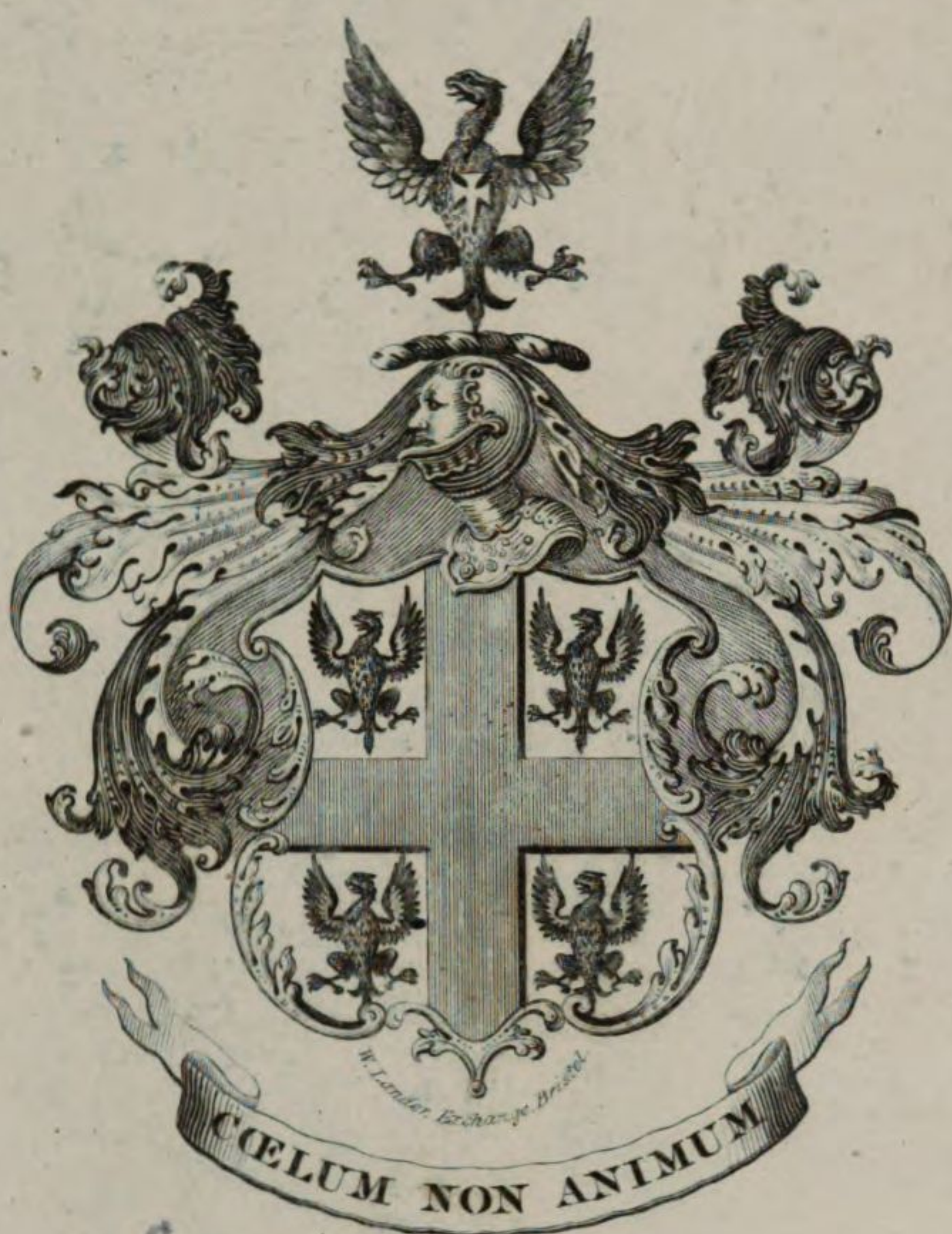
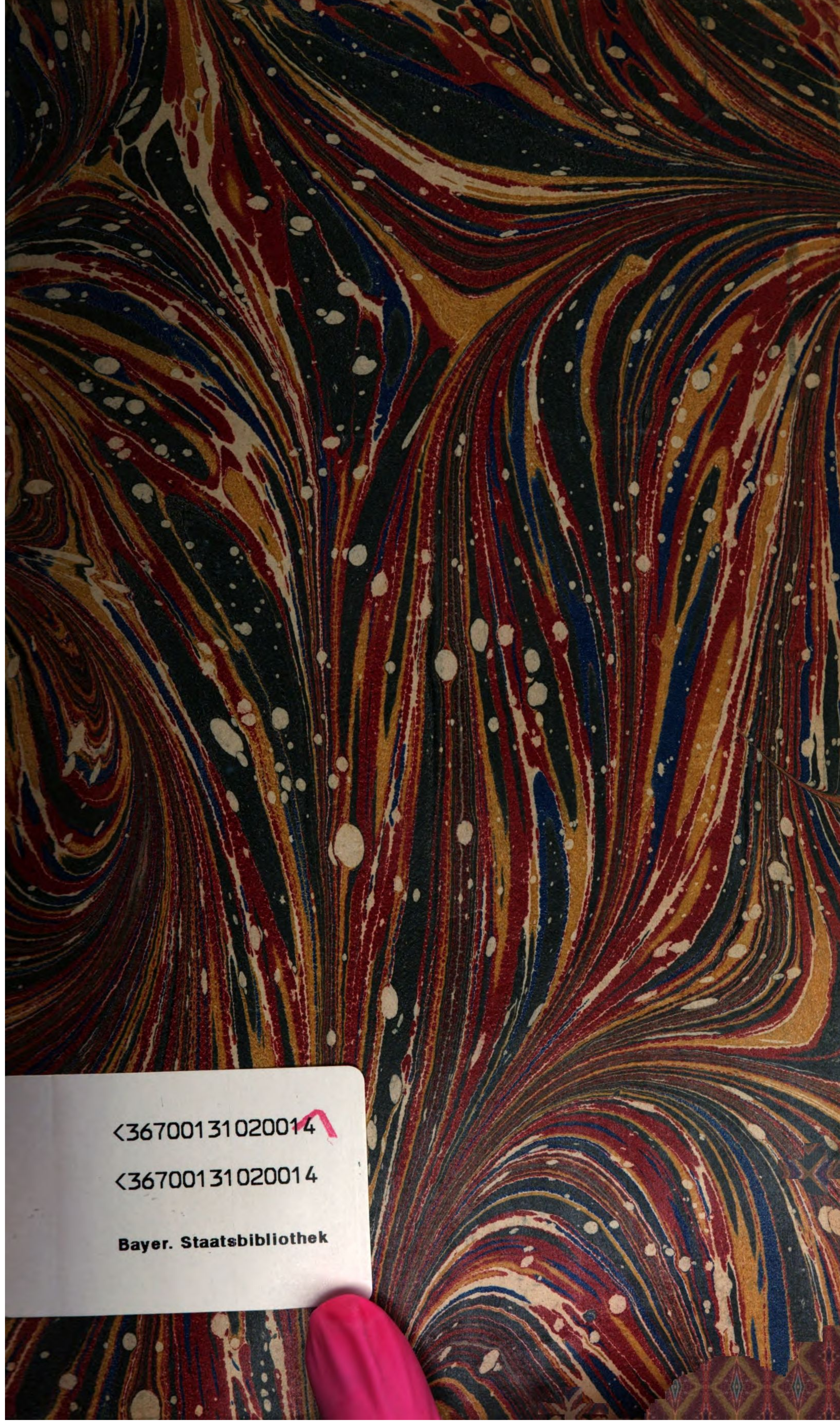




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DANIEL DEFOE.

Engraved by H. Barnet.

THE
WORKS
OF
DANIEL DE FOE,

WITH
A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

By WILLIAM HAZLITT.

"His was a various pen, that freely roved
Into all subjects,—was in most approved.
Whate'er the theme, his ready muse obeyed;
Love, courtship, politics, religion, trade.
Gifted alike to shine in every sphere,—
Nov'list, historian, poet, pamphleteer."

CHARLES LAMB.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

JOHN CLEMENTS, LITTLE PULTENEY STREET,

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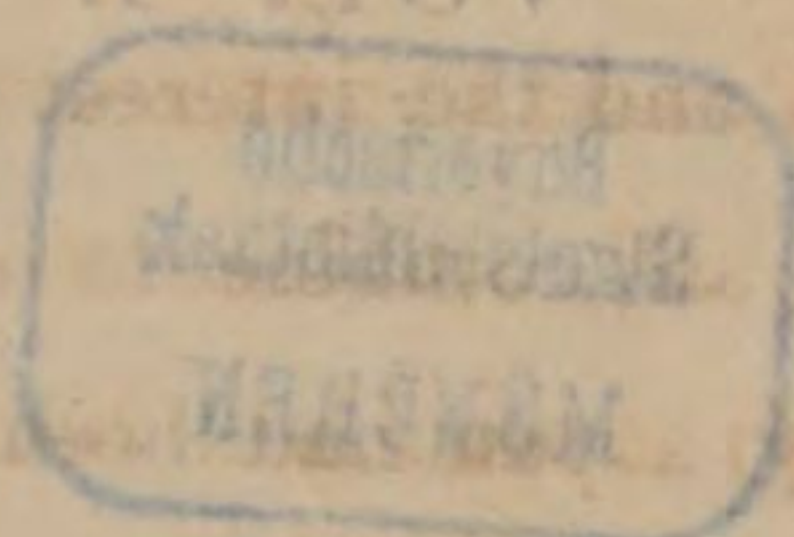
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MDCCCXL.



TO WALTER WILSON, ESQ., OF BATH.

London, September, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

THERE IS NO ONE TO WHOM I CAN MORE FITLY INSCRIBE THIS VOLUME THAN THE author of 'Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe,' who has so well succeeded in doing justice to the fair fame of that great and excellent man, and in recovering the memory of those public services which entitle him to be enrolled amongst the patriots and benefactors of his country.

Up to the publication of your work, though De Foe had slept with his fathers for nearly a century, no satisfactory attempt had been made to do homage to his worth, and, in fact, there was no English author of equal merit of whom so little was popularly known. The narrative of Mr Chalmers, though valuable in some respects, was far too scanty to satisfy the admirers of De Foe, or to assist them in attaining a just knowledge of his character as a man and as a writer, while the introduction to Mr Cadell's edition of 'Robinson Crusoe' is rather a criticism than a memoir. As you well remark:—"Those who are acquainted with the narratives of De Foe, must be satisfied that no one could be so competent to become his own biographer as the author of 'Robinson Crusoe.' His accurate painting from nature, his skill in the delineation of character, and the interest which he contrives to throw over the commonest incidents, all combine to enchant the reader, and to inspire a wish that so masterly a pen had been employed in telling his own story to posterity. This was in a measure demanded by the eventful nature of his life, and the misrepresentations which he suffered from his political opponents; nor is the regret diminished when we consider the multiplicity of his writings, which being mostly anonymous, are now in some measure difficult

DEDICATION.

to be identified. In the absence of his own pen, a biography of De Foe from the hands of a contemporary, conversant with his history, and competent to appreciate his character, would have been a rich addition to our literature. But he probably out-lived all his friends, and neglected to preserve the requisite materials for such a work."

To supply the deficiency, there required a person thoroughly conversant with the history of the period in which De Foe flourished, and master of his various works, in connection with all that has been said of him by his friends and his enemies; and the result has shown, that no one could have been found more qualified for the task than yourself.

Independently of this claim upon my marked respect, the rare liberality which has afforded me the free use of your valuable library, and which has alone enabled me to proceed with my important undertaking, of furnishing the reading world with the first and only complete collection of the writings of Daniel De Foe, amply entitles you to this public acknowledgment of my gratitude.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant,

WILLIAM HAZLITT.

PREFACE.

MR CHALMERS, in his 'Life of De Foe,' justly remarks, that "it is one of the chief reproaches of our press, that no uniform collected edition of the works of this eminently national writer has ever appeared." Hitherto the possession of anything like a collection of De Foe's writings has amounted to an enviable monopoly, the result of infinite expense and infinite research; and thus it is that productions which ought to be in the hands of every reader, high or low, are encased as rare jewels within the library doors of a few wealthy literati. The present edition will furnish the world with an entire collection of these works, at a price which will render them accessible to the humblest classes, and in a form which will not disgrace the book-case of the highest.

De Foe was a giant in literature: there is no English author who has written so variously, and few who have written so well. It is difficult to imagine a subject which has not been illustrated by his graceful and powerful pen. There is no class of readers to whom he does not successfully address himself. Though known, until of very late years, almost entirely as a writer of fiction, which will probably constitute the basis of his fame in succeeding times, it was for politics chiefly that he acquired distinction with his contemporaries, who bore witness to the influence of his writings. In the conflict of parties from the reign of Charles II to the accession of George I, few persons took a more active share; and in the number of his publications, he probably outstripped all the other writers of his time. During ten of his busiest years, and those the most factious in English history, he was the sole writer of a periodical paper which appeared three times a week, and contained many elaborate essays upon the most important subjects in trade and politics. These, and his other labours, constitute a mine which none can explore without being

enriched with much that is precious in wisdom, impressive in eloquence, and striking in truth. Many of the topics upon which he employed his pen, are of vital importance to the interests of the community, extending even to the foundations of government, and the principles that regulate the intercourse of society. If their purpose was temporary, their utility is far from having ceased with the occasion: for without insisting, that it is never unseasonable to recal the attention of mankind to such subjects, it may be observed, that no man who sits down to study the history of his country with minute exactness, can hope for satisfaction upon a variety of points, without a previous acquaintance with the writings of De Foe.



THE LIFE
OF
DANIEL DE FOE

DANIEL DE FOE, or Foe, as the name was originally spelt,* was born in London, in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, in the year 1661.† The name is obviously a corruption of *foi*, and of French origin. For centuries there was a family so called seated in Warwickshire, as we are informed by De Foe himself in his ‘Tour through Great Britain.’ Whether, however, the author of ‘Robinson Crusoe’ was or was not entitled to claim affinity with Norman blood, is as uncertain as it is immaterial. What he may have wanted in titles of honour, and the gifts of fortune, was amply compensated for in the possession of many other excellences of a far more valuable nature.

The grandfather of De Foe, the first person among his ancestors of whom anything is positively known, was a substantial yeoman who farmed his own estate at Elton, in Northamptonshire. The old gentleman kept a pack of hounds, which indicated both his wealth and his principles as a Royalist, for the Puritans did not allow of the sports of the field, though his grandson (*contra bonos mores*) sometimes indulged in them. In alluding to this circumstance, our author in one of the Reviews, in reference to the practice, common in his time, of bestowing names that were the result of party animosity upon the brute creation, says,—“I remember my grandfather had a huntsman, that used the same familiarity with his dogs, and he had his Roundhead and his Cavalier,

* Upon what occasion it was that De Foe made the alteration in his name, by connecting with it the foreign prefix, nowhere appears. His enemies said he adopted it because he would not be thought an Englishman; but this is a mere absurdity. Oldmixon intimates, that it was not until after he had stood in the pillory that he changed his name; and Dr Browne tells us, that he did it at the suggestion of Harley—

“Have I not chang’d by your advice my name?”

But no reliance is to be placed upon the testimony of either of these writers when speaking of De Foe. His motive was, probably, a dislike to his original name, either for its import, or its harshness; or he might have been desirous of restoring it to its Norman origin. A correspondent having bantered the ‘Review,’ upon its import, he replies, “If the gentleman has a favourable opinion of the ‘Review,’ we fancy he will not dislike it upon the account of the author’s name, as like a thing which he himself is not; being a foe in name only, not in nature to anybody.”

† Until of late years, it was doubtful in what town or county he was born, and even whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner. A Tory writer, who published a lampoon upon him in the reign of Queen Anne, under the title of ‘The True-born Hugonot; or Daniel De Foe, a Satyr,’ supposes him to have been of French extraction, and to have come into England with the persecuted Protestants, or, as this author would term them, the rebellious subjects of Louis XIV. He speaks thus:—

“Out of this rebel herd our rebel sprung,
And brought the virtues of the soil along,
A mild behaviour and a fluent tongue;
With uplift eyes, and with ambitious heart,
On England’s theatre to act his part.”

his Goring, and his Waller, and all the generals of both armies were hounds in his pack ; till the times turning, the old gentleman was fain to scatter the pack, and make them up of more dog-like surnames." It was probably from this relative that De Foe inherited a freehold estate, of which he was not a little vain, and which seems to have influenced his opinions in his theory of the right of popular election, and of the British Constitution. He refers to it in one of the Reviews in the following terms :—" I have both a native and an acquired right of election, in more than one place in Britain, and as such am a part of the body that honourable house represents ; and from hence, I believe, may claim a right, in due manner, to represent, complain, address, or petition them."

Our author's father, James Foe, a younger son of the Elton squire, was a person of a very different cast,—a rigid dissenter, and from him his son appears to have imbibed the grounds of his opinions and practice. He was apprenticed to John Levit, a butcher in London, and afterwards followed this trade upon his own account, in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, retiring from business upon a respectable competency, some years before his death, which took place in or about the year 1707.

The following curious memorandum, signed by him in 1705, throws some light on his character, as well as on that of the times :—" Sarah Pierce lived with us, about fifteen or sixteen years since, about two years ; and behaved herself so well that we recommended her to Mr Cave, that godly minister, which we should not have done, had not her conversation been becoming the gospel. From my lodgings, at the Bell, in Broad street, having left my house in Throgmorton street, October 10, 1705. Witness my hand, JAMES FOE."

This is all that is known of our author's immediate ancestors. He had some collateral relations, to whom he alludes occasionally in his writings, but with too much brevity to ascertain the degree of kindred. In his 'Tour through Great Britain,' he mentions a relative who followed the employment of a schoolmaster at Martock, in Somersetshire, and with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse. In one of his works, he alludes to "a near relation" at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire ; and, in another, he draws the character of a cousin, who seems to have resided in London, and was a man of abilities, but in other respects far from estimable.

The mother as well as the father of De Foe being a strict nonconformist, under their guidance, and the ministrations of the Rev. Dr Annesley, an esteemed presbyterian minister, who had been ejected from the living of Cripplegate, he was early initiated in those moral and religious principles which give such a lustre to his subsequent life and writings. While yet a boy, he manifested a cheerfulness, vivacity, and buoyancy of spirits, with a remarkable courage, as was soon displayed in that spirit of independence and unconquerable love of liberty, which he maintained throughout his long and singularly chequered life. In one of his Reviews he remarks, of himself, "From a boxing English boy, I learnt this early piece of generosity, not to strike my enemy when he is down," a disposition he cherished in his literary contests.

An anecdote referring to his boyish days, and preserved by himself, may be recorded here as an honourable testimony to the principles and conduct of his pious and plain-hearted parents :—During that part of the reign of King Charles II, when the nation was under strong apprehensions of a Popish government, and religious persons were the victims of Protestant persecution, it being expected that printed Bibles would become rare, or locked up in an unknown tongue, many honest people, struck with the alarm, employed themselves in copying the Bible into short-hand, that they might not be destitute of its consolations in the hour of calamity. To this task young De Foe also applied himself, and he tells us "That he worked like a horse, till he had written out the whole Pentateuch, when he grew so tired that he was willing to risk the rest."

At the age of fourteen, our author, being intended for the clerical profession, was placed in an academy at Newington green, under the direction of that "polite and profound scholar," the Rev. Charles Morton, whom De Foe delights to praise as "a master who taught nothing, either in politics or science, which was dangerous to monarchical government, or which was improper for a diligent scholar to know."

De Foe's attainments at the academy appear to have been considerable. He tells us, in one of his 'Reviews,' that he had been master of five languages, and that he had studied the mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, geography, and history. With the theory and practice of our constitution he was also well acquainted, and he studied politics as a science. Under the direction of his tutor, he went through a complete course of theology, in which he acquired a proficiency that enabled him to cope with the most acute writers of that disputatious age. His knowledge of ecclesiastical history was also considerable; and possessing an acuteness of intellect thus united with various reading, few persons could be found who were fitter advocates for the cause he espoused. Yet his enemies in after life attacked him as "an illiterate person, without education."—"The enemies of peace," says he, "are not a few; and he that preaches a doctrine men care not to follow, when they cannot object against the subject, they will against the man. He is no scholar, says one; that's true: he was an apprentice to a hosier, says another; that's false; and adds to the number of the intolerable liberties Dr Browne and Mr Observator give themselves, he having never been a hosier, nor an apprentice; but he has been a trader; that's true; and therefore must know no Latin. Excellent logic this! Those gentlemen who reproach my learning to applaud their own, shall have it proved that I have more learning than either of them—because I have more manners. I have no concern to tell Dr Browne I can read English; nor to tell Mr Tutchin I understand Latin: *Non ita Latinus sum ut Latine loqui*. I easily acknowledge myself blockhead enough to have lost the fluency of expression in the Latin, and so far trade has been a prejudice to me; and yet I think I owe this justice to my ancient father, still living, and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own, he having spared nothing in my education that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr Browne, or the learned Observator.

"As to my little learning and his (Mr Tutchin's) great capacity, I fairly challenge him to translate with me any Latin, French, and Italian author, and after that to re-translate them cross-ways, for twenty pounds each book; and by this he shall have an opportunity to show the world how much De Foe the hosier is inferior in learning to Mr Tutchin the gentleman."

The writers of those days observed but little decorum in their language. One of his opponents, De Foe says, "makes himself merry with me, that I stand in need of a logician to mend my arguments, and a grammarian to mend my Latin. I wish this mirth may calm his temper, and I will not make myself amends upon him by telling him that he can mend neither for me: that I am master of as many languages as himself, and may have forgot as much Latin as some may have learnt; because I have no mind to quarrel, or put any man into a ferment."—"When they that dispute," observes he, "assume to themselves all the learning and all the sense, I think they ought to have some regard to truth and justice: but it is impossible for some people to keep their temper when they are pinched in argument; which want of temper in them shall be far from moving me to the same error."

The causes that led to the diversion of our author's talents from his original destination as a Dissenting minister into another channel, are now unknown: it is certain that the times were very unfavourable to the exercise of such a function, and occasioned numbers to abandon their pulpits, or withdraw from their native country. A competent witness observes, that "For some time before a Popish prince ascended the throne, Popish

counsels so far prevailed, that it was not safe for a Dissenting minister to be seen in the streets of London: many of them were thrown into common gaols; their meetings, which for some years they held by connivance, were everywhere suppressed; and they chose in some places to meet in the night in small numbers, rather than be wholly destitute of the worship of God in that way of administration which they thought most conformable to his word. The civil liberties of the people of England met with a violent shock at the same time; some of the best blood that ever ran in English veins was then spilt as water upon the ground; juries were packed, false witnesses suborned, corrupt judges upon the bench, and mercenary lawyers encouraged at the bar with noisy insolence to hunt down the true friends of the English constitution." Perhaps De Foe was swayed by other considerations. His natural disposition might be unsuited to so grave a profession, at least with the view that he had taken of it; or some circumstance, now unknown, might have rendered it inexpedient for him to follow it.

Upon De Foe's leaving College, after five years' residence there, the events of the period, when viewed in connexion with the principles of his education, had a strong tendency to produce in him an ardent love of liberty, and a fixed abhorrence of tyranny, and he early embarked in an unceasing warfare against all, whether in high or low places, who sought to oppress his country and his creed, and he almost immediately enlisted himself upon the popular side in politics, and engaging in them with all the ardour of youthful blood, his genius and active energy speedily raised him to distinction in his party.

De Foe was only twenty-one when he commenced author, and he hardly ever ceased writing for the rest of his life. His first production was a lampoon levelled at the well-known Roger L'Estrange's 'Guide to the Inferior Clergy,' and was entitled 'Speculum Crape-Gownorum; or a Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd, &c. By a Guide to the Inferiour Clergie. London: 1682.*'

He borrowed his title from the crape gowns then usually worn by the inferior clergy, and probably thought that many would be ensnared to read his book by the taking effect of a superscription. Availing himself of the licence of the times, he repays the libellers of the Dissenters in their own coin, and shoots his bolts without ceremony at the weak points of the established clergy. To this mode of warfare they had rendered themselves obnoxious by the scurrility of their writings: and the edge of resentment was further sharpened by the oppression of the civil power. Many of the ideas in the former part of the pamphlet are borrowed without acknowledgement from a work published a few years before by Dr John Eachard, entitled, 'The Grounds and Occasion of the Contempt of the Clergy;' but the 'Essay towards a Sermon of the Newest Fashion,' which occupies about a third of the pamphlet, is entirely original, and, as Mr Godwin observes, "is equal in point of humour to anything that occurs in Dr Eachard's performance."

The fertility of the subject soon produced a second part of the 'Speculum Crape-Gownorum;' in which the author deals more seriously with the government, and, by a practical view of the effect of persecution, exposes its absurdity.

The next subject which occupied the pen of De Foe was the war then raging upon the Continent between the Turks and the German Emperor. The occasion was this:—The Hungarian reformers, having been persecuted and proscribed by the Austrian monarch, had risen in arms against him; and the Turks, availing themselves of the opportunity, had marched to their assistance and laid siege to Vienna. Most of the English Protestants (as men ever think the nearest danger greatest and hate their old enemies most) were inclined to rejoice at this tumbling down of a Popish despot, and the success of their Hungarian brethren. But De Foe, who saw further than them, (and

* The titles in full of each piece will be found in the List of De Foe's Works.

perhaps took a little pride in doing so), viewed the matter in a different light, and deprecated the possible triumph of the Crescent over the Cross, and the subjugation of all Christendom, which might be the consequence. Logically speaking, he was right; but prudentially, he was perhaps wrong. The powers of Europe took the alarm as well as he, and combined to rescue the Austrian monarch from the gripe of the Mussulman. They succeeded; but could obtain no terms for the Hungarian peasants. Had the emperor been left to fight his own battles against the Turks, he might have been frightened into measures of moderation and justice towards his own subjects; and there was in the meantime little probability of a Mohammedan army overrunning Europe. The title of De Foe's pamphlet on this subject is not known. When he collected his works in 1703, he did not insert this among them, for what reason it is difficult to conceive.

To return to the affairs of England. Towards the latter end of Charles's reign, when the influence of the Duke of York was on the wane, it is imagined by several historians that a plan for a more popular system of government was in contemplation; but this project, whatever it may have been, was put an end to by the sudden death of Charles, which took place Feb. 6, 1685, in the 54th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign.

This monarch, however, who seemed to oppress his subjects only for his amusement, and played the tyrant as an appendage to the character of a fine gentleman, had never proceeded to the last extremities, nor quite thrown off the mask, whatever his secret wishes or designs might have been, by openly attacking large masses of power and opinion. James, who succeeded him, was a true monk,—a blind, narrow, gloomy bigot: and did not stop short in his mad and obstinate career till he drove the country to rebellion, and himself into exile. As the Archbishop of Rheims well and wittily said of him, on seeing him come out of a Popish chapel abroad, "There goes a very honest gentleman, who gave up three kingdoms for a mass."

Upon his accession to the throne, addresses of loyalty and devotion poured in from all quarters, notwithstanding his well known principles and designs. An address from the Middle Temple expressed the sentiments of that body of scholars and gentlemen, in a strain of fulsome servility. The University of Oxford promised to obey him "without limitations or restrictions;" and the king's promise, in his speech from the throne (says Burnet), passed for a thing so sacred, that those were looked upon as ill-bred who put into their address, "our religion established by law, excepted." The pulpits resounded with thanksgiving sermons, and the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and the clergy were forward in tendering the unconditional surrender of their rights and liberties, for themselves, their fellow-subjects, and their posterity. If James did not before think himself *God's Vicegerent upon earth*, he must have thought so now. But he no sooner took them at their word, and proceeded to appoint Papists to be heads of colleges, and to induct them to Protestant livings, and to send the bishops to the Tower for refusing to set their seal to his arbitrary mandates; that is, he no sooner alarmed the clergy for their authority spiritual, and their revenues temporal, so that judgment began, as Dr Sherlock expressed it, in the house of God,—than they turned round, and sent their loyalty and their monarch a packing together.

The general odium into which James soon fell, encouraged the Duke of Monmouth (the natural son of Charles II, by Lucy Walters) to raise the standard of revolt, and large numbers of the Dissenters, whose consciences had been sorely tyrannized over by the bigoted monarch on the throne, united their forces with those of the unfortunate Prince, when he landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, in June 1685.

In the number of those who joined this romantic invasion was De Foe, who, at the age of four-and-twenty, showed to the world that he could handle his sword no less than his pen, in the cause of liberty.

The issue of the enterprise is well known. Yet had Monmouth delayed his expedition but a few months, or taken the precaution to secure the assistance of a few experienced officers, there is no saying what might have been the consequence. As it was, the sudden progress of the insurrection alarmed the king; and De Foe, who was an eye-witness, says, he was within a trifle of ruin.

Upon the dispersion of the Duke's forces, De Foe, owing probably to his being a native of London, and his person being consequently unknown in the part of the country where the movement took place, had the good fortune to escape from the terrible vengeance which was heaped upon his less fortunate companions, and returned in safety to the metropolis.

He now turned his attention to trade, and the business in which he engaged appears to have been that of a hose-factor, or middle man between the manufacturer and the retail dealer. In various publications of the period he is disparagingly styled "hosier," but he always stoutly repels the imputation, which he seems, somewhat absurdly in such a man, to have taken in great dudgeon. This agency concern our author carried on for some years (1685-1695), and after he had been in business about two years he was admitted a liveryman of London upon the 26th of January, 1688, having claimed his freedom by birth.

In the Chamberlain's book his name was written Daniel Foe. Mr Chalmers, to whom the public is indebted for the knowledge of these facts, says, "I was led to these discoveries by observing that De Foe had voted at an election for a representative of London, whence I inferred that he must have been a citizen either by birth or service." In his 'Review' for July 21, 1711, he mentions his having been born a freeman, and says he had been nearly thirty years a liveryman of the city.

CHAPTER II.

UPON the death of Monmouth (15th July, 1685), the king, dropping the thin mask he had hitherto worn, entered upon that series of arbitrary measures which brought about his downfall; and our author's next appearance in print was in an address to the Dissenters to caution them against accepting the terms of a general toleration, which James now insidiously held out to all parties, and which was to include Papists as well as Dissenters. This was not a bait for De Foe's keen jealousy and strong repugnance to the encroachments of power to be taken in by. "Was ever anything more absurd," says he, "than this conduct of King James and his party in wheedling the Dissenters; giving them liberty of conscience by his own arbitrary dispensing authority, and his expecting they should be content with their religious liberty at the price of their constitution? A thing, though a few were deluded with, yet the body of Dissenters soon saw through. The train, indeed, was laid deep and subtilly; but this was plain to everybody, that it was wholly inconsistent with the Popish interest to protect the Dissenters any otherwise than it was made a project to create a feud between them and the church, and in the end to destroy both." There was, indeed, some danger that the Dissenters might be tempted to purchase the proffered grace at the price of allowing the Papists the same liberty; which was (at this period) under the bare-faced pretence of liberality, and a tenderness for scrupulous consciences, to throw open the floodgates of the most unbounded bigotry and intolerance. But the hatred and dread of Popery was at this time the ruling passion, in which the Dissenters shared in its utmost rancour and virulence; and this old grudge and hereditary antipathy prevailed. It was in vain that the king tried every means of conciliating the Nonconformist body. The great majority of the Dissenters stood firm, and, to strengthen them in their resistance to the Court, De Foe put forth two tracts, the titles of which are not known,

though we have his own declaration in the 'Review,' that he had composed them. The title of the pamphlet usually ascribed to him, is, 'A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence. London, printed for G. H. 1687.' 4to. But this was the work of that accomplished statesman, George Saville, Marquis of Halifax. De Foe, however, in his view of the subject, is known to have coincided with the noble lord.

The conduct of the king having at length alarmed the whole nation, the eyes of all parties were now directed to the Prince of Orange as their natural protector; not only from his affinity to the crown, but as being at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe. Application was therefore made to him by the disaffected in England, and the negotiation being brought to a conclusion, the prince prepared for his expedition.

"The slavish principles of passive obedience and non-resistance," observes Bolingbroke, "which had skulked, perhaps, in some old homily before King James I, but was talked, written, and preached into vogue in that inglorious reign, and in those of his three successors, were renounced at the Revolution by the last of the several parties who declared for them. Not only the laity, but the clergy embraced and co-operated in the deliverance which the Prince of Orange brought them. Some of our prelates joined to invite him over, and their brethren refused to sign an abhorrence of this invitation. Tho University of Oxford offered him their plate, and associated for him against the king. In one word, the conduct of the Tories at this crisis was such as might have inclined a man to think they had never held resistance unlawful, but had only differed with the Whigs about the degree of oppression, or of danger, which it was necessary to await, in order to sanctify resistance."

The Prince having provided for the defence of his own country, put to sea the 19th of October, 1688; and after encountering some damage from a storm, which obliged him to put back and re-fit, he reached Torbay in safety, the 4th of November, being the anniversary both of his birth and marriage. The following day he landed his army, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, and having refreshed his troops, marched them to Exeter.

The impression produced in the kingdom by the intelligence of his arrival is thus described by De Foe in the 'Review.' "At the landing of the Prince of Orange, in order to deliver these nations, at their own request, from the tyranny and bondage of absolute dominion, the people of England, with one voice, and as with one consent, rose in arms for their deliverance. Where they could, they joined with their deliverer; where they could not do that, they assembled together, headed by their respective gentlemen and the nobility of the country, and drew into one great body, as at York, Boden-down, Nottingham, and the like. And as things grew higher, the common people drew into bodies, rabbles, tumults, and mobs. What violences were committed, I care not to examine; I shall not justify the conduct of the mob, no, not against the worst instrument of King James's ill conduct. They acted without bounds, government, reason, or honour; and the Parliament thought fit to bury it in silence, by passing an act to prevent prosecutions upon trespasses of that kind. The people of Scotland taking arms at the same time, acted their part; and as they had in many places been treated in a most bloody and inhuman manner by the episcopal people in power, under King James' and King Charles's reign, of which I would advise those people never to oblige us to be particular, it was feared, and indeed expected, that the poor people would have been so exasperated by the dreadful usage they had received, that they would have run into some terrible excesses, and in their fury have torn many of their murderers in pieces. For as there were few families in the West but what had lost some near relation or other in the butcheries of those times, so many of the very instruments of those cold-blooded murders were then actually living among them. However, I do not find that one drop

of blood was spilt by them anywhere, which I think is what could not be promised from any people in the world in their circumstances."

De Foe, who entered heartily into the Revolution, was among those who joined William at Henley, and marched with him to London; and we find an account of him as one of those who went in procession with the king and queen to Guildhall, as a guard of honour, the year following. Oldmixon, who gives the account, has infused into it some of his unfounded prejudices against our author. "Their majesties," he says, "attended by their royal highnesses and a numerous train of nobility and gentry, went first to a balcony prepared for them at the Angel in Cheapside, to see the show; which, for the great number of liverymen, the full appearance of the militia and artillery company, the rich adornments of the pageants, and the splendour and good order of the whole proceeding, out-did all that had been seen before upon that occasion: and, what deserved to be particularly mentioned, says a reverend historian, was a royal regiment of volunteer-horse, made up of the chief citizens, who, being gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, were led by the Earl of Monmouth, now Earl of Peterborough, and attended their majesties from Whitehall. Among these troopers, who were for the most part Dissenters, was *Daniel Foe*, at that time a hosier in Freeman's yard, Cornhill; the same who afterwards was pilloried for writing an ironical invective against the church, and did after that list in the service of Mr Robert Harley, and those brethren of his who passed the Schism and Occasional bills, broke the confederacy, and made a shameful and ruinous peace with France." Oldmixon might have told his readers that, although De Foe was the private friend of Harley, from whom he had received personal favours, yet he wrote against all the measures which he here reprehends: but so much justice was not to be expected from so consistent a party-writer.

Oldmixon, however, evidently singles out his brother author in this gallant procession, with an eye of envy rather than friendship, and the invidious turn given to his politics only means that all those were black sheep who did not go the absurd lengths of Oldmixon and his party in everything.

It does not lie within our province to detail the events attending the deposition of James and the accession of his successor. Many highly interesting incidents which occurred will, however, be found in 'The Tour through Great Britain,' and other works of our author.

As an ardent friend of the Revolution, and no less an admirer of the hero who achieved it, De Foe annually commemorated the 4th of November in token of our deliverance:—"A day," says he, "famous on various accounts, and every one of them dear to Britons who love their country, value the Protestant interest, or have an aversion to tyranny and oppression. On this day he was born; on this day he married the daughter of England; and, on this day he rescued the nation from a bondage worse than that of Egypt, a bondage of soul, as well as bodily servitude; a slavery to the ambition and raging lust of a generation set on fire by pride, avarice, cruelty, and blood."

When the Revolution took place, and probably for some little time before, De Foe was a resident at Tooting in Surrey, where he was the first person who attempted to form the Dissenters in the neighbourhood into a regular congregation. The reverend and learned Dr Joshua Oldfield, author of a valuable treatise on 'The Improvement of Human Reason,' was their first pastor. It appears from a passage in his 'Tour through Great Britain,' that De Foe was several years a resident in this part of Surrey. Perhaps he had a country-house there during the time that he carried on his hose-agency business in Cornhill.

CHAPTER III.

DE FOE'S commercial speculations were of a multifarious nature. Some years had now (1692) elapsed since he embarked in the Spanish and Portuguese trade, from whence he must have derived considerable profit; but much of it was dissipated in subsequent losses. Oldmixon, who delights to undervalue him, says, "he had never been a merchant, otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal;" but, as Mr Chalmers justly remarks, "peddling to Portugal makes a trader." His concerns, however, were more considerable than Oldmixon would wish us to believe. From a passage in one of his works, it is very clear that he had been a merchant-adventurer; for, speaking of the high rate of insurance, and its excess over the profits of the merchant, he says, he had paid a hundred pounds in that way upon a voyage that had afforded him a profit of only fifty pounds. Whether it was before or after the Revolution that he went to Spain is uncertain; but his connexions with the trade of that country rendered it expedient for him to undertake a voyage thither; and it appears from his own account that he took up his residence there, and became familiar with the language.

In one of his 'Reviews' De Foe gives an account of the loss of a vessel in which he was a shareholder, upon the Spanish coast, and records the inhospitable treatment which the crew received from the natives; but this he charges to the account of the English themselves, who had treated them with the like, or rather worse usage.

"A ship I had some concern in myself," says he, "in a violent storm came ashore on the coast of Biscay, and, stranding, the men made signals of distress to a Spanish vessel that lay at anchor under the shore, the captain of which would not take the least notice of them, though, had he manned out his boat, he might have saved the whole crew. At last, upon repeated signals, two boats from the shore went off and saved the master and five men, the rest perishing before they came. The master afterwards meeting the captain of the Spanish ship, asked him why he would not afford his succour as he might have done? The Spaniard answered with an oath, that if he and all his men had swam to the ship's side, he would not have taken one of them up, though they had been to be drowned in his sight; and he gave the reason for it: that having been shipwrecked somewhere on the coast of England, the people, instead of saving him and his ship, came off and robbed him, tore the ship almost to pieces, and left him and his men to swim ashore for their lives, while they plundered the cargo; upon which he and his whole crew had sworn never to help an Englishman in whatever distress he should find him, whether at sea or on shore."*

It was about this time that De Foe had some concern also in the trade with Holland. A writer in the reign of Queen Anne, who styles himself "A well-wisher to trade and credit," and wrote in an opprobrious manner against De Foe, in commenting upon his career in trade, speaks of him as having been formerly "a Civet-cat merchant;" although it was probably the drug rather than the animal in which he traded.† The Dutch were at that time the most considerable of the European traders in that article, which they brought from the east.

De Foe, who seems to have been a citizen of the world, made an excursion to France

* 'Review,' vi, 223.

† "He has run through the three degrees of comparison: *Pos.*, as a hosier; *Compar.*, as a Civet-cat merchant; and *Super.*, as a Pantile merchant." — *Observations on the Bankrupt's Bill.* 1706.

some time in the early part of his life. He went there in the company of some merchants, in a large yacht, and landed at Caen, in Normandy; but whether he was drawn thither by business or pleasure is not mentioned. Either at this or some other time he visited Paris, and other parts of that country, and was much struck both with the magnificence of the scenery, and the grandeur of the private as well as of the public buildings: but in some of these respects he seems to have given the preference to his own country. De Foe also visited other parts of the continent, particularly Germany, and staid some time at Aix-la-Chapelle, perhaps for the benefit of the waters, which he considered much superior to those at Buxton. He also mentions his having drunk the Bath waters in the early part of his life, and notices their value in colics and scorbutic complaints. It is probable, from some circumstances in his life, that De Foe visited Germany in the next reign.

In the midst of his foreign speculations De Foe still continued his hose-agency concern in Freeman's court, Cornhill. But literary genius does not assort well with what is emphatically called business, and De Foe did not present in his own person the complete tradesman, whom he described so well in after years. "Wit, like mercury and quicksilver," says he, "is of use to make the silver ore run, and separate the sterling from the dross; but bring it to the crucible by itself, it flies up in the air like a true spirit, and is lost at once." "A wit turned tradesman!" says he elsewhere, "no apron-strings will hold him, 'tis in vain to lock him in behind the compter, he's gone in a moment. Instead of journal and ledger, he runs away to his Virgil and Horace; his journal entries are all Pindaricks, and his ledger is all Heroicks. He is truly dramatic from one end to the other, through the whole scene of his trade: and as the first part is all comedy, so the two last acts are always made up with tragedy; a statute of bankrupt is his *exeunt omnes*, and he generally speaks the epilogue in the Fleet prison, or the Mint."*

With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house; and being obliged to abscond from his creditors in 1692, he naturally attributed those misfortunes to the war which were probably owing to his own misconduct. An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was soon superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence, and some of these creditors who had been thus satisfied, falling afterwards into distress themselves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claim, being then in rising circumstances from King William's favour: an example of rare honesty. The amount for which he failed is not known, but it must have been considerable, and shows that he was no petty trader. Being reproached by Lord Haversham for mercenariness, he tells him in 1705, that "With a numerous family, and no help but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds."

It deserves to be remembered that, at the time when our author fell into misfortune, the laws against bankrupts were much more severe than they are at present; insomuch that it was a matter of some hazard for a man to surrender to his creditors, unless there had been some previous understanding for a composition. "The cruelty of our laws against debtors," says De Foe, "without distinction of honest or dishonest, is the shame of our nation. I am persuaded the honestest man in England, when by necessity he is compelled to break, will early fly out of the kingdom rather than submit.

* Complete Tradesman.

To stay here—this is the consequence : as soon as he breaks, he is proscribed as a criminal, and has thirty to sixty days to surrender both himself and all that he has to his creditors. If he fails to do it, he has nothing before him but the gallows, without benefit of clergy ; if he surrenders he is not sure but he shall be thrown into gaol for life by the commissioners, only on pretence that they doubt his oath. What must the man do ? If he carries away his effects he is a knave and cheats his creditors ; if he stays here he is starved in a gaol, and must end his days by a lingering death. It is certainly the interest of the creditor, that when a debtor has failed, he should come and throw himself into the creditors' hands, and there be safe." In arguing the subject some years afterwards, De Foe observes with equal judgment and shrewdness, " Sometimes I was apt to suggest the following important trifles, viz. That a prison paid no debts ; that the more a bankrupt spent, the less he had left ; and that the less he had, the less the creditors would have at last ; that he who had nothing to pay, could pay nothing ; and that to keep a man in perpetual prison for debt, was murdering men by law."*

These extracts will serve to shelter the character of De Foe from any dishonourable imputation in absconding from his creditors ; a step which he thought himself justified in taking during the negociation for an amicable settlement, in order that he might escape the horrors of a dungeon.

Although the habits of De Foe were but little suited to those of trade, it is probable that other circumstances contributed to his insolvency. He seems to have fallen into an error by no means uncommon to persons in business ; that of extending their trade beyond their capital. " I think I may safely advance, without danger of reprehension," says he, " there are more people ruined in England by over-trading than for want of trade ; and I would, from my own unhappy experience, advise all men in trade to set a due compass to their ambition. Credit is a gulph which is easy to fall into, hard to get out of. Caution, therefore, is the best advice that can be given to a young tradesman ; and moderation is a useful virtue in trade as well as in politics."

But if De Foe fell a victim in part to his own imprudence, it was not the sole cause of his ruin. " If I am asked," says he, " why honest tradesmen are ruined, and undesigning men come to destruction, the answer is short : knaves run away with their money ; knaves break first, and pull honest men down with them."† That his misfortunes were partly owing to some such cause may be inferred from various passages in his writings. In one of his ' Reviews,' speaking of the frauds committed by bankrupts, he says, " The evil was indeed grown up to a monstrous height in those days. Nothing was more frequent than for a man in full credit to buy all the goods he could lay his hands on, and carry them directly from the house he bought them at into the Friars, and then send for his creditors and laugh at them, insult them, showing them their own goods untouched, offer them a trifle in satisfaction, and if they refuse it, bid them defiance : I cannot refrain vouching this of my own knowledge, since I have more than many times been served so myself."‡

During the reign of Romish belief in England there were several places in and about the City of London, which were allowed as sanctuaries for criminals and debtors ; and even since the Reformation, the latter had claimed the privilege of resorting to them for protection. One of these places, called the White-Friars, was become a notorious receptacle for broken and desperate men, in the very heart of the metropolis. There they resorted in great numbers, to the dishonour of the Government, and the great prejudice of the people, defending themselves with force and violence against the law and the public authorities. This intolerable grievance the Parliament redressed by " An Act for the more effectual Relief of Creditors in cases of Excesses, and for preventing

* ' Review,' iii, 117, 131, 138.

† ' Review,' iii, 70.

‡ ' Review,' iii, 75.

Abuses in Prisons, and pretended Privileged Places ;” in which such effectual provision was made to reduce these outlaws, that immediately after the act was published, they abandoned their posts to better inhabitants. The Mint in Southwark, another of these sanctuaries, and the pest of the neighbourhood, was also suppressed by the same act of parliament, 8th and 9th of William III, c. 27.

It deserves to be recorded to the honour of De Foe, that he was the first to awaken the attention of the legislature to this subject, and that to him the nation was indebted for the abatement of the nuisance. “I had the good fortune,” says he, “to be the first that complained of this encroaching evil in former days, and think myself not too vain in saying, my humble representations, in a day when I could be heard, of the abominable insolence of bankrupts, practised in the Mint and Friars, gave the first mortal blow to the prosperity of these excesses.”

Another method by which De Foe suffered in his fortunes, was the collusive dealing too frequently practised between debtor and creditor. He seems also to have been the dupe of some knavish projector. Fortunately, however, for De Foe, he never had occasion to appear before those harpies of the law, the Commissioners of Bankrupts, against whose ruinous proceedings he exclaims so bitterly in several of his ‘Reviews.’ It was no uncommon thing, he tells us, for these men to consume the whole of a bankrupt’s estate in feastings and vexatious law suits, in the profits of which they largely participated, being generally men in the law. “Commissions of Bankrupt, as now practised,” says he, “are such depredations and invasions of common justice, such oppressions upon the sinking fortunes of distressed families, that I cannot think any debtor obliged to the same measures with such people, as they are with others. The law of self-defence arms the debtor against these ravenous harpies, as it arms him against the assaults of a highwayman or a cut-throat. In short, the English Rogue would be a fool to the horrid collection of villanies practised by these law-tyrants, who revel in the blood of families, and eat up the food of the starving debtors ; who sell debtor and creditor for the maintenance of their lusts, and devour, not the widow’s houses only, but the widows themselves. It may be suggested by the conjecturing part of mankind, that since the author has fallen into very ill hands, he therefore exclaims so warmly against the commissioners ; but this is false. Though I have had a large share of misfortunes in the world, and no man more, yet it has pleased Providence hitherto to keep me out of such hands ; and my knowledge of the barbarous usage of the debtor, by those abstracted thieves I call commissioners, is hitherto not at my own cost, but at the cost of others, whose families I have seen undone, and whose creditors I have seen cheated, while these people have made merry with the disaster.”*

Whilst the affairs of De Foe were going backwards, he probably resorted to those shifts and expedients for the purpose of maintaining his credit, which eventually aggravated his distress. The errors he committed against his better judgment were a source of remorse upon calm reflection ; and he had the manliness to avow them in connexion with his penitence. “While I speak with more than common concern of these things,” says he, “perhaps it may lead some men of retort to say, he speaks experimentally ; to which I answer freely, ’Tis a shame to do evil, but none at all to acknowledge and reform. I freely rank myself with those that are ready to own, they have in the extremities and embarrassments of trade, done those things which their own principles condemned, which they are not ashamed to blush for, which they look back upon with regret, and strive to make reparation for with their utmost diligence.”†

Whatever might have been the immediate cause of De Foe’s failure, he supported himself under it with exemplary fortitude ; a circumstance the more remarkable when we

* ‘Review,’ iii, 134, 5.

† ‘Review,’ iii, 86.

consider his natural vivacity, which was not at all subdued by misfortune. To his heaviest trials he brought a strength of mind that enabled him to cope with them; and fearless of injury, he both spoke and wrote like a man who was sustained by conscious rectitude. With honest concern for the interests of his creditors, he only desired time to satisfy their demands. "He that cannot pay his debts," says he, "may be an honest man; he that can and will not must be a knave. He that can pay his debts at leisure, may not be able to do it all at once, and if it were required of all men, the Lord have mercy upon half the tradesmen in England." Of himself, therefore, he says, "He that will not believe the public disaster has been a blow to his affairs, and disabled him from immediate compliance with just demands, must be a fool. He that will have patience will find him honest; he that will not, seems to have more cruelty than human nature can excuse, and labours as much as in him lies to prevent the trial of his integrity, and foreclose himself."*

In the midst of his misfortunes De Foe found the value of personal character; for so high a sense of his honour was entertained by his creditors, that they agreed to take his own personal security for the amount of composition upon his debts—a fine illustration of the effect of moral principle, and an exemplification of the advice he gave to others. "Never think yourselves discharged in conscience," says he, "though you may be discharged in law. The obligation of an honest mind can never die. No title of honour, no recorded merit, no mark of distinction can exceed that lasting appellation, an 'honest man.' He that lies buried under such an epitaph, has more said of him than volumes of history can contain. The payment of debts, after fair discharges, is the clearest title to such a character that I know; and how any man can begin again, and hope for a blessing from heaven, or favour from man, without such a resolution, I know not."†

To what part of the kingdom De Foe retired when he escaped from the fangs of the law is not known; perhaps to Bristol, where he certainly resided for a time, when he was under apprehension from his creditors." "A friend of mine in that city,‡" adds Mr Wilson, "informs me of a tradition in his family, that rather countenances this supposition. He says, that one of his ancestors remembered De Foe, and sometimes saw him walking in the streets of Bristol, accoutred in the fashions of the times, with a fine flowing wig, lace ruffles, and a sword by his side. Also, that he there obtained the name of 'The Sunday Gentleman,' because, through fear of the bailiffs, he did not dare to appear in public upon any other day. The fact of De Foe's residence in Bristol, either at this, or some later period of his life, is further corroborated by the following circumstance. About a century ago, as the same friend informs me, there was a tavern in Castle street, known by the sign of the Red Lion, and kept by one Mark Watkins, an intelligent man, who had been in better circumstances. His house was in considerable repute amongst the tradesmen of Bristol, who were in the habit of resorting there after dinner, for the purpose of smoking their pipes, and hearing the news of the day. De Foe, following the custom of the times, occasionally mixed with them at these seasons, and was well known to the landlord under the same name of 'The Sunday Gentleman.' The house is still standing, and is now a mere pot-house. The same Mark Watkins, it is said, used to entertain his company, in after-times, with an account of a singular personage, who made his appearance in Bristol clothed in goat-skins, in which dress he was in the habit of walking the streets, and went by the name of Alexander Selkirk, or Robinson Crusoe.

* 'Review,' ii. 304.

† 'Review,' iii. 147, 8.

‡ Mr Whittuck.

CHAPTER IV.

DURING the two years which he thus spent in retirement, our author sketched out his 'Essay on Projects,' which appeared in print five years afterwards. In the meantime, De Foe's knowledge of foreign trade, and more particularly of that to Spain and Portugal, procured him an opportunity, presented by some merchants with whom he had corresponded abroad, of settling as a factor at Cadiz, where, so advantageous was the offer, he might with ordinary care have realized a good fortune. But our author thought proper to reject the proposal. For "Providence," says he, "which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home, in proposing ways and means to the government for raising money to supply the occasions of the war, then newly begun."

The war referred to was that in which England was engaged with France in support of King William's title. Upon the subject of ways and means, De Foe proposed a general assessment of personal property, the amount to be settled by composition, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by the King. Of the efficacy of his scheme our author was so well satisfied, that he offered to farm the revenue arising from it, at a rent of three millions annually, giving good security for the payment.

If the finances of De Foe were at this time any way commensurate with the ways and means which he provided for the public, he must have been in the high road to wealth. But whatever emolument he may have otherwise derived from his speculations for the government, he now (1695) procured from its agents an appointment which yielded him a certain revenue, that of accountant to the commissioners of the glass duty, in whose service he continued to the determination of their commission, by the suppression of the tax by act of parliament, August the 1st, 1699.

It was subsequently to his misfortunes in business, and probably about this time, that De Foe became secretary to the tile-kiln and brick-kiln works at Tilbury, in Essex, in which concern he was also a large proprietor; and he is said to have filled the office several years. In allusion to this employment, his enemies said sarcastically, that "he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw; but like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourers." The failure of this speculation seems to have been owing rather to the want of encouragement upon the part of the public, than to any imprudence in the projector. Pantiles had been hitherto a Dutch manufacture, and were brought in large quantities to England. To supersede the necessity of their importation, and to provide a new channel for the employment of labour, the works at Tilbury were laudably erected; and De Foe tells us, that he employed a hundred poor labourers in the undertaking. The capital embarked in the concern must also have been considerable; for he informs us, that his own loss by its failure was no less a sum than three thousand pounds. But, besides so serious a misfortune to himself, it was no less so to the public, not only by the failure of an ingenious manufacture, but for the sake of the numerous families supported by it, who were now turned adrift in the world, or thrown upon some other branch of trade. De Foe continued the pantile works, it is believed, until the year 1703, when he was prosecuted by the government for a libel; and being deprived of his liberty, the undertaking soon came to an end.*

* In his 'Review' for March 24, 1705, De Foe alludes to these circumstances thus:—"Nor should the author of this paper boast in vain, if he tells the world, that he himself, before violence, injury, and barbarous treatment demolished him and his undertaking, employed a hun-

De Foe's engagements at Tilbury requiring his residence there, he took a house near the water side, and occasionally amused himself by excursions upon the Thames. Upon one of these occasions a circumstance of unusual occurrence in this country fell under his notice, and is thus related by himself. After descanting upon the natural history of the Ant, who is furnished with wings at a certain growth, as if it were a direction to change its habitation, he says, "Being thus equipped, they fly away in great multitudes, seeking new habitations, and not being well practised in the use of their wings, they grow weary, and pressing one another down by their own weight, when they begin to tire, they fall like a shower. I once knew a flight of these ants come over the marshes from Essex, in a most prodigious quantity, like a black cloud. They began to fall about a mile before they came to the Thames, and in flying over the river, they fell so thick that the water was covered with them. I had two servants rowing a small boat over the river just at that time, and I believe near two pecks of them fell into the boat. They fell so thick, that I believe my hatfull came down the funnel of two chimnies in my house, which stood near the river's edge; and in proportion to this quantity, they fell for the space, as I could observe, of half a mile in breadth at least: some workmen I employed there said they spread two miles, but then they fell not so thick, and they continued falling for near three miles. Anybody will imagine the quantity thus collected together must be prodigious; but, if again they will observe the multitude of these ant-hills, and the millions of creatures to be seen in them, they will cease to wonder."* The surprising shower of flies seen in the streets of London, in July 1707, De Foe supposes to have been no other than a fall of these ants.

The occupations of De Foe must now have afforded him a comfortable subsistence, for which he was indebted partly to his own industry, and partly to the favour of King William, and other friends, through whose kind offices his affairs seem to have continued in a prosperous condition through the remainder of this reign. As yet, he had given no offence to any political party by the keenness of his satire; and being of companionable habits, the vivacity of his conversation, joined to a readiness of wit, threw a charm around his society which recommended him to a large circle of acquaintance. His honourable conduct in business had raised him up numerous friends during the season of distress; and his connexions at court now procured him the notice of persons eminent for their rank, and for their wealth. In the number of his friends at this time he makes mention of Sir John Fagg, M.P. for Steyning, in Sussex, where he had a noble seat, and hospitably entertained De Foe in the summer of 1697.

The reign of King William, partly owing to the long war with France, and partly to political causes, was eminently an age of inventions; or, as De Foe expresses it, "The Projecting Age." Towards the close of the war, in Jan. 1697, our author published his 'Essay upon Projects,' a work full of shrewd and sagacious remarks, whose utility is as marked now as at the period when they were written. It was dedicated to Dalby Thomas, "not," says he, "as commissioner under whom I have the honour to serve his majesty, nor as a friend, though I have great obligations of that sort also; but as the most proper judge of the subjects treated of, and more capable than the greatest part of mankind to distinguish and understand them." It is always curious to trace a

dred poor people in making pantiles in England, a manufacture always bought in Holland; and thus he pursued this principle with his utmost zeal for the good of England: and those gentlemen who so eagerly persecuted him for saying what all the world since owns to be true, and which he has since a hundred times offered to prove, were particularly serviceable to the nation, in turning that hundred of poor people and their families a begging for work, and forcing them to turn other poor families out of work to make room for them, besides three thousand pounds damage to the author of this, which he has paid for this little experience."

* 'Review,' iv, 317—319.

thought in order to see where it first originated, or how it was afterwards expanded. Among other projects which show a wide range of knowledge, De Foe suggests to King William the imitation of Louis XIV, in the establishment of a society "to encourage polite learning, to polish and refine the English tongue, and advance the so much neglected faculty of correct language; also, to establish purity and propriety of style, and to purge it from all the irregular additions that ignorance and affectation have introduced; and all those innovations of speech, if I may call them such, which some dogmatic writers have the confidence to foster upon their native language, as if their authority were sufficient to make their own fancy legitimate." *

A similar idea was started in the reign of Charles II, by Lord Roscommon, who had the assistance of Dryden; but he did not live to bring his plan to any degree of maturity. Some years after it was revived by De Foe, Prior renewed it in his '*Carmen Seculare*,' a poem addressed to King William, who was too deeply immersed in foreign politics to give it his attention. In the reign of Queen Anne it was renewed by Swift, in his '*Letter to the Earl of Oxford, for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language. 1711.*' Writing to the Archbishop of Dublin, he says, "I have been engaging my lord treasurer, and the other great men, in a project of my own, which they tell me they will embrace, especially his lordship. It is to erect some kind of society or academy, under the patronage of the ministers, and protection of the queen, for correcting, enlarging, polishing, and fixing our language." In this project Swift had the co-operation of Bolingbroke, Berkeley, and other great men of the day; but the hands of the ministers were then too fully employed to attend to it, and the subsequent changes prevented its final accomplishment. Since that time the scheme has been dormant, and Johnson was doubtful how far, in the event of its revival, it would be attended with success. It has succeeded, however, both in France and Italy, nor does there seem to be any valid reason why an academy for literature should not succeed equally well in our own country.

The whole work abounds in strong sense, couched in nervous language, and contains some specimens of good writing. His sentiments upon the various topics discussed are delivered with diffidence, but at the same time with becoming freedom; and they discover a versatility of genius accompanied by correct thinking, that are not often united in the same individual. But of the merit of the performance there needs no other testimony than that of the late Dr Franklin, who found it in his father's library, and speaking of it says, "from which, perhaps, I might receive some impressions that have since influenced the principal events of my life." Besides the projects detailed in it, De Foe informs us that he had written "a great many sheets about the coin, about bringing in plate to the Mint, and about our standard; but so many great heads being upon it, with some of whom his opinions did not agree, he would not adventure to appear in print upon that subject." His work came to a second edition in 1702; or rather, the bookseller placed a new title-page before the remaining copies of the same impression.

In the year 1698 began that warm controversy concerning occasional conformity, which produced so much noise in and out of Parliament in the following reign. Up to this period occasional conformity had been practised by Dissenters, who accepted official employments, with legal qualification, without much offence to any party. Sir

* The academy here alluded to was instituted in 1635, by Cardinal Richelieu. Its object was to perfect the French language, and it comprehended everything relating to grammar, poetry, and eloquence. It consisted of fifty members, and had a director and chancellor, chosen by ballot every three months; and a perpetual secretary. A gold medal was given once a year, as a prize for poetry and eloquence.

Humphrey Edwin, however, the Lord Mayor of London (1697-8), who was a non-conformist, not content with following the example of his Presbyterian predecessors in that office, and attending his own place of worship on the Sunday afternoons, caused, upon one occasion, the *regalia* of his office to be carried before him to Pinner's Hall Meeting-house, which step raised a loud clamour in the High Church party, and very great heats were caused in the public mind on the subject.

The question arising out of this circumstance was treated by De Foe with appropriate gravity. His publication bore the title of 'An Inquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment, &c. Lond. 1697,' in which the author appears before us in the character of an acute casuist. Assuming as a principle, that Dissenters in his day continued to separate from the Established Church from the same motive that actuated the early Puritans, that is, to obtain a greater purity of worship, he argues that the fast and loose game of religion, which was then played by too many, will not admit of any satisfactory excuse. There is great sincerity, warmth, and truth in the whole strain of this pamphlet, and it excited much attention.

The next question which occupied our author's pen was one of considerable interest. Upon the cessation of hostilities with France, under the Treaty of Ryswick (signed 20th September, 1697), it became a point of much importance, and difficult to determine, what was to be done with the British army upon its return to England. The public at large was decidedly adverse to the maintenance of a standing army. Yet the slowness of the French king in executing the treaty made it necessary for William to pause before he proceeded far in disbanding his troops. The subject was warmly discussed both in parliament and by the press, and numerous pamphlets were sent forth by both parties. The most powerful production which appeared against a standing army was written by Mr Trenchard, and was entitled 'An Argument, showing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. London, 1697.' Among the answers to this was a tract by De Foe, entitled, 'An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a free Government, &c.'—a treatise abounding in strength of argument conveyed in elegant language. Another pamphlet, written by our author on this subject, was entitled, 'Some Reflections on a Pamphlet lately published, entitled 'An Argument, &c.''

It must not be supposed, however, that De Foe was the unqualified supporter of a standing army; all that he contended for was this, that in the peculiar circumstances of the country, with a government that could scarcely be said to be established, and with a pretender to the throne, whose claims were acknowledged by a large class of disaffected persons at home, acting in concert with a powerful neighbour, it was necessary for the security of liberty, and of a Protestant dynasty, to maintain a limited number of forces under the control of parliament, trained according to the modern method of warfare, and ready to take the field at a moment's notice.

From the discussion of politics De Foe made an easy transition to the reformation of manners, and his next publication had reference to the laudable efforts of William III to correct the depravation of morals that followed upon the Restoration. A proclamation having been issued and an act of parliament passed for the prevention and punishment of profaneness and immorality, our author deemed it important to point out where, in his opinion, the reformation should begin, in order to insure its success; and he accordingly published 'The Poor Man's Plea in relation to all the Proclamations, &c., for a Reformation of Manners and suppressing Immorality. London, 1698.' Several years afterwards, De Foe looked back with satisfaction upon the sentiments he had delivered in this pamphlet, and took frequent occasion to insist upon the impartial enforcement of the law on the subject.

De Foe's next appearance in print was on the occasion of the death of Charles II of Spain, and the disputed succession to the crown of that monarchy. As we have explained the nature of this question elsewhere, it is unnecessary for us to state anything further here, than that upon this subject our author's ready pen produced three able pamphlets in quick succession. The first was entitled—'The Two great Questions considered. 1. What the French King will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy. 2. What Measures the English ought to take. London, 1700.' This tract being rudely assailed by an anonymous writer, in 'Remarks upon a late Pamphlet, entitled "The Two Great Questions, &c." '—De Foe replied in 'The Two Great Questions further Considered, with some Reply to the Remarks ;' and shortly after, finding that he had far from exhausted the argument in these two publications, he returned to it in a well-written pamphlet, published in the same year, called 'The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe.' These three pamphlets are characterised in the highest degree by sound sense, cogent reasoning, and superior language.

The ascendancy and increased activity of the Popish party in the days of De Foe alarmed his fears, in common with those of other Protestants, and they were not altogether groundless. The expelled monarch was known to be a bigoted Papist, and had a powerful party in England, that looked to him as their rightful sovereign. His friend and ally, Louis XIV, was a merciless persecutor of his Protestant subjects, and had recently added to his former power the influence and resources of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. Some German princes had lately withdrawn from their alliance with Protestants ; and the emperor, who had been a bitter persecutor of his Hungarian and Bohemian subjects, was now only restrained by his contest for power with the French king, from renewing his hostilities against the Reformed Faith ; and these circumstances considered, no one could pretend to say that the Protestant religion, which depended for support chiefly upon England and Holland, under the auspices of King William, was not in considerable jeopardy.

CHAPTER V.

THE exultation of De Foe on the occasion of the Revolution, had not been of long duration, but was soon turned to gall and bitterness. "Though that his joy, was joy," yet both friends and foes laboured hard to "throw such changes of vexation on it, that it might lose all colour." His admiration of King William was the ruling passion of his life. He was his hero, his deliverer, his friend ; he was bound to him by the ties of patriotism, of religion, and of personal obligation. But this ruling passion was also the torment of his breast, because his well-grounded enthusiasm was not seconded by the unanimous public voice, and because the services of the great champion of liberty and of the Protestant cause did not meet with that glow of gratitude and affection in the minds of the people (when their immediate danger was blown over) that they richly merited. De Foe had not only ridden in procession with his majesty, but he was afterwards closeted with him, and consulted by him on more than one question ; so that his self-importance, as well as his sense of truth and justice, was implicated in the attacks which were made on the person of his royal patron and benefactor. Nothing can, in our opinion, exceed the good behaviour of William, nor the ill return he received from those by whom he had been sent for, to deliver them from Popish bondage and darkness. Being no longer bound to the earth by a yoke that they could not lift, and having got a king of their own choosing, they thought they could not exercise their newly acquired liberty and independence better than by using him as ill as possible, and

reviling him for the very blessings which he had been the chief means of bestowing on them, and which his presence was absolutely necessary to continue to them. Having seen their hereditary, passive-obedience monarch, King James, quietly seated on the other side of the Channel, and being no longer in bodily fear of being executed as rebels, or burnt as heretics, the good people of England began to find a flaw in the title of the new-made monarch, because he was not, and did not pretend to be, absolute, and to sacrifice to the *manes* of divine right, by taking every opportunity and resorting to every artifice to insult him, to revile his person, to injure his reputation, to wound his feelings, and to cramp and thwart his measures for his own and their common safety. The Tories and highflyers lamented that the crown was without its most precious jewel and ornament—*hereditary right*; and though they acknowledged the necessity of the case upon which they themselves had acted, yet they thought the time might come when this necessity might cease, and for their lawful king to be brought back again, “with conditions.” Pulpits, long accustomed to unqualified submission, now echoed the double-tongued distinction of a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*. This party, whose habits were inimical to the new order of things, but who made a virtue of necessity, tendered their allegiance to the Prince of Orange reluctantly and ungraciously, while the Non-jurors bearded him to his face. The country gentlemen (at that time a formidable party, “not pierceable by power of any argument,”) only felt themselves at a loss from not having the Dissenters and Non-conformists to hunt down as usual. William they regarded as an interloper, who had no rights of his own, and who hindered other people from exercising theirs, in molesting and domineering over their neighbours. What made matters worse was his being a foreigner; his Dutch origin was one of the things constantly thrown in his teeth, and that staggered the faith and loyalty of many of his well-meaning subjects, who could not comprehend the relation in which they stood to a sovereign of alien descent. The phrase *True-born Englishman* became a watchword in the mouths of the malcontent party; and at that name, as often as it was repeated, the Whig and Protestant interest grew pale. It was to meet, and finally quell this charge, that De Foe penned his well-known poem of ‘The True-born Englishman’—a satire, which, if written in doggrel verse, and without the wit or pleasantry of Butler’s ‘Hudibras,’ is a masterpiece of good sense and just reflection, and shows a thorough knowledge both of English history and of the English character. It is indeed a complete and unanswerable exposure of the pretence set up to a purer and loftier origin than all the rest of the world, instead of our being a mixed race from all parts of Europe, settling down into one common name and people. De Foe’s satire was so just and true, that it drove the cant, to which it was meant to be an antidote, out of fashion; and it was this piece of service that procured the writer the good opinion and notice of King William. It did not, however, equally recommend him to the public. If it silenced the idle and ill-natured clamours of a party by telling the plain truth, that truth was not the more welcome for being plain or effectual. Though this handle was thus taken from malevolence and discontent, the tide of unpopularity had set in too strong from the first arrival of the king, not to continue and increase to the end of his reign; so that at last, worn out with rendering the noblest services, and being repaid with the meanest ingratitude, he thought of retiring to Holland, and leaving his English crown of thorns to any one who chose to claim it.

The state of parties at this period of our history presents a riddle that has not been solved. It has been referred to the gloom and discontent of the English character; but other countries have since exhibited the same problem, with the same results. It may be resolved into that propensity in human nature through which, when it has got what it wants, it requires something else which it cannot have. The English people, at the period in question, wanted a contradiction,—that is, to have James and William on the throne

together; but this they could not have, and so they were contented with neither. If they had recalled James, they would have sent him back again. They wanted him back again *with conditions* and security for his good behaviour. They wanted his title to the throne, without his abuse of power; an absolute sovereign, with a reserve of the privileges of the people; a Popish prince, with a Protestant church; a deliverance from chains without a deliverer; and an escape from tyranny without the stain of resistance to it. They wanted, not out of two things one which they could have, but a third which was impossible; and, as they could not have all, they were determined to be pleased with nothing. This greatly annoyed De Foe, who set his face against so absurd a manifestation of the spirit of the times. It embittered his satisfaction in the virtues of the sovereign, and the glories of his reign,—in his exploits abroad,—the moderation and justice of his administration at home; nor was he consoled for the malignity of his prince's enemies or the indifference of his friends, either by writing *odes* on his battles and victories, or *elegies* and *epitaphs* on his death.

The Tories having now succeeded to office, proceeded to concert measures for strengthening their power and weakening the influence of their rivals. Their first step was to procure a dissolution of Parliament, which took place, Dec. 19, 1700. During the elections, the press was actively employed by both parties in recommending the choice of such members as corresponded with their wishes. Many excellent pamphlets were produced upon the occasion, pointing out those marks by which the people might distinguish between the friends of the Revolution, and guarding them against the influence of bribery and corruption.

It was at this time that De Foe published his 'Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. London: 1701;' in the sentiments of which every person who entertains a proper regard for his country must heartily concur. At the time they were penned, the author had passed through the fervour of youth, and was arrived at an age when the judgment becomes matured by experience. They are to be considered as the deliberate views of a man approaching to forty, and indicate a mind strongly imbued with good sense, unfolding itself in a love of rational freedom, and having a proper regard for the interests of religion and virtue.

During the dissolution of parliament, De Foe returned to the subject of his former Essay, and published his "persuasive performance," as Mr Chalmers justly terms it, 'The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. London. 1701.' By the time his former pamphlet was delivered from the press, De Foe returned to the charge in 'The Villany of Stock-jobbers Detected, and the Cause of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers Discovered and Considered. London: 1701.' In this work he confines himself to the more immediate subjects of trade, and has many judicious remarks upon the methods by which it was then carried on.

CHAPTER VI.

THE earliest of De Foe's printed poems, was 'A New very of an Old Intrigue: a Satyr, levelled at Treachery and Ambition;' a lampoon upon city politics, written soon after the discovery of Lord Preston's plot. Early in 1697, he composed for the noted John Dunton 'The Character of Dr Annesley, by way of Elegy.' The factious spirit that pervaded the nation after the peace of Ryswick gave rise to another poem, published in February, 1699-1700, intitled 'The Pacificator. A Poem. London: 1700,' wherein, leaving the contentions of politicians, De Foe ingeniously transfers the theatre of war to the field of literature, and enlists the chief poets and wits of the day as combatants: "The men of sense against the men of wit."

At the request of Dunton our author wrote some Pindaric verses in honour of the 'Athenian Society,' whose labours were communicated to the world in 1691 and some following years: they were prefixed to Mr Gildon's History of its proceedings, and reprinted in the second volume of 'The Athenian Oracle.' Dunton, with whom the Athenian Society was a favourite project, "glories in the thought that it has elicited poems written by the chief wits of the age, viz., Mr Motteux, Mr Foe, Mr Richardson, and, in particular, Mr Tate, now poet laureat." Some bickerings of a private nature seem to have passed between our author and Dunton, and they are glanced at by the latter in the narrative of his life; but his account of De Foe is, upon the whole, favourable: "Mr Daniel De Foe," says he, "is a man of good parts and clear sense: his conversation is ingenious and brisk enough. The world is well satisfied that he's enterprising and bold; but, alas! had his prudence only weighed a few grains more, he'd certainly have writ his 'Shortest Way' a little more at length. There have been some men in all ages, who have taken that of Juvenal for their motto:

'Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquis.'

Had he writ no more than his 'True-Born Englishman,' and spared some particular characters that are too vicious for the very originals, he had certainly deserved applause."

The month of January 1701 produced the far-famed poem of the 'True-Born Englishman, a satire, printed in quarto, without a bookseller's name, of which the author himself published nine editions, and which was printed twelve times by other persons without his concurrence; for at this period authors had not even the limited protection which they now enjoy. A work once printed was at the mercy of any Tegg of the day who chose to appropriate it. Of the cheap editions no fewer than 80,000 were disposed of.

'The True-Born Englishman' was always a favourite production with De Foe, who associates himself with it in the title-page of various of his writings. Its publication had a favourable effect upon our author's fortunes, as it recommended him to the personal favour of King William; for though his royal patron was no great lover or judge of poetry, he had discernment enough to perceive that De Foe would be a valuable ally, and he immediately expressed a desire to become acquainted with the author, who, on being sent for to the palace, conversed with the king, and had repeated interviews with him afterwards. The manners and sentiments of De Foe appear to have made such a favourable impression upon his Majesty that he ever afterwards regarded him with kindness, and employed him in many secret services, to which he alludes occasionally in his writings, though he nowhere specifies the particular nature of them, and the omission is not supplied by all the researches that have been made among the works of his contemporaries, whether friends or foes to the Government of King William. De Foe's next publication was 'The Succession to the Throne of England Considered. London: 1701;' arising out of the death of the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, a circumstance which rendered it necessary to provide otherwise for the Protestant succession in England. Next followed the celebrated 'Legion Letter,' and 'The History of the Kentish Petition;' after which came 'The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England Examined and Asserted,' a very powerful performance, the main argument of which is irresistible, as its language is forcible, and which produced a considerable impression upon the public mind. The subject is discussed with a gravity suited to its importance, and the illustrations are pointed and appropriate. It is a treatise of standing value, and worthy of an attentive perusal.

Upon the death of James II, (16th Sept. 1701,) the French king caused his son to be proclaimed King of England, Holland, and Ireland, and prevailed upon the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy to follow his example. Indignant at this proceeding, the British monarch ordered his ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, to leave

France, and directions were given for the removal of Monsieur Poussin, the French agent, from England. Louis published a memorial in justification of his conduct, and dispersed it in all the courts of Europe; but it was far from satisfying either King William or his subjects, who were indignant at the interference of a foreign power in prescribing to them a king against their consent. Everything now indicated a speedy war, which seemed to have the concurrence of all parties here.

Although our author had a proper sense of the indignity offered to his sovereign by the acknowledgment of the Pretender, yet he did not think it amounted to a legitimate ground for war. Conceiving this, however, a favourable time for inviting the Jacobites to transfer their allegiance, he addressed them with that view in a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Present State of Jacobitism Considered, &c. London: 1701;' which was followed, shortly afterwards, by 'Reasons against a War with France. London: 1701,'—one of the finest and most useful political tracts in the English language. It is distinguished for temperate discussion, for solid reasoning, and for well-pointed ridicule; its arguments are applied with judgment, and they are such as would proceed from a man whose mind was well stored with political knowledge. King William having resolved upon a war, De Foe, notwithstanding the opinion he had expressed on the general question, was consulted by his sovereign upon several points relating to the impending hostilities, as he himself relates in one of his 'Reviews' (1711), in the following terms: "I gave you an instance of a proposal which I had the honour to lay before his late majesty, at the beginning of the last war, for the sending a strong fleet to the Havannah, to seize that part of the island in which it is situated, and from thence to seize and secure the possession of at least the coast, if not by consequence, the *Terra Firma* of the empire of Mexico, and thereby entirely cut off the Spanish commerce, and the return of their plate fleets, by the immense riches whereof, and by which only, both France and Spain have been enabled to support this war. But the king died, in whose hands this glorious scheme was in a fair way of being concerted, and which, had it gone on, I had had the honour to have been not the first proposer only, but to have had some share in the performance." The death of William, however, which occurred 8th of March, 1702, put a stop to these projects. By the demise of this excellent monarch, "more mortally wounded with the pointed rage of divided parties and an ungrateful people, than by the fall from his horse," as De Foe expresses it, our author lost a kind friend and a powerful protector. In various parts of his writings he takes occasion to cherish his memory, and to embalm his name with the affection of a faithful servant for the best of masters, whilst, in the stinging language of reproof, he reminds the nation of the baseness and ingratitude of those who had so deeply wounded him by their conduct.

The unmanly conduct of a base faction towards the departed hero of England vented itself in the most indecent manner, before the breath was departed from his body, and afterwards in the most malignant speeches, toasts, and lampoons. As well to show his sense of a conduct so unnatural, as to testify his admiration for departed excellency, De Foe now produced 'The Mock Mourners; a Satire, by way of Elegy on King William. London: 1701:' a work which met with the most favourable reception, and ran through five large editions in a few weeks.

Towards the latter end of this reign, De Foe took up his abode at Hackney, and resided there several years. Here some of his children were born and buried.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN ANNE, who succeeded to the crown on the death of William, was placed in no very graceful or dutiful position, as keeping her brother from the throne, which she occupied as the next Protestant heir, but to which, in the opinion of many, and perhaps in her own, he had a prior indefeasible right. She had been brought up with bigoted notions of religion ; and in proportion as she felt the political ground infirm under her feet, she wished to stand well with the Church. There was, through her whole reign, therefore, a strong increasing bias to High Church principles. The promise of toleration to the Dissenters soon sunk into an *indulgence*, and ended in the threat and the intention of putting in force the severest laws against them, under pretence that the Church was in danger. The clergy sung the same song as the Queen, adding a burden of their own to it ; breathing nothing in their sermons but abject submission to the throne, and suspicion and hatred of the Dissenters, reviving and inflaming old animosities, and encouraging their parishioners to proceed even to open violence against the frequenters of conventicles. Their services in bringing about the revolution were forgotten, and nothing was insisted on but their share in the great rebellion, and the beheading of Charles I. A university preacher (Sacheverell) talked of “hoisting the bloody flag against the Dissenters, and treated all those of the moderate party and Low Church as false brethren who did not enlist under the banner.” Another proposed shutting up not only the Dissenters’ meeting-houses, but their academies, thus taking from them the education of their children. A third was for using gentle violence with the Queen, to urge her to severe and salutary measures against Nonconformists, and considered her as under *duress* in not being allowed to give full scope to the sentiments labouring in her bosom in favour of the Church of England.

De Foe perceived all this with quick and anxious eye ; he saw the storm of persecution gathering, and ready to burst with ten-fold vengeance from its having been so long delayed, and he thought it high time to warn his brethren of the impending mischief. His first attack upon the High Church party was in a pamphlet called ‘A New Test of the Church of England’s Loyalty ; or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. London : 1702 ;’—in which he makes excellent use of the slavish tone of the sermons of the High Church clergy ; and he next proceeded to point out to the government, in a terrible and palpable way, the dangerous and mad career to which the zealots of a party were urging them headlong ; “so should his anticipation prevent their discovery.” He collected all the poisoned missiles and combustible materials he could lay his hands on, and putting them together in one heap, brought out his ‘Shortest Way with the Dissenters ; a Proposal for the Establishment of the Church. London : 1702 ;’—one of the finest, ablest, and most seasonable pamphlets ever published.

Knowing the nature of the game played by the High Church party, and the little impression that was to be made by sober argument, De Foe here resolved to change his mode of attack. The course of his studies, no less than taste and inclination, led him to acquaint himself with the writings of his opponents ; and seeing the absurd lengths to which their intemperate zeal urged them, it occurred to him that, by personating the character of a High Church-man, and judiciously wielding the weapon of irony, he should have a fine opportunity of exposing their folly, and the wickedness of the cause they were so furious in promoting ; and he so artfully concealed his design, that, strange to tell, no one, either among those he wrote for, or among those he wrote against, had wit enough to comprehend it ; and yet one cannot peruse the ‘Shortest Way with the Dissenters’ at this distance of time without being astonished with the extent of their stu-

pidity. Every argument of intolerance and bigotry is therein set forth with the most laborious assumption of gravity, and such an invincible air of earnestness, that the zealots of both sides were alike taken in. The 'High Flyers,' as he called them, did not dare to espouse openly the cause of one whom they considered in the light of a too bold and incautious adherent; while the deceived Dissenters, and their friends in Parliament, were loud in their cries of revenge against the best writer their cause could then boast.

" Such is the fate of too much wit,
Mistook and cursed by those that most are served by it."

And their conduct added not a little to his sufferings. De Foe, in his explanation of his pamphlet, published immediately afterwards, seems, very naturally, particularly hurt with the Dissenters for continuing to misunderstand him, even after he had fully declared his meaning. Indeed, of their behaviour to De Foe, it is impossible to speak in terms creditable to their understandings; for even after it was discovered that his arrows were shot at the 'High Flyers,' they united with their adversaries in attempting to crush him.

When the author and his design became fully known, and he was threatened with the vengeance of those whom he had so successfully opposed, he complained, "How hard it was that his intentions should not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man could see it, either Churchman or Dissenter." Mr Chalmers observes, "This is one of the strongest proofs how much the minds of men were inflamed against each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and personal kindness existed amidst the clamour of contradiction which then shook the kingdom, and gave rise to some of the most remarkable events in our annals." "That De Foe," remarks Mr Hazlitt, "should have incurred the hatred, and been consigned to the vengeance of the High Church party for thus honestly exposing their designs against the Dissenters, is but natural; the wonderful part is that he equally excited the indignation and reproaches of the Dissenters themselves; who disclaimed his work as a scandalous and inflammatory performance, and called loudly, in concert with their bitterest foes, for the condign punishment of the author. They almost with one voice, and as if seized with a contagion of folly, cried shame upon it, as an underhand and designing attempt to make a premature breach between them and the Established Church; to sow the seeds of groundless jealousy and ill-will, and to make them indirectly participators in, and the sufferers by, a scurrilous attack on the reverence due to religion and authority. De Foe was made the scape-goat of this paltry and cowardly policy, and was given up to the tender mercies of the opposite party, without succour and sympathy. This extreme blindness to their own interests can only be explained by the consideration that the Dissenters, as a body, were at this time in a constant state of probation and suffering; they had enough to do with the evils they actually endured, without "flying to others that they knew not of;" they stood in habitual awe and apprehension of their spiritual lords and masters;—would not be brought to suspect their further designs lest it should provoke them to realise their fears; and as they had not strength nor spirit to avert the blow, did not wish to see till they felt it. The alacrity and prowess of De Foe was a reproach to their backwardness; the truth of his appeal implied a challenge to meet it; and they answered with the old excuse, "Why troublest thou us before our time." The Dissenters, too, at this period, were men of a formal and limited scope of mind, not much versed in the general march of human affairs; they required literal and positive proof for everything, as well as for the points of faith on which they held out so manfully; and their obstinacy in maintaining these, and suffering for them, was matched by their timid circumspection and sluggish impracticability with respect to everything else. Their deserting De Foe, who marched on at the head of the battle,—pushed forward by his keen fore-

sight and natural impatience of wrongs, is not out of character, though equally repugnant to sound policy or true spirit. They fixed a stigma on him, therefore, of a breeder of strife, a false prophet, and a dangerous member of the community ; and what is certainly inexcusable, when, afterwards, his jest was turned to melancholy earnest ; when everything he had foretold was verified to the very letter ; when the whole force of the Government was arrayed against them, and Sacheverell in person unfurled his "bloody flag," and paraded the streets with a mob at his heels, pulling down their meeting-houses, burning their private dwellings, and making it unsafe for a Dissenter to walk the streets ; they did not take off the stigma they had affixed to the author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters ;' did not allow that he was right and they were wrong, but kept up their unjust and illiberal prejudices, and even aggravated them in some instances, as if to prove that they were well founded. Bodies of men seldom retract or atone for the injuries they have done to individuals.*

The first detection of our author is said to have been owing to the industry of the Earl of Nottingham, one of the secretaries of state, whose vigilance and perseverance in the affair are highly lauded by Leslie. When his name became generally known, people were at no loss to decipher his object ; and all parties now concurred in pouring vengeance upon him for his unlucky wit, which no one had the charity to advance in his extenuation. As the party in power was inimical to the man, rather than to the principles of his book, it was resolved to crush him by a state prosecution. During the first ebullition of fury, De Foe, in contemplation of the rigour he was likely to meet with, sought concealment from the gathering tempest. A proclamation was issued by the government, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the discovery of his retreat, and advertised in the 'London Gazette,' for January 10, 1702-3. It ran as follows :

"Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters ;' he is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown-coloured

* "De Foe had before this given violent offence to the Dissenters by *dissenting* from and disobliging them on a number of technical and doubtful points—a difference of which they seemed more tenacious than of the greatest affronts or deadliest injuries. Among other things, he had opposed the principle of *occasional conformity*, that is, the liberty practised by some Dissenters of going to church during their appointment to any public office, as they were prohibited from attending their own places of worship in their official costume. Nothing could be clearer than that, if it was a point of conscience with these persons not to conform to the service of the Established Church, their being chosen Mayor, Sheriff, or Aldermen, did not give them a dispensation to that purpose. But many of the demure and purse-proud citizens of London (among whom Mr Auditor Benson, his persecutor in after years, was a leader and shining light) resented their not being supposed at liberty to appear at church in their gold chains and robes of office, though contrary to their usual principles of non-conformity ; as children think they have a right to visit fine places in their new clothes on holidays. Their rage against De Foe was at its height, when he had nothing to say against Harley's Tory Administration for bringing in *The Occasional Conformity Bill*, to debar Dissenters of this puerile and contradictory privilege. It was to the kindness and generosity of Harley, on this as well as on former occasions, in affording our author pecuniary aid, of which he was in the utmost need (being without means, friends, and in prison), and in rescuing him from the grasp of his own party, that we owe his silence on political and public questions during the last years of Queen Anne, and a line of conduct that, in the present day, seems wavering and equivocal. His gratitude for private benefits hardly condemned him to withhold his opinions on public matters ; but, at that time personal and private ties bore greater sway over general and public duties than is the case at present. We entirely acquit De Foe of dishonest or unworthy motives. He might easily have gone quite over to the other side if he had been inclined to make a market of himself ; but of this he never betrayed the remotest intention, and merely refused to join in the hue and cry against a man who had twice saved him from starving in a

hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex; whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state, or any of her Majesty's justices of peace, so as he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of fifty-pounds, which her Majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

In the further prosecution of the resentment he had excited, a formal complaint was made of his publication in the House of Commons, the 25th of February, 1702-3, when some of the obnoxious passages being read, it was resolved, "That this book, being full of false and scandalous reflections on this parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to-morrow, in New Palace yard." This pitiful vengeance upon a work, which was offensive only for its wit, was unworthy the dignity of a grave assembly, and conferred no reproach upon the victim it sought to dishonour. The printer and bookseller being now taken into custody, De Foe nobly issued forth from his retirement, to brave the storm, resolving, as he expresses it, "to throw himself upon the favour of government rather than that others should be ruined by his mistake."

In order to remove the veil from the eyes of those who were too blind to perceive the drift of his argument, De Foe employed his retirement in composing 'A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entitled the "Shortest Way, &c."'

De Foe was particularly hurt with the Dissenters: of them he says, "All the fault I can find in myself as to these people is, that when I had drawn the picture, I did not, like the Dutchman with his man and bear, write under them, 'This is the man, and this is the bear,' lest the people should mistake me: and having in a compliment to their judgment, shunned so sharp a reflection upon their senses, I have left them at liberty to treat me like one that put a value upon their penetration at the expense of my own."

But De Foe's political sins were manifold; he had been the favourite and panegyrist of William; he had fought for Monmouth; he had opposed James; he had vindicated the Revolution, and defended the rights of the people; he had bantered, insulted, and offended the whole of the Tory leaders of the House of Commons; and neither his submission to the ruling powers, nor his generosity towards his printer and publisher, sufficed to shield him from the resentment of his enemies. He was indicted for libel at the Old Bailey Sessions, 24th February, 1703, and proceeded to trial in the following July. The Attorney-General, Sir Simon Harcourt, appears to have attacked our author with the utmost severity, which drew from De Foe, at a subsequent period, these remarks:—"To hear of a gentleman telling me 'The Shortest Way' was paving the way over the skulls of Churchmen, that it is a crime to justify it, should have been said by no man but him who could first answer this question: Whether all that was ironically said in that book was not seriously, as well as with a malicious earnest, published in print with impunity a hundred times before and since? To say, then, that this was a crime, flies so much in the face of the Churchmen, that it upbraids them with blowing up their own cause, and ruining their friends by a method they at the same time condemn in others. Upon this foot I again say, the book was just, its design fair, and all the facts charged upon them very true.*"

dungeon. Be this as it may, De Foe never recovered from the slur thus cast upon his political integrity, and was under a cloud, and discountenanced during the following reign; though the establishment of the Protestant succession had been the object of the labours of his whole life, and was the wish that lay nearest his heart to his latest breath."—*Hazlitt*.

* Review, ii, 367.

Some years afterwards, when Sacheverell excited so much attention by his sermon at St Paul's, De Foe thus recals his treatment by the Attorney-General. "Where were the brains of the wise Sir Simon Harcourt, when, according to his custom, bullying the author then at the bar, he cried, "Oh but he would insinuate that the Churchmen were for these barbarous ways with the Dissenters," and therefore it was a mighty crime! And now, good Sir Simon, whose honesty and modesty were born together,—you see, sir, the wrong done them; for this very man, whom you so impudently said was then abused, has doomed them all to the devil and his angels, declares they ought to be prosecuted for high treason, and tells us that every Dissenter from the Church is a traitor to the state."*

In another place, he observes, in reference to the same time, "When Sir Simon Harcourt aggravated it against the author, that he designed the book to have the world believe the Church of England would have the Dissenters thus used, 'tis presumed, without reflection upon that gentleman's penetration, that he had not heard how eagerly they granted the suggestion, by espousing the proposal, and by acknowledging it was the way they desired. Now, here is another test put upon the world of this true high-church principle. Destruction of Dissenters is proved to be no more persecution than hanging of highwaymen. This is saying in earnest what the author of 'The Shortest Way' said in jest; this is owning that to the sun, which Sir Simon Harcourt said before, was a crime to suggest. Now the blessed days are come that the great truth is owned barefaced; and the party that ruined and abused the author for telling the truth out of season, makes no scruple of taking this as a proper season to tell the same truth in their own way. From this the author observes, every man ought to have the telling of his own story himself; and that book deserved a censure, not that it was untrue, but because it was not spoke by the right person."†

It may be gathered from his own account of the prosecution, that when his enemies had him in their power, they were at a loss to know what to do with him. Doubtful of the consequences of a trial should he enter upon his defence, they were desirous of avoiding the exposure that would result from a conflict with so powerful an adversary. He was therefore advised to throw himself upon the mercy of the queen, with a promise of protection; which induced him to quit his defence, and to acknowledge himself as the author of the accused work. The jury, upon this, found him guilty of composing and publishing a seditious libel; but the Court, having obtained its object, failed him when he stood in need of assistance.

In a work published by him soon afterwards, he expresses his regret that he did not make a vigorous defence at his trial, instead of listening to the advice of the lawyers; his ready acknowledgment of the work being considered tantamount to his pleading guilty. De Foe seems to have been as badly used by his own counsel, as by those of the opposite side; which afforded him just matter of complaint. Indeed, it is impossible not to acquiesce in the justice of his displeasure against those who had undertaken his defence. Nothing but the utmost weakness, or wickedness, on the part of the bar, bench, and jury, can account for the issue of the trial. Such was the animosity that pervaded the rulers of the state, that it is probable nothing would have availed in his defence; for party-feeling pervaded even the seat of justice. This was apparent in the severity of his sentence, which was to the following purpose: That he should pay a fine of 200 marks to the queen; stand three times in the pillory; be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure; and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years.‡

* 'Review,' vi, 454.

† 'Review,' ii, 277-8.

‡ Tutchin has the following remarks upon his sentence, in his 'Observator' for Saturday, the 10th of July, 1703. *Countryman*. Truly, Master *Observator*, I have no very good news for you:

This very infamous sentence reflected much more dishonour upon the Court by which it was pronounced, than upon De Foe upon whom it was inflicted. And so it was considered by many persons at the time ; for he was guarded to the pillory by the populace, as if he was about to be enthroned in a chair of state, and descended from it with the triumphant acclamations of the surrounding multitude. In allusion to this, one of his adversaries has the following couplet :

“ The shouting crowds their advocate proclaim,
And varnish over infamy with fame.”

De Foe has himself told us, “ That the people, who were expected to treat him very ill, on the contrary pitied him, and wished those who set him there were placed in his room, and expressed their affections by loud shouts and acclamations when he was taken down.” It is more important to observe, that during his exhibition he was protected by the same friends from the missiles of his enemies ; and that the mob, instead of pelting him, resorted to the unmannerly act of drinking his health.

“ As round him Philistines adoring stand,
And keep their Dagon safe from Israel's hand.
That, dirt themselves, protected him from filth,
And for the faction's money drank his health.*

Tradition reports, that the machine, which was graced with one of the keenest wits of the day, was adorned with garlands, it being in the midst of summer. The same authority states, that refreshments were provided for him after his exhibition. It was indeed as great a triumph to him as could possibly happen in his existing circumstances, all the odium of his situation being transferred to those who placed him there. As the High Churchmen were in power, he had no lenity to look for, so that the whole sentence was executed upon him with great exactness, and the particulars published in the London Gazette.†

In the midst of his sufferings, De Foe armed himself with a resolution of mind that enabled him to meet them, and to triumph over his enemies. To the fortitude he displayed upon this occasion, Pope has the following allusion in his ‘ Dunciad,’ as ungenerous as it is false :

“ Earless on high stood unabashed De Foe.”

Mr. Daniel De Foe has pleaded guilty to the indictment against him for writing and publishing ‘ The Shortest Way with the Dissenters ;’ and he is sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to pay a fine of two hundred marks, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years. — *Observer*. The court could do no otherwise than convict him, upon his pleading guilty ; *habemus confitentem reum* is very often the voice of courts of judicature ; ‘ tis the case of judges and juries. If Daniel De Foe was in expectation of Coleman's Black Box, he has found a pillory instead of it. I don't trouble my head about the custom of giving the pillory to authors, which is the punishment to bakers. You talked just now of turning author ; have a care of your candle. You see which is the shortest way with authors ; you must all enter yourselves in the regiment of Colonel Foe. The law of England directs that no man shall be fined *ultra tenementum* ; and I make no question but the justice of the court has fined Mr. Foe answerable to his estate. His security for his good behaviour for seven years, no doubt, was rationally considered, as to the legality thereof. For my part, I am only acquainted with the old laws of England, the ancient birthrights and immunities of Englishmen : this I take to be the foundation of new laws.” This is one of the passages for which Tutchin was afterwards prosecuted.

* True-Born Hugonot.

† The ‘ London Gazette,’ No. 3936. Thursday, July 29, to Monday, August 2, 1703.

“ London, July 31. On the 29th instant, Daniel Foe, alias De Foe, stood in the Pillory before the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, as he did yesterday near the Conduit, in Cheapside, and this day at Temple Bar, in pursuance of his sentence given against him at the last Sessions, at the Old Bailey, for writing and publishing a seditious libel, intituled, ‘ The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.’ By which sentence he is also fined 200 marks, to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years, and to remain in prison till all be performed.”

It was a bad taste that placed so ingenious a writer as De Foe in the society of dunces ; but Pope was as defective in judgment as in good feeling, and sported with the character of men, as he was led by the impulse of passion. In another part of his poem, he makes another illiberal allusion to our author and his sufferings, associating him with a name famous in the annals of his country, and a victim also to the rage of relentless churchmen.

“ She saw old Prynne in restless Daniel shine.”*

The author of the ‘Notes to the Dunciad’ seems to doubt the propriety of the association, as he owns him to be “a man of parts ;” and Pope himself appears to have entertained a respect for him as a writer : Spence reports him as giving the following opinion :—“The first part of ‘Robinson Crusoe’ is very good. De Foe wrote a vast many things, and none bad ; though none excellent, except this. There is something good in all he has written.” In reference to this misapplication of satire, Cibber observes, “De Foe can never, with any propriety, be ranked amongst the dunces ; for whoever reads his works with candour and impartiality, must be convinced that he was a man of the strongest natural powers, and lively imagination, and solid judgment, which, joined with an unshaken probity in his moral conduct, and an invincible integrity in his political sphere, ought not only to screen him from the petulant attacks of satire, but transmit his name with some degree of applause to posterity.”

Upon the same point, Hazlitt remarks :—“De Foe’s apparent indifference is easily accounted for, from a consciousness of the *flagrant* rectitude of his case ; but Pope’s imagination had too much effeminacy to stomach, under any circumstances, this kind of petty squalid martyrdom ; nor had he strength of public principle enough to form to himself the practical antithesis of ‘dishonour honourable ;’ the amiable in private life, the exalted in rank and station, alone fixed his sympathy and engrossed his admiration. The exquisite compliments with which he has embalmed the memory of some of his illustrious friends, who stand ‘condemned to everlasting fame,’ are a discredit to his own. His apostrophe to Harley, beginning

‘ Oh soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,
Above all pain, all passion, and all pride,’—

contrasts strangely with the time-serving, vain, versatile, and unprincipled character of that minister. It was a bold step in Pope to put the author of ‘Robinson Crusoe’ into the *Dunciad* at all. Swift also had a fling at him, as ‘the fellow that was pilloried ; I forget his name ;’ and Gay is equally sceptical and pedantic as to his possessing more than ‘the superficial parts of learning.’ We know of no excuse for the illiberality of the literary junto with regard to a man like De Foe, but that he returned the compliment to them ; and in fact, if we were to take the character of men of genius from their judgment of each other, we must sometimes come to a very different conclusion from what the world has formed.”

“When De Foe,” says Mr Chalmers, “had arrived at sixty-five, while he was encumbered with a family, and, I fear, pinched with penury, Pope endeavoured, with repeated strokes, to bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, and as far as it appears, without provocation ; for our author is not in the black list of scribblers, who by attempting to lessen the poet’s fame, incurred the satirist’s indignation. The offence and the fate of Bentley and De Foe were nearly alike. Bentley would not allow the translation to be Homer, and De Foe had endeavoured to bring Milton into vogue seven years ere the ‘Paradise Lost’

* Prynne, it will be recollected, suffered the same punishment in the age before by reason of the relentless animosity of Laud.

and 'Chevy Chase' had been criticised in the *Spectators* and *Tatlers*. Our author had said, in his 'More Reformation ;'

' Let this describe the nation's character,
One man reads Milton, forty Rochester ;
The case is plain, the temper of the time,
One wrote the lewd, the other the sublime.'

"An enraged poet alone could have thrust into the *Dunciad*, Bentley, a profound scholar, Cibber, a brilliant wit, and De Foe, a happy genius. This was the consequence of exalting satire as the test of truth, while truth ought to have been enthroned as the test of satire. Yet it ought not to be forgotten, that De Foe had some sarcasm in his 'System of Magic,' or the Sylphs and Gnomes, which Pope may have deemed a daring invasion of his 'Rosicrucian Territory.'

"Undaunted by all the malignant efforts of his enemies, De Foe's ready pen converted his own punishment into a satire upon its authors. He published on the very day of his exhibition, 'A Hymn to the Pillory,' in which the reader will find satire pointed by his sufferings, generous sentiments arising from his situation, and an unexpected flow of easy verse. In this he had ample revenge upon his enemies ; as the ministry did not think proper to prosecute him for this fresh insult against them, that forbearance was construed a confession of guilt in their former proceedings."

The nature of De Foe's punishment excited much mirth in his enemies, who sported their wit in lampoons and madrigals, in which they endeavoured to hold him up to ridicule, as well as to the hatred of the town. One of them imitated the title of his last work in some doggrel lines, called 'A Hymn to Tyburn ; being a Sequel to the Hymn to the Pillory.' Another lavished his abuse upon him in 'The True-born Hugonot ; or Daniel De Foe, a Satyr ; 1703.' The author, a Jacobite of the genuine breed, speaks of him as the idol of the mob, and the oracle of the city, where he had many friends who stood by him in his adversity. He tells us that the five Kentish Gentlemen, mentioned in a former part of the work, made an effort to intercede with the government in his behalf ; and, also, that two peers visited him in Newgate. With a brazen effrontery he says that the sect to which De Foe belonged should be made answerable for his offences ; and as the party had plenty of money, so they should be heavily fined as the shortest way of reforming them. 'An Equivalent for Daniel De Foe' was the title of another poetical satire. The noted Thomas Brown produced 'A Pleasant Dialogue between the Pillory and Daniel De Foe ;' but it is rather a satire upon "the peevish secretary," than upon De Foe. Ned Ward, in a book written against him shortly afterwards, has the following allusion to his late publication :—

" The pillory was but a hook,
To make him write another book :
His lofty Hymn to th' wooden-ruff,
Was to the law a counter-cuff ;
And truly, without Whiggish flattery,
A plain assault and downright battery."*

The poem quickly passed through several editions, being eagerly read by the people, as well for the wit of the author, as for sympathy with his sufferings. The third edition, "corrected, with more additions," was printed in the same year.

This prosecution, however, had a most disastrous effect upon De Foe's fortunes. Before it occurred, it appears that his circumstances were such as to enable him to keep a coach, and maintain a considerable establishment ; but in consequence of his imprisonment, he could no longer attend to his pantile works, which produced the major part of

* 'Dissenting Hypocrite,' p. 3.

his revenue, and they were consequently given up. Altogether, he lost by this affair, as he tells us, upwards of 3,500*l.*, and was again reduced to ruin, having now a wife and six children depending on him, with no other means for their support than his pen. In this trying situation, the virtue of De Foe was put to a severe test. Had he chosen to desert his principles, and to enlist himself in the service of the government, he might have escaped with a slight punishment, and probably have enriched his family. Whilst his enemies, secretly mortified at the justice and severity of his sarcasm, were treating him with so much rigour, they had the highest opinion of his talents, of which they would have gladly availed themselves. We are told by Oldmixon, that the Earl of Nottingham sent, if he did not go, to him in Newgate, and offered him the mercy of the government, if he would discover who set him on to write his 'Shortest Way.' But this was needless; for all who were acquainted with De Foe, as the same writer observes, "know he needed no setting on to put such a trick upon a party, of whose understandings as well as principles he had no good opinion."

These particulars may serve to refute a calumny propagated against him by Leslie, in his 'Rehearsal';—that he would have made any submission to have been excused the pillory. "Which," says De Foe, "till he can tell the world what submissions they were he offered to make, must stand for one of the most scandalous slanders any man that pretends to truth can be guilty of."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE leisure of De Foe, in the time of his captivity, was not that of idleness or dissipation. Some of his subsequent writings show, that he now stored his mind with those facts relative to the habits and pursuits of the prisoners, which he has detailed with so much nature as well as interest. The low characters that form the subjects of some of his novels, were probably taken from real life, and the sketches drawn at this period of his history. But a part of his leisure was devoted to the composition of some political works, which it will be our business now to notice.

A little before his prosecution, De Foe had amused himself by composing a poem, entitled, 'Reformation of Manners; a Satire: 1702';—and during his confinement, he pursued the same subject, in 'More Reformation; a Satire upon Himself; London, 1703.'

Whilst he was under prosecution, and still uncertain as to what might be its issue, our author sent forth 'The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. London, 1703'; wherein he lays aside the character of a partisan, and assumes that of a peace-maker; stimulated in part, no doubt, by the prospect of his impending trial, and no less by the ill effects that he had witnessed from the intemperance of other writers.

During the early part of De Foe's confinement, some speculating printer or bookseller, taking advantage of his popularity, formed a scheme for collecting his pieces, and publishing them together in a volume for his own benefit. The work was but indifferently executed in every respect; being printed upon coarse paper, and abounding in typographical and other errors. Besides these defects, it comprised only a small portion of De Foe's writings, and included some pieces that he disclaimed. The piracy is thus noticed by Cibber:—"A printer of a bad reputation collected a spurious and erroneous copy of several pieces of De Foe, and entitled them 'The Works of the Author of the True Born Englishman'; and though he was then embroiled with the government for one of the pamphlets which this collection contained, yet had this man the face to print amongst them the same pamphlet, presuming so far upon the partiality of the public resentment, that he should pass with impunity for publishing that very thing for which the author was to be pursued with the utmost severity."

“This, however, was an irresistible testimony that the resentment shown to the author was on some other, and less justifiable account, than the publishing that book ; so was it a severe satire on the unwariness of the ministry, who had not eyes to discern their injustice plainly exposed, and their general proceedings bantered by a printer, for publishing in defiance of them, that same book for which another man stood arraigned.”

Indignant at this barefaced imposition upon the public, and not less at the injury done to himself, De Foe prepared to defeat it, by publishing a genuine collection, with his own impress. This he gave to the world with the following title : ‘A true Collection of the Writings of the Author of “The True-Born Englishman.”’ Corrected by himself. London, 1703.’ 8vo.

The volume comprises twenty-two treatises in prose and verse, being most of the pieces he had formerly published ; but some few are omitted for reasons that he has not assigned. A likeness of the author, engraved by M. Vandergucht, from a painting by Taverner, is prefixed. It is the first portrait of De Foe, and probably the most like him. No portrait can have more verisimilitude, to say the least of it. It exhibits a set of features rather regular than otherwise, very determined in their outlines, more particularly the mouth, which expresses great firmness and resolution of character. The eyes are full, black, and grave-looking ; but the impression of the whole countenance is rather a striking than a pleasing one. Daniel is here set forth in a most lordly and full-bottomed wig, which flows down lower than his elbow, and rises above his forehead with great amplitude of curl. A richly laced cravat, and fine loose flowing cloak, complete his attire, and preserve, we may suppose, the likeness of that civic “gallantry,” which Oldmixon ascribes to Daniel, on the occasion of his escorting King William to the Lord Mayor’s feast. It is altogether more like the picture of a substantial citizen of the “surly breed” De Foe himself has so often satirized, than that of a poor pamphleteer languishing in jail after the terrors of the pillory. It is the portrait prefixed to the present edition.

This collection of his works De Foe introduces to the world with great modesty, in the following ‘Preface to the whole.’ “’Tis not from any opinion I have of the value of my own performances,” says he, “nor from the fondness of appearing in print, having so lately and so unjustly suffered for it, that I have consented to this publication. But it is owing to a certain printer, who had forged a surreptitious collection of several tracts ; in which he had the face to put several things which I had no hand in, and vilely to dismember and mangle those I had, giving the whole a title of collection of my writings ; and his publisher, of the same kidney, to put my name to it, and all this to get a penny, at the price of exposing me and the book in a most uncivil as well as dishonest manner. I have consented therefore to this publication, in order to do myself justice to the world, and that I may not be imposed upon, nor the world abused, by a spurious collection of what I have no legitimate claim to, and an erroneous copy of what I have.

“Before I resolved on this course, I set about correcting the mistakes of the book they have published, till I came to above three hundred errors ; and then being weary of amendment, I resolved to disabuse the world with a corrected copy. Nor is this all the injury done me by this piratical printer, as such are very rightly called who unjustly print other men’s copies ; but I think it is a most unaccountable piece of boldness in him, to print that particular book called, ‘The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,’ while I lay under the public resentment for the same fact. And though the government, indeed, may punish one criminal and let another go free ; yet, it seems a little hard, that I should suffer for printing a book, and another print it in the face of government to get money by it.

“I have no reason to be glad, though it is too true I am a large sufferer for writing

that book, though the government were to quit me to-morrow, which I see no reason to expect ; and it cannot correspond with my sense of justice, that another should have a tacit allowance to repeat the crime. The honesty of the matter I shall not meddle with, because I find it is what the person does not concern himself about, but justifies ; which he can do upon no other foundation than he may the taking my hat from my head, or my purse on the road. These, in short, are the true causes of this publication ; but since it is thus ushered into the world, I must ask leave to make some further use of the book itself.

“ First, with submission to a judgment of charity, I cannot pass for an incendiary. Of all the writers of this age, I have, I am satisfied, the most industriously avoided writing with want of temper ; and I appeal to what is now published, whether there is not rather a spirit of healing than of sedition runs through the whole collection, one misunderstood article excepted. And as to the excepted piece, since the general vogue has condemned it, I submit to censure, but must enter a protestation that my intention was not seditious. I avoid vindicating the measures I took in the method of the argument, and rather acknowledge myself in the wrong than dispute it ; but, however, I might by my ill conduct draw a picture which showed a face, I did not design to paint ; yet, I never designed such a face as should scare mankind, and make the world think me mad. I have been a man of peace and charity, and in all the tracts of this volume I think it will appear ; if I have offended in rhyme, I am ready to own my error when convinced of it. The enemy I have pursued is so, both to God and man. If I have run down vice with too full a cry, still it is as vice, and I am persuaded none but the vicious will be angry ; and for them, like acids in physic, I hope the more it disturbs them the better it will work.

“ I am very sorry to find some gentlemen angry at me for a fault wholly their own, and which, I could not have thought would ever happen. The case is this : they fancy themselves lampooned and exposed, in some characters which were never designed for them ; and so take a coat which never was cut out for that use. The truth is, these gentlemen are satires upon themselves, by fixing the characters, as things which must be suitable, since the likeness was such they could not know themselves from a stranger. I am rather sorry the coat fits them, than that they have called it their own, since their persons were never known to me, before they described themselves in this accident.

“ I am assaulted by two or three gentlemen of another sort, and of no mean quality, who are angry that they are left out in some characters in the satire called ‘ Reformation of Manners ;’ the gentlemen are displeased, thinking I did not suppose them bad enough to be lampooned, in which I must do myself this justice to let them know they were mistaken ; for, indeed, I thought them too bad to meddle with, but that being hardened in all manner of vice, beyond reclaiming, I thought satire, whose end is reformation, had no business with them ; therefore, as it is feared their Maker has done before me, I left them to themselves, that whenever Heaven shall think fit to recover them, they may stand as monuments of wonder, and serve to convince the world that miracles are not ceased.

“ This collection also may disabuse the world, who tacitly charge me with writing disrespectfully of the Queen. I appeal to the book itself ; and as I really never did publish the least clause that way, so I think I never failed, either in verse or prose, to address her Majesty with all the deference of a dutiful subject, and to add so much of the debt due to her exalted merit as I was capable of ; and if I have ever failed, in cases less public, though it can never admit of a proof, I shall not fail of such humble acknowledgments as become me.

“ The vicious party, who are touched too warmly in some of the satires, are most industriously ransacking my character, to make it, if possible, look like themselves ; the meaning is, that being as bad myself, I have really no right to find fault with them. Of

this I might say much, but shall contract it to this short hint—I never pretended to want either sins or misfortunes, and no man is more willing to acknowledge his mistakes, both to God and man, than myself. But I make the complainants this fair challenge, if it can be made appear that I am guilty of any of the crimes for which I have reprov'd, satirized, and animadverted upon others, so far my satire is unjust, and I am an improper person to write it.

“I shall say nothing to the particular subjects treated of in this book, let them answer for themselves; only I think myself obliged to take notice of a clamour raised by some uncharitable people, about my writing against ‘Occasional Conformity,’ and ill treating Mr How.

“As to the first, it has ever been my declared principles, I have endeavoured with a constant diligent inquiry into truth, to come to a true understanding in that case; and, after all, it remains clear to me, that a Dissenter conforming merely to qualify himself for an office, is sinful against God, scandalous to the Dissenters, and will be fatal to their interest, and in all three, I thought myself concerned to bring it upon the stage. They who tax me with being the author of persecution by it, I think deserve no answer; for since occasional communion with the church is their opinion, they are in no danger of persecution: persecution, if ever it happen, as I see no prospect of it, must not be for occasional compliance, but for not complying at all.

“As for my ill-treating a certain gentleman, to whom I wrote a short preface on this head, I appeal to all impartial unbiassed judgments in the world, if there is any just occasion given by me in the said preface for such a reply as that learned gentleman gave me, and I refer to the preface itself; and I farther appeal, if my reply be in anything indecent, or unsuitable to the necessity of my argument, and the respect due to a man of his merit.

“I see nothing remains to say of me, or of my book; they that search for faults may find them plenty, and they that will mend them for me shall always have my acknowledgment for the kindness; but he that would make faults when there is none, has little charity and less honesty.

“But since the world has been pleased to ruffle me a little too severely concerning my own errors, I purpose to visit them shortly with a state of the case between my errors and theirs; not at all to lessen my own, but settle matters between vice and repentance a little; and that they may have no excuse to reject the admonition, because the reprov'er is not an angel; and if all men would but acknowledge their faults as freely as I shall do mine, amendment would certainly follow;

“‘For crimes confess'd are more than half reform'd.’

“D. F.”

Our author's next production, like his ‘Shortest Way,’ was couched in an ironical style. It is entitled ‘King William's Affection to the Church of England Examined.’ London, 1703. Behind a masked battery, he points his ridicule at the high party, with whom the reign of William was a sore subject; nor did the government concern itself in the vindication of his character. Upon this account the writer had nothing to fear, even if he had been ever so serious.

If the design of the writer is not so artfully concealed as in ‘The Shortest Way,’ his sarcasm is sufficiently pointed to convey the bitterest reproach; and the present work must have been an useful auxiliary to that performance, in unmasking the real designs of the party in power. De Foe next published ‘The Sincerity of the Dissenters Vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity.’ London, 1703. This, the best pamphlet he wrote in this controversy, was in reply to a treatise by Mr James Owen, a learned Dissenting minister, under the title of ‘Moderation, a Virtue; or, the Occasional Conformity justified from the Imputation of Hypocrisy.’

Upon the meeting of Parliament, Nov. 9, 1703, the Queen in her speech earnestly desired them to cultivate peace and union, and to avoid heats and divisions which would give encouragement to the common enemies of church and state. The Commons promised obedience ; but the Lords engaged, not only to avoid, but to oppose whatever might tend to create contention amongst her subjects.

The pacific tendency of the Queen's speech presented to De Foe an opportunity for enforcing it, that was not to be resisted. He therefore seized the occasion for publishing 'A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole Nation. 1703.'

De Foe's next pamphlet was entitled 'Peace without Union : by way of Reply to Sir Henry Mackworth's Peace at Home. London, 1703 ;' which, in 1704, was followed by 'Original Right ; or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People.' Next came 'The Dissenters' Answer to the High Church Challenge. 1704 ;' a masterly correction of Leslie, who had just outraged all sense and decency in a virulent pamphlet, entitled 'The Wolf stripped of his Shepherd's Clothing,' which contained much severe animadversions upon our author. This was followed by 'The Christianity of the High Church considered,'—and next came 'Royal Religion ; being some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes.' As notices of the circumstances under which all these works were written precede them in the body of the work, it is not necessary to enter into any description of them here.

In the same year, 1704, our author's prolific pen indited 'An Essay upon the Regulation of the Press,' a subject which had now begun to excite considerable attention, and upon which De Foe also wrote largely in his 'Review.' While fully alive to the abuses of the press, especially the continual practice then in use of pirating popular works, he protested against the revival of a state licenser, which would throw the press into the hands of one party, and place it at the mercy of a hireling, who would be the creature of those who paid him.

The subject which next engaged our author's attention was the aggressions of the Scottish Episcopalian Dissenters on the Presbyterians in that country ; and, besides writing largely upon the controversy in his Reviews, De Foe sent forth a separate pamphlet, entitled 'The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland truly stated. London : 1703.' Our author, who spent much of his time in Scotland, was an eye-witness to the disorders which took place, and the accounts published by him from time to time are deserving the attention of all who are desirous of gaining an accurate acquaintance with the politics of the period.

From Scotland De Foe turned his attention to the state of the Protestants, and more particularly, of the Dissenters, in Ireland, where the same game of high church politics was in play, and with somewhat better success than in the sister kingdom, and upon this subject he now published 'The Parallel ; or Persecution of Protestants the shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.' Here, though De Foe's propensity to satire led him to prefix an ironical title to his work, yet it is written with great gravity and force of argument.

The distressed state of his circumstances it is probable made our prisoner soon feel it necessary to undertake some regular work, by which he might support himself during his confinement ; and the plan which he accordingly laid down for himself, and the manner in which he carried it on for a great number of years, are alike honourable to his judgment and his perseverance.

'The Review,' which he now started, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of literature. Of the nine quarto volumes which constitute this work, De Foe was the sole writer, an unparalleled effort of combined intellect and industry ; especially when it is considered that the publication was issued three times a week without intermission, despite of difficulties and impediments of every description, and amid innume-

rable other engagements of a literary nature. Dr Drake in his 'Essays on the Tatler,' &c., describes the 'Review' in the following terms:—"Contemporary with 'Leslie's Rehearsals,' came forward, under a periodical dress, and of a kind far superior to anything which had hitherto appeared, the 'Review' of Daniel De Foe, a man of undoubted genius, and who, deviating from the accustomed route, had chalked out a new path for himself. The chief topics were, as usual, news, foreign and domestic, and politics; to these, however, were added the various concerns of trade; and to render the undertaking more palatable and popular, he, with much judgment, instituted, what he termed, perhaps with no great propriety, a 'Scandal Club,' and whose amusement it was to agitate questions in divinity, morals, war, language, poetry, love, marriage, &c. The introduction of this club, and the subjects of its discussion, it is obvious, approximated the 'Review' much nearer than any preceding work, to our first classical model."

But the 'Review' was not only superior to its predecessors in the graces of style, and in vigour of intellect, but also in the importance of its matter. To cultivate a taste for polite learning and solid attainments; to diffuse information, and arouse a spirit of inquiry upon political, commercial, and other subjects; to stimulate the improvement of females, as well by a more refined behaviour in the other sex, as by an increased attention to their education; and above all, to give a more decided tone to the moral and religious character of his readers, were the leading objects of De Foe, in the composition of the 'Review.' In the prosecution of his purpose, he often brings sound learning and chastened wit to the aid of acute reasoning; and unites an accurate judgment to the effusions of a mind stored by various and extensive reading. His style is vigorous, shrewd, and often eloquent; and he has some passages that for pathos, dignity, and well-pointed satire, are not exceeded in the writings of his successors. For keenness of satire, tempered with liberality of feeling, and decorum of expression, his work had, probably, no equal.

As it forms part of my plan, in the body of the work, to give a full notice of, and large extracts from, each volume of this extraordinary publication, it will not be necessary for me to occupy space by any further mention of it here.

The reader will elsewhere find an account of the circumstances under which the bill against the occasional conformity of Dissenters was introduced to Parliament, and of its repeated rejection by the House of Lords, at that period the safeguard of popular rights. While this measure was formerly under the consideration of parliament, De Foe had penned some further thoughts upon the subject, with a view to their publication; but the rejection of the measure determined him to suppress them. The subject, however, being still kept alive by the high party, he was induced to change his resolution, and commit his papers to the press. They were accordingly published under the title of 'A Serious Inquiry into this grand Question, Whether a Law to prevent the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise? London: 1704.'

This is one of De Foe's best pamphlets in this fruitful controversy, and evinces much good sense, couched in forcible yet becoming language. As a piece of serious argument it is irresistible; and the adroitness with which he manages it shows that he was a master of human nature, no less than of his subject. Versed in the arts of mankind, he detects the sophisms resorted to by the dishonest to delude the unwary, and penetrates the designs of a party hostile to liberty, unmasking them to the world in their true colours. Having good feeling as well as reason upon his side, he enlists the language of persuasion in the cause of charity and mutual forbearance; whilst, touched with the wrongs of his party, he asserts their just claims with a manly spirit, befitting the cause he had undertaken to defend. His work is an able defence of the doctrine of Toleration in a large and liberal sense.

In the month of April De Foe produced his pamphlet, intitled, 'More Short Ways with the Dissenters. London: 1704.' Instead of adopting the disguise he assumed in a former pamphlet with a similar title, he now told his story in plain and intelligible language. His satire, however, is sufficiently caustic and severe. He was aroused to the attack by the continued insults of the highflying clergy, whose sermons and writings were a series of libels against the Dissenters. The works he had particularly in view, were Wesley's attack upon Dissenting Academies, and an assize sermon of Sacheverell's, preached before the University of Oxford, the Judges and Grand Jury, March the 9th, 1703-4, in which he repeats the slanders of Wesley.

Immediately afterwards, De Foe published 'The Dissenters Misrepresented and Represented. Lond. 1704.' 4to. In this work he points out a variety of particulars in which the Dissenters were calumniated by high-churchmen; and remarks, that they showed themselves better qualified to blacken the characters of others than to clear up their own.

De Foe renewed his attack upon the high party in the month of July, in a work entitled 'A New Test of the Church of England's Honesty. Lond. 1704.' This was designed as a sequel to his former pamphlet, entitled 'A Test of the Church of England's Loyalty,' the object of which was to show that certain churchmen had but indifferent pretensions to that political virtue. In the present performance, he brings forward a charge as little favourable to their morals, and sustains it in a variety of particulars as it regarded their behaviour to the Dissenters.

Our author's next publication was a narrative of the fearful storm which arose in the night of the 27th November, 1703, and which for violence, extent, and duration, as well as for the dismal consequences that accompanied it, was unprecedented in history. It is to the pen of De Foe that we are indebted for the completest account of this visitation. After being frequently announced for publication, it was published towards the end of July with the following title:—'The Storm, or a Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, &c.; London: 1704.' The materials upon which De Foe founded the work consist chiefly of letters from the clergy and other principal inhabitants of the parishes to which the narrative relates. These are mostly presented in their documentary form, which, whilst they give it the stamp of authenticity, prevented those exertions of genius that distinguish the other writings of the author. His work, however, is of the greatest interest. In explaining the natural causes of winds, he shows more science, and in delivering the opinions of the ancients, that this island is more subject to storms than other parts of the world, he displays more literature than he has been generally supposed to possess. He is moreover entitled to the yet higher praise, that he seized that awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion: the being of a God, and the doctrine of future reward and punishment.

CHAPTER IX.

UPON the accession of Harley to office, in the spring of 1704, he wisely judged that a writer of De Foe's talents and perseverance would be of essential service to the new Ministers, if he could be brought to their support; and as his own politics were in the main not dissimilar from those of De Foe, he had reason to expect a more favourable attention to his overtures than his Tory predecessors had received. He accordingly made a private communication to him with that view, but no arrangement seems to have taken place between them, as De Foe continued in prison some months afterwards. It was to this minister's influence, however, that he eventually owed his release. It was most

likely through the same medium that the Queen became acquainted with his merits, and was made conscious of the injustice of his punishment, which she now appeared desirous to mitigate. For this purpose she sent some relief to his wife and family, through her treasurer, the Lord Godolphin; and transmitted to himself a sufficient sum for the payment of his fine, and the expenses attending his discharge from prison.

By this powerful interposition, De Foe obtained his release in the beginning of August, 1704, and through the same interest was employed in several honourable services, which he discharged with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his employers, as we learn from himself.

As well to avoid the town-talk as to breathe a salubrious air after so long a confinement, De Foe immediately retired to Bury St Edmund's, in Suffolk, where he passed some time, amusing his leisure hours by composing new works for the press.

The first publication after his release was a poem, written during his confinement, and adapted to his own circumstances at the time. It is called 'An Elegy on the Author of the "True Born Englishman;" London: 1704,' in the preface to which he complains loudly of the ill-usage he was continually receiving from the pamphleteers of the day.

The successes of the English army, under the Duke of Marlborough, in the preceding summer, had furnished the poets of the age with a prolific subject for the exercise of their muse. De Foe was not backward in contributing his share to the general stock, and produced on the 29th August, 'A Hymn to Victory,' to which are prefixed two pages of dedication to the Queen, also in verse, and to these he has signed his name, a course not usual with him.

De Foe's pen was next exercised upon a subject that needlessly occupied the attention of Parliament, and was made of more importance, both by divines and politicians, than it really demanded.

John Asgill, a gentleman who had already distinguished himself by his learning and ingenuity, having his attention directed to the study of divinity, had adopted a theory upon the subject of death and a future state, which, however absurd, was fortified by precedents, and was, to say the worst of it, but an innocent delusion. Unhappily for himself, he lived at a period when the smallest deviation from orthodoxy was regarded by theologians as an offence that demanded a visitation from the civil power. This irrational mode of confuting error, so disgraceful to learning, and so foreign to the spirit of Christianity, was resorted to in the case of Asgill, who evinced its futility by adhering to his opinions.

The obnoxious doctrine propounded by Asgill, was contained in a pamphlet with the following title: 'An Argument, proving, that according to the Covenant of Eternal Life, revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be translated from hence into that Eternal Life, without passing through Death, although the Human Nature of Christ himself could not be thus translated till he had passed through Death; 1703.' The work was no sooner published than a general clamour was raised against the author as an infidel and a blasphemer, though Asgill had said nothing to warrant these charges. Upon these imputations reaching Ireland, where he had been chosen a member of the House of Commons, an order was made for his expulsion, with a provision that he should be thereafter incapable of sitting in the House.

De Foe took a much better method of confuting his opinions, in a pamphlet published towards the end of September, and entitled 'An Enquiry into the case of Mr Asgill's General Translation; showing that it is not a nearer way to Heaven than the Grave, &c. London: 1704.' This work strongly illustrates, not only the versatility of De Foe's genius, but the solidity of his mind, when attracted to religious subjects. Although trade and politics had engrossed so much of his time and attention, they had not obliterated his early theological studies, for which he always preserved a taste. As

a critic and commentator upon the Scriptures, he often shows great judgment as well as acuteness, and writes with an earnest seriousness that befitted the gravity of his subject. Unlike the railing theologians of his day, he treats a whimsical writer with decency and good manners, confines himself closely to the subject in dispute, and never allows his zeal for orthodoxy to detract from the character, or draw unwarrantable conclusions from the premises of his opponent. Although it was a subject upon which a writer of less seriousness would have employed his wit, he paid more homage to the cause with which it was connected, than to indulge in a talent which he knew so well how to direct upon proper occasions.

De Foe had scarcely escaped from the terrors of a prison, before new scandals were raised by his enemies for the purpose of mortifying him. Whilst he was enjoying himself in his retreat from the bustle of the metropolis, and quietly pursuing his literary occupations, some of the news-writers propagated a report that he was fled from justice, and that warrants were out for his apprehension.

In his 'Review' for October 7, 1704, he gives this account of the affair:—"Whereas, the author of this paper has been, and still is, in the country, upon his extraordinary and lawful occasions, and some persons maliciously and scandalously reported and caused it to be written in news-letters, that he is absconded and fled from justice: he gives this notice to all persons whom it may concern, that he knows no guilt for which he has any occasion to fly; so, as soon as ever he saw in the written news the malice of the world, he took care to give public notice to the government where he is, and shall always be ready to show himself to the faces of his enemies, let the occasion be what it will."

The slander being repeated, he published the following notice in his 'Review' for November 4, in which he traces it to its authors: "Whereas, in several written news-letters dispersed about the country, and supposed to be written by one Dyer, a news writer, and by Mr Fox, bookseller in Westminster Hall, it has falsely, and out of mere malice, been scandalously asserted, that Daniel De Foe was absconded, and fled from justice; that he had been searched for by messengers, could not be found, and more the like scoundrel expressions; the said Daniel De Foe hereby desires all people who are willing not to be imposed upon by the like villanous practices, to take notice, that the whole story is a mere genuine forgery, industriously and maliciously contrived, if possible, to bring him into trouble; that the said Daniel De Foe, being at St Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, when the first of these papers appeared, immediately wrote to both her Majesty's secretaries of state, to acquaint them with his being in the country on his lawful occasions, and to let them know, that on the least intimation from them, he would come up by post, and put himself into their hands, to answer any charge that should be brought against him. That as soon as his business was over in the country, he made his humble complaint of this unprecedented usage to the secretary of state, and had the honour to understand, that no officer, messenger, or other person, had received any order, warrant, or other direction, to search for, apprehend, or otherwise disturb the said Daniel De Foe, or that there was any complaint, or charges brought against him. And further, having been informed, that Mr Robert Stephens, the messenger, had reported that he had an order or power from the secretaries of state, to stop and detain the said Daniel De Foe, and that he made several inquiries after him to that purpose; the said Daniel De Foe hereby gives notice, that as soon as he came to town, and before his application to the secretary of state, he went, and in the presence of sufficient witnesses, spoke with the said Robert Stephens the messenger, as he calls himself, of the press, and offering himself into his custody, demanded of him if he had received any order to detain him; and he denied that he had any such order, notwithstanding he had most openly and in villanous terms, repeated before, that he would detain him if he

could find him, and had in a scandalous manner made inquiries after him. The said Daniel De Foe, having no other remedy against such barbarous treatment, but by setting the matter in a true light, thinks he could do no less in justice to the government and himself, than make this publication; and further, he hereby offers the reward of 20*l*. to any person that will discover to him, so as to prove it, the author and publisher of any of those written news-letters, in which those reports were published, which shall be paid immediately, upon such proof made, at the publisher's of this paper. Witness my hand, DANIEL DE FOE."

CHAPTER X.

THE next subject that engaged the pen of De Foe, was one that still preserves its importance, and will continue to do so, as long as the support of the poor remains an object of legislation.

Towards the latter end of the year, Sir Humphrey Mackworth introduced a bill into the Commons for the employment of the poor; the object of which was to establish in every parish a parochial manufactory, and to provide a fund for its support. Whilst under the consideration of the House it was printed by direction of the member who had framed it; and, having thus become public property, it was open to public scrutiny. From an apprehension that Sir Humphrey had mistaken the right method of remedying the grievance of which he complained, De Foe now penned his masterly treatise, entitled, 'Giving Alms no Charity; and employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation; being an Essay upon this great question, whether Workhouses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for employing the Poor, as now practised in England, or Parish Stocks, as proposed in a late Pamphlet, entituled, "A Bill for the better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c." are not mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to increase the Number and Misery of the Poor. London, 1704.'

This able and well-timed treatise upon an important subject is distinguished alike by comprehensive knowledge, acuteness of penetration, and soundness of judgment; and it may still be perused with advantage. De Foe wrote much upon the same question in his 'Review' both now and afterwards, when the bill, having been rejected by the Lords, was again brought before Parliament.

At the opening of the year 1705, De Foe was in an ill state of health. For some time previously he appears to have laid aside from a regular application to his studies; but occasional intervals of ease enabled him to continue his 'Review,' which met with but slight interruption in its ordinary course of publication. The nature of his illness is not mentioned, but it was of some months' continuance, and remained with him during the whole of January. It is not improbable that his constitution had received a shock by his long confinement.

Upon the Duke of Marlborough's return to England, towards the close of the former year, he was welcomed with that favour and distinction which his splendid services so amply merited. Besides the honour conferred upon him by the state, garlands of praise were prepared for him by the poets of the age. De Foe published upon this occasion, 'The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. London, 1705.' Whilst he eulogizes the Duke for his victories abroad, and makes him second in fame to none but his beloved William, he hails his return as the harbinger of that internal peace to which the nation had been so long a stranger.

De Foe's next publication was entitled 'Party Tyranny; or an Occasional Bill in Miniature, as now practised in Carolina. London, 1705.' This is a treatise in defence of the Dissenters of Carolina, who though they formed the bulk of the population in

that colony were grievously oppressed by the dominant High Church party there. Soon after this appeared, 'Advice to all Parties,' by the author of the 'True-born Englishman. London: 1705;' a tract which had been written a considerable time, and was seized with other papers by the Earl of Nottingham.

In the early part of 1705, De Foe committed to the press a second volume of his writings, containing most of the political pamphlets and satires published by him since the close of his former volume. He announces the collection in the following Preface:—

"The same reasons which obtained upon me to expose to the world some of the loose pieces I had formerly published single, in a stated collection, and a book by themselves, hold good for my proceeding to a second volume, viz. that if I do not, somebody else will do it for me.

"The scandalous liberty of the press, which no man more than myself covets to see rectified, is such, that all manner of property seems prostrated to the avarice of some people; and, if it goes on, even reading itself will in time grow intolerable.

"No author is now capable of preserving the purity of his style, no, nor the native product of his thoughts to posterity, since after the first edition of his work has shown itself, and perhaps sinks in a few hands, piratic printers or hackney abridgers fill the world, the first with spurious and incorrect copies, and the latter with imperfect and absurd representations, both in fact, style, and design.

"'Tis in vain to exclaim at the villany of these practices, while no law is left to punish them. The press groans under the unhappy burthen, and yet is in a strait between two mischiefs.*

"1. The tyranny of a licenser. This in all ages has been a method so ill, so arbitrary, and so subjected to bribery and parties, that the Government has thought fit, in justice to the learned part of the world, not to suffer it, since it has always been shutting up the press to one side and opening it to the other; which, as affairs are in England often changing, has, in its turn, been oppressive to both.

"2. The unbridled liberty of invading each other's property; and this is the evil the press now cries for help in.

"To let it go on thus, will, in time, discourage all manner of learning; and authors will never set heartily about anything, when twenty years study shall immediately be sacrificed to the profit of a piratical printer, who not only ruins the author, but abuses the work.

"I shall trouble myself only to give some instances of this in my own case.

"1. As to the abusing the copy, the 'True-born Englishman' is a remarkable example, by which the author, though in it he eyed no profit, had he been to enjoy the profit of his own labour, had gained about 1,000%.; a book that, besides nine editions of the author, has been twelve times printed by other hands; some of which have been sold for 1d. others 2d. and others 6d., the author's edition being fairly printed, and on good paper, and could not be sold under a shilling. Eighty thousand of the small ones have been sold in the streets for 2d. or at 1d.: and the author, thus abused and discouraged, had no remedy but patience.

"And yet he had received no mortification at this, had his copy been transmitted fairly to the world; but the monstrous abuses of that kind are hardly credible: twenty, fifty, in some places sixty lines left out in a place, others turned, spoiled, and so intolerably mangled, that the parent of the brat could not know his own child. This is the thing complained of, and which I wait with patience, and not without hopes, to see rectified.

* It is said that the vigorous remonstrances of De Foe on this subject procured the Act of Anne, "For the Encouragement of Learning by vesting the Copies of printed Books in the Authors or their assigns."

“ A certain printer, whose practice that way's too well known to need a name, having frequently practised the same thing in particulars, made the first essay in general, and printed a spurious and erroneous copy of sundry things, which he called mine, and entitled them ‘ A Collection of the Works of the Author of the “ True-born English-Man.” ’ ”

“ And though the author was then embroiled with the Government for one of the pamphlets he collected, yet had this man the face to print among them the same pamphlet, presuming so far upon the partiality of the public resentment, that he should pass with impunity for the publishing that very thing for which the author was to be pursued with the utmost severity.

“ This, as it was a full proof, and most undeniable testimony, that the resentment showed to the author was on some other and less justifiable account than the publishing that book, so was it a severe satire on the ignorance and unwariness of that ministry, who had not eyes to see their justice plainly exposed, and their general proceedings bantered by a petty printer, in publishing barefaced, and in defiance of them, that same book for which another man stood arraigned, and was to be exposed.

“ Nor was the insult to the Government all the circumstance of guilt in this publication, but the most absurd and ridiculous mistakes in the copies were such as rendered it a double cheat : first, to the author, to whom it was a most aggravated theft ; first, as it was invading his right, and, secondly, as it was done while he was in trouble, and unable to right himself. Secondly, to the buyers, to whom it was a most ridiculous banter, and mere picking their pockets, the author having, in his first perusal of it, detected above three hundred and fifty errors in the printing, marring the verse, spoiling the sense, and utterly inverting the true intent and meaning.

“ The author having expressed himself, though in decent terms, against the foulness of this practice : the printer having no plea to the barbarity of the fact, justifies it, and says, he will do the like by anything an author prints on his own account, since authors have no right to employ a printer unless they had served their times to a bookseller.

“ This ridiculous allegation seems to me to be as if a man's house being on fire, he had no right to get help for the quenching it, of anybody but the insurer's fire-men.

“ The instance of this case was not worth notice, nor the man touched in it significant enough to mention, were it not at the same time to let the world see the weak reasons given for so fatal a mischief, and a thing so discouraging to all manner of learning and industry, as this exorbitant licence of the press is.

“ It may be inquired here how will you find a remedy for this mischief? How will you have the drones that work none, but devour the labour and industry of the bees, kept out of the hive?

“ It is an unhappiness that, in answering this point, there is not difficulty enough either to excuse the Government in letting it lie so long neglected, or to procure me any reasonable applause for the contrivance.

“ The road is as plain as the table of multiplication, and that a conjunction of parts makes an addition of quantity ; two short clauses would heal all these evils, would prevent seditious pamphlets, lampoons, and invectives against the Government, or at least prevent their going unpunished, and preserve to every man the fruit of his own labour and industry.

“ First. That every author set his name to what he writes, and that every printer or publisher that prints or publishes a book without it, shall be deemed the author, and answerable for the contents.

“ Secondly. That no man shall print another man's copy ; or in English, that no printer or bookseller shall rob another man's house, for it really is no better, nor is it any slander, notwithstanding the aforesaid pretence, to call it by that title.

"I had purposed to have given a short history here of the several tracts in this collection, and something of the reason of them, but I find it too long for a preface.

"The 'Hymn to the Pillory' seems most to require it; the reader is desired to observe this poem was the author's declaration, even when in the cruel hands of a merciless as well as unjust ministry, that the treatment he had from them was unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal.

"As this satire, or poem, call it which you please, was wrote at the very time he was treated in that manner, it was taken for a defiance of their illegal proceedings, and their not thinking fit to prosecute him for it was a fair concession of guilt in the former proceeding, since he was in their power, and, as they thought, not like to come out of it.

"'Tis true some faint show of resentment was made, and the author, though then in prison, never declined the test of it, but they began to see themselves in the wrong from the very first exerting their cruelty and treachery upon this author, and the interest of the party sensibly decayed from that very moment of time.

"Multitudes of occasions have since that served to convince the world that every word of the book he suffered for was both literally and interpretively the sense of the party pointed at, true, in fact, and true in representation, and therefore he cannot but repeat the conclusion as relating to himself, which he has seen made good even to public satisfaction.

"Tell them the men that plac'd him there
Are scandals to the time,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crime."

"I should enlarge on this subject, but that, perhaps, the world may in some proper season be troubled with the journal of all the proceedings, trials, treaties and debates upon that head, and the barbarity as well as folly of their conduct be set in a true light to the world.

"As to the other pieces, the world has seen them so lately in their proper seasons, and the subjects are so plain, I think 'tis needless to say anything more to them; let them speak for themselves.

"D. F."

The articles in the volume are eighteen in number. It has the following advertisement:—"Advertisement of a spurious edition of the first volume of the works of the author of 'The True-born Englishman.' There being a pretended collection of some of those tracts, published under the same name, it is thought fit to give notice, that there are several things inserted in the said book which were not his, and those that are, being full of errors, omissions, and mistakes, which in many places invert the sense and design of the author. N. B. The true collection contains above double the number of tracts that were printed in the pirated edition, as is at large mentioned in the preface to the second edition lately published with additions. Corrected by himself. Price, bound, 6s." His works came to a third edition in 1710, with the addition of a key. The satire being now pointed by the specification of characters, and obscurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumstances, a numerous class of readers were induced by their zeal of party, or desire of scandal, to look for gratification from our author's treatises. He complains, that his writings had been most neglected of them, who at the same time have owned them useful.

De Foe now employed himself in composing a political satire in prose, which he published the 26th of March, under the title of 'The Consolidator; or Memoirs of sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. London: 1705.' This is by no means one of De Foe's best performances, but it deserves notice, if on no other account, for this reason, that it certainly contains the first hints of many of the ideas which Swift, many

years afterwards, embodied in Gulliver, particularly in his account of Laputa, the book-making machine, &c. &c. It contains, moreover, a great many bye-hits against all the authors of the time, from Dryden to Tim. D'Urfey.

Our author next sent forth 'The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters exemplified. Being the case of Mr Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister in the Isle of Ely, and a full account of his being sent for a Soldier by Mr Fern (an Ecclesiastical Justice of Peace) and other Conspirators. 1705,' the subject of which is sufficiently explained in the title.

It was about this time also, that De Foe committed to the press 'The Dyet of Poland,' a political satire levelled at the late ministers. In point of merit, this is one of De Foe's best poetical satires. Although in general it partakes of the same uncouthness that characterizes the rest of his poetry, yet there are some well-turned passages, and his characters are drawn with animation.

The masked battery from behind which De Foe had issued his missiles against the Tories did not secure either the author, or his object, from detection. His poem was reprinted with annotations and animadversions, under the following title: 'The Dyet of Poland, a Satire, considered paragraph by paragraph. To which is added, a Key to the whole, with the names of the Author, and the Nobility and Gentry that are scandalously pointed at in it. Lond. printed and sold by Ben. Bragge, in the year 1705.' 8vo. The work was also handled with great severity by another writer, in 'The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated.'

Whilst De Foe was preparing his 'Dyet of Poland,' he was appointed by Harley to execute some mission, of a secret nature, which required his presence upon the continent. Of the nature of the service it is now impossible to give any account; but it appears to have been attended with some danger, and to have required his absence for about two months. The minister, who was well acquainted with his enterprising character, was justified in his choice, by the able and fearless manner in which he discharged his trust; and he appears to have been so well satisfied, that upon his return he procured him an appointment at home as a reward for his services. Before his departure he had several interviews with Harley, and a letter written by him to that minister, but a few days before, is still preserved in the British Museum. It is as follows:—

"Sir,—I cannot but retain a very deep sense of the candour and goodness wth w^{ch} you rec^d me last night. The perticulars, Sir, admitt of no epithets to illustrate y^m; it remaines to me onely to tender you all y^e acknowlegem^t of a grateful temper highly obliged. Pursuant, Sir, to y^e plainness I have yo^r leave to use, the enclosed papers are written for y^r perusall. They are observations from y^e discourse of y^e town on y^e affair of y^e fleet; 'tis an unhappy subject, and I assure you there is much less than is discoursed on that head. I have onely one thing to premise, and which I entreat you to believe of me—that I have no manner of personal design as to Sir George R——; I neither kno' him, nor am concerned with him, or wth any that does kno' him, directly or indirectly. I have not the least disrespect for him, or any personal prejudice, on any account whatsoever. I hope you will please to give full credit to me in this, otherwise it would be very rude and presuming to offer you y^e paper. I am preparing wth joy to execute your commands for Thursday next, and furnishing myself with horses, &c.; and entreat y^e liberty, since y^e time is short, and I cannot expect to see you often, of troubling you the more wth my visits of this sort, and fill you wth my short requests. First S^r that you will be pleased to order y^r letter of leave for Mr *Christopher Hurt*,* [probably a name he assumed for the occasion] to be absent on his private affaires for two months or more. That you will please to think of some instrucion for my speciall conduct; and whether it may not be proper for me to have something about me like a certificate, pass, or what you think fit, to prevent being questioned, searcht, or detained, by any accident, w^{ch} often

happens on the road ; the nature and manner of such a thing I remit to y^r judgment. It will be very necessary that I should be provided against y^e impertinence of a country justice. The poem, S^r of y^e Diet of P—d, I omitted to mention to you last night ; but certainly t'will be very necessary to carry into y^e country with me ; and as I am sure of its being very usefull, I cannot but importune you to let me perfect it, and turn it abroad into the world. I expect strange effects from it as to y^e house. The other papers which I purposed to furnish, I referr, wth y^r license to send you per post : Perticularly some notes relating to y^e Parliam^t and a scheme of an office for secret intelligence, at home and abroad. This last, as I kno' you are not ignorant of the vallue, y^e magnitude, and necessity of y^e design, wth y^e want of such a thing in this naⁿion, so I shall tak while I am abroad to finish a perfect scheme, and such a one as I hope you will approve and put in practice ; that, if possible, the affaires of all Europe may lye constantly before you in a true light, and you may kno' what is a doing all over Europe, even before 'tis a doing ; and in this weighty particular go beyond all that ever were in that place before you. I confess S^r I had the enclosed papers in my pocket when I was wth you, but was unwilling to rob myself of so much of y^r obliging conversation as to produce y^m. I commit y^m to your serious thoughts as a subject (pardon me if I think amiss), not at all trivial, and at present much wisht for in y^e naⁿion. When I, S^r, take the freedom to lay any of these things before you, 'tis for you to judge from as you think fit ; I hope you will not find me assuming either a positive determinatⁿ, or so much as arguing absolutely ; I may mistake, the whole town may mistake ; though in this case I doubt they do not. However, I am forward to lay such things before you, because I cannot but think 'tis necessary you should kno' in this, as well as anything else, what the people say.

I am, S^r,

Y^r most obed^t. &c."

CHAPTER XI.

THE length to which political parties now carried their animosities was strikingly exemplified in the personal treatment of our author. For the freedom with which he spoke his mind against the temper and conduct of the high flyers, he was not only subjected to their scandal and abuse, but even threatened with violence. Writing in July this year, he says, " 'Twould reflect upon the nation in general, should I give the particulars of about twenty or thirty letters, most of which threaten my life ; so that they would think England coming into the mode of Italy." To these angry persons he says, " Let them step to Maidstone jail, and there discourse a little with their brother-murderers ; and if their condition pleases them, let them follow their steps if they can. Indeed, gentlemen, the mean, despicable author of this paper is not worth your attempting his correction at the price. Gaols, fetters, and gibbets, are odd, melancholy things. For a gentleman to dangle out of the world in a string has something so ugly, so awkward, and so disagreeable, that you cannot think of it without regret ; and then the reflection will be very harsh, that this was for killing a poor mortified author, one that the government had killed before. It can never be worth your while ; and, therefore, he hopes you will let him alone to time and age, which are hastening upon us all, and will certainly at last do the work to your hand."

But little regardful of these threats, he says, " I move about the world unguarded and unarmed ; a little stick, not strong enough to correct a dog, supplies the place of Mr O——r's great oaken towel ; a sword, sometimes, perhaps, for decency, but it is all harmless, a mere nothing, and can do no hurt anywhere but just at the tip of it,

called the point : and what is that in the hand of a feeble author ? Let him alone, gentlemen, and have patience : you will all come to be of his mind ere long ; and then, if you had killed him, you will be sorry for it.”*

Besides threats of personal violence, his enemies resorted to other methods of ill-usage. Crowds of sham actions and arrests poured in upon him ; debts in trade, of seventeen years’ standing, and compounded for, were revived ; writs were taken out without the knowledge of the creditor, and sometimes after he had been paid ; assignments of debts were eagerly sought for and purchased ; and collateral bonds sued where the securities had been resigned. “It would take up too much of the reader’s time,” says he, “to trouble the world with the barbarous treatment of a man just stripped naked by the government ; should I descend to particulars, they would be too moving to be read.” In the number of reports raised to injure him, it was given out that he had been taken to Newgate ; and he tells us, that some persons were so kind as to go there to visit him. “Common compassion,” says he, “would lead most men to pity those who have been ruined by any public disaster ; but this lot must be expected by all who venture in plainness, and without flattery, to tell men their crimes ;” and, as he was determined not to restrain his pen from writing the truth, he had confidence “that the Author of Truth will, one time or other, own the work, if not the unhappy author.”

In another place, he says, “I am not going to move the compassion of anybody by telling the ungrateful particulars how the unhappy author is treated ; how his life is threatened by bullying letters ; his creditors roused to a general prosecution of him for debts, though under former treaties and agreements ; as if he was more able to discharge them now, reduced by a known disaster, and ruined by a public storm, than before, when in prosperous circumstances he was gradually clearing himself of everybody, and all waited with patience, being themselves satisfied ; how his morals were assaulted by impotent and groundless slanders ; his principles cried down by envious friends, as well as malicious enemies. His endeavours for the public advantage thus prove none to himself ; his family and fortunes sink under his constant attempts for his country’s welfare ; and all this for inviting you to peace, for telling you what sort of people obstruct it, and for answering the impudent attempts of the nation’s enemies to break and divide us.”†

Dismissing the terrors of a jail, and the threats of assassination, from the first of which he looked to the law for protection, and was willing to venture the last, he proceeds to inform us, that his enemies opened upon him the more harmless battery of banter and ridicule. Annoyed by his perseverance, and stung by his satire, they were desirous that he should lay down his paper, and it was for that purpose they resorted to so many engines of persecution ; but they failed in their object. Undeterred by their threats, and neglecting their contempt, he defies their malice, and laughs at its impotency. Secure in the strength of his cause, he armed himself at all points for their attacks, and showed an undaunted resolution to meet them. In his arguments for peace and charity, for a respectful demeanour to superiors, for the toleration of religious opinions, and for the civil rights of mankind generally, he had greatly the advantage of his opponents. If he was inferior to some of them in learning, he was superior in the more useful branches of knowledge, having a competent acquaintance with the history and opinions of mankind, and the talent of applying it to practical purposes. Having the full command of his temper, he triumphs over the loss of it in his adversaries, and employs his sarcastic powers against them with irresistible effect. In pleading the cause of moderation, he says, “Without doubt, they that believe civil dissention, strife, and oppression, to be needful for this nation’s happiness, differ from me, and I from them ; and I doubt we shall always do so. Now, if these gentlemen will prove that the laws for the prose-

* Review, ii. 213, 14.

† Review, ii. 215.

‡ Review, ii. 377, 378.

cution of Dissenters, that feuds and breaches in the legislature, that heats and animosities of parties, are particularly for the public service, I confess, all my notions of things are wrong; for indeed I did not know that when our Lord said, 'a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand,' that the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were excepted out of the rule, with a *cujus contrarium verum est*."*

"I have been told that 'tis no wonder all the threatenings, sham actions, and malicious prosecutions I speak of, are practised upon me, since I am pushing at a party in daily lampoons, ballads, and clandestine scandals; and that I must expect no other till I lay down this paper, and all other scribbles of such a nature; and if I am really for peace, I should show all the hackney authors of the town that I am so, by laying down the weapons first, to show them a good example. I have frequently answered this, as to all the papers cried about in my name, assuring the world they have none of them been wrote by me. The suggested scandals of these things increase the crime of them; and I have been wholly unconcerned at the injury of it, not dreaming my worst enemies could so far injure their judgments as to father on me the crowds of doggrel mischief the world abounds with.

"As to laying down the pen or discontinuing the subject I am upon, though I claim a privilege to be judge when I think I ought to go backward or forward, yet to answer the proposal as to a cessation of pen and ink debates, I shall make them a fair offer, which he that gives himself the trouble to move me in it, may make use of to the other party. Whenever he will demonstrate they are inclined to peace; whenever the High Church party will cease tacking of bills, invading the toleration, raising ecclesiastical alarms against the dissenters and Low Church; will cease preaching up division, persecution, and ruin of their Protestant brethren; when all the crowd of High Church advocates, *Rehearsers, Observers, Reflectors, Whippers, and Drivers*, will declare a truce;—when these conditions may be observed, I fairly promise to be so far contributor to the public peace, as to lay this down, and turn the paper to the innocent discourses of trade, and the matters of history first proposed. Indeed, I must do so, as a matter of course; for the peace will then be made, the end answered, and consequently the argument useless."†

During the summer, De Foe took a journey into the west of England, but whether upon any public service, or for his private business, does not appear. All that he tells us is, "That he was upon a journey about his lawful occasions, accompanied by a friend, and his friend's servant, and that he met with several unmanly and unreasonable insults upon the road." The High Church party no sooner got scent of his presence than they devised means to get rid of him. Whilst at Weymouth, his letters being delivered to a wrong person, were shown about the town; and a friend having written in one of them, "as a piece of news, and too true, that a certain person had the impudence to say, that the queen had broken her coronation oath, and the like," the wise mayor of the town, imagining there was treason in the business, examined such persons as had conversed with our author, and had them conveyed to the assizes at Dorchester; but the judge soon dismissed them. Notwithstanding this rebuff, the mayor thought fit to send an account of the matter to one of the secretaries of state, who made no return to his officiousness.

The story, being transmitted to Exeter, was sufficiently magnified in that Tory city, where some malicious persons misleading the judge, occasioned him to remark in his charge to the jury that many seditious persons were come to stir up the country, and disturb the peace; with directions to apprehend them. The enemies of De Foe immediately spread a report that the judge had particularised him by name, and issued an order for his apprehension. Being then at Bideford, and hearing the news, he resolved

* Review, ii. 215.

† Review, ii. 221, 2.

to present himself before the mayor of the town ; but he being absent, he applied to the next principal magistrate, offering himself to justice, if any man had any matter of accusation, that he might meet it to his face. Being dismissed, as reason required, he proceeded to Tiverton, where he learnt that a warrant had been issued against him by a justice of the name of Stafford, who lived near Crediton, and ordered that he might be brought before him. As the warrant did not state any information upon oath, De Foe contented himself with sending him a letter, acquainting him where he was, which way he was going, and the names of the towns where he intended to stay. But no further notice was taken of him.

In allusion to this 'Much ado about Nothing,'* he says, "He cannot but laugh at the wisdom and courage of a country justice, who, having carefully issued out his warrant for the author, after he could not but know he was gone, and searched every house but that where he lodged, showed his folly and his temper both at a time. Had these wise gentlemen designed really to have come to hand, as they call it, with the author, nothing was more easy. A small difficulty would make it out that they knew which road he was gone, and to what towns ; but, like the famed hero that always looked for his enemy where he knew he could not be found, they sent their warrants just the contrary way, having more desire that it should be said they granted a warrant, than that they had executed it." The information was upon the charge of dispersing libels ; but so innocent was he of this, that he offered to go down from London on purpose, if the justice would undertake to commit him upon his warrant. Nothing arms a man so securely against the shafts of malice as conscious innocence ; and De Foe found it to be his safeguard in the day of trial. He says, "he had learnt long since to condemn the curse causeless, and to slight the malice of men who fly in the face of truth, and hate the author merely because he moves them to that peace which is their only happiness."†

Towards the end of the year there appeared a tract with the following title :—'A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs Bargrave, at Canterbury, the 8th of September, 1705, which Apparition recommends the perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fear of Death. London, 1705.' When Drelincourt's book first appeared in the English language the publisher was disappointed in the sale, and being a heavy work, he complained to De Foe of the injury he was likely to sustain by it. Daniel asked him if he had blended anything marvellous with his pious advice, which the bookseller answered in the negative. "If you wish to have your book sell," replies he, "I will put you in the way of it ;" and he immediately set down and composed the story of the Apparition, which was made to recommend Drelincourt's book, and has been appended to every subsequent edition. After this, there was no complaint for want of a sale ; and since then the work has passed through more than forty editions.

In this extraordinary narrative, rendered so by its mode of execution, no less than by the occasion that produced it, De Foe gave an earnest of those inventive powers which he afterwards exercised upon more interesting subjects.

The year 1706 was opened by De Foe with 'A Hymn to Peace, occasioned by the two Houses joining in one address to the Queen ;' a poem in Pindaric verse, a metre much in vogue at that time, and strongly reprobated by Johnson.

In the early part of the year a bill was brought into the Commons, entitled, 'An Act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts.' De Foe, who appears to have had a con-

* There was printed at this time a half sheet, entitled 'A Great Noise about Nothing ;' to which a rejoinder was made in some doggrel lines, called 'An Answer to the Great Noise about Nothing ; or, a Noise about Something. 1705 ;' also, a half sheet, 4to.

† Review, ii. 301—4.

siderable hand in forwarding the measure, both by his writings and his personal solicitations, bestows some useful remarks upon it in his 'Review.'

It appears that some of the members opposed the bill for the sake of the retrospective part; and there were strong reasons to suspect them of being influenced by personal motives. To such, De Foe says, "It is very hard to make men more criminal because they fell into the pit a year or so before their neighbours. This is singling out some men from the rest, and making a difference of persons where there is no difference of crime." De Foe had a strong impression that this clause was opposed by some persons with a particular view to himself; and he attended in the lobby of the peers, with the intention of proposing that his own interests should be sacrificed by a specific provision, rather than that he should stand in the way of so useful a measure.*

The Bill, having passed the Lords, received the royal assent the 19th of March. It is highly praised by De Foe, who calls it one of the best bills passed by parliament since the *Habeas Corpus* Act. The only clause to which he objected was, that which empowered the commissioners to withhold from the bankrupt his certificate, without assigning a cause for it; a discretion which he considered too important, when viewed in connexion with the dependent situation of the sufferer.

After the rising of Parliament, De Foe published his thoughts on the subject in a separate pamphlet, entitled—'Remarks on the Bill to prevent Frauds committed by Bankrupts; with Observations on the Effect it may have on Trade. London, 1706;' an able review of the whole question.

A victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough over the French forces in the spring of this year inspired the muse of De Foe, with a poem 'On the Fight of Ramillies,' which occupied the whole of the 'Review' for the 21st of May. The suddenness of the victory, before it could be imagined that the troops could be brought together, diffused a general feeling of surprise and exultation. De Foe informs the reader that his poem cost him but three hours in composing. The Queen having appointed the 27th of June as a day of thanksgiving, when she went in procession to St Paul's, our author devoted his 'Review' for that day to another poem upon the subject.

Early this summer De Foe also contributed a preface to a new edition of a popular work which had been often printed for the Non-conformists in behalf of their principles. entitled 'De Laune's Plea for the Non-conformists.' De Foe's object in reviving the work at this time was "to let the world see the necessity of toleration, the mischief of persecution, and that there are better reasons to be given for the Dissenters differing from the Church of England than some people imagine."

The publication of this work brought upon our author a host of enemies, who accused him of exposing the church, by recounting her former ill-treatment of the Dissenters.

* Concerning this affair De Foe writes thus:—"I will not be positive how far this may affect one particular gentleman, whom, in respect to himself, I forbear to name, and who has a relation in either House of Parliament; who, as I am informed, pursues this bill to destroy it, merely as he thinks it will be of service to the author of this paper, against whom he has a legal though no equitable demand. But, as I am credibly informed, he has expressed himself something plainly by the mouth of his said relatives in this case, I humbly make him this offer:—1. That waiving his advantage of law, which was obtained when the author was embroiled in a public disaster and not able to defend himself, he is ready to come to a hearing in equity of the justice of his debt, and to give him good security to stand by the award. 2. That if his debt be real, which is in itself small, it would be but a weak argument against the bill, since some to whom he owes thirteen times as much gave their attendance daily at the House to declare their willingness to have it pass. And lastly, such is my sincere zeal for the public benefit of this clause, and my just concern for the number of families that will be relieved by it, that I attended at the House of Lords myself, ready to have declared my willingness to be excepted out of it, rather than so necessary a bill should have been lost for want of my being removed out of the way."

To this he replies, in his 'Review' for July 4, "That the Dissenters were persecuted, plundered, and murdered in gaol, there is no room to deny. To say, it was not for their religion, because they might meet five in a place, is a most miserable shift, and merits no answer. Assembling themselves together, which the Scripture commands them not to forsake, can never be understood to signify five in a place; a pretty sort of liberty indeed! For obeying this command of God rather than man, they were persecuted, fined, jailed, plundered, and murdered; and this I call persecution for religion, let others call it what they please. I forbear entering into the list of the 8,000 I mentioned, which is not hard to procure if Mr White be inquired of; but I bury the memory of it in silence, as the law has buried the practice in a legal toleration. There are some gentlemen, indeed, who appear angry at this, and would account it a sufficient toleration to have the Dissenters gratified with that wonderful liberty of meeting five at a time." Those who supposed that this complaint of persecution was an arrow shot at the church, he observes, "did both him and the church great wrong; for he always considered it a state plot, invented for the purpose of embroiling the two parties, although too many of the clergy and other persons fell in with it. Those who brought the charge against him, therefore, really attacked the church themselves; the general body being far from accountable for all the actions of those who call themselves members of her communion."

De Foe had long been meditating a work of considerable extent which should embody his notions on government in a poetical dress, and in his 'Review' for July 18, the 'Jure Divino' is announced for publication upon the following Saturday; and in the same paper is an advertisement, warning the public against a pirated edition, of which notice had been given. In his number for 27th July he announces the actual publication of the spurious work; and in that for August 3, he again advertises it with a proper exposure of the imposition. The genuine work bears the following title, 'Jure Divino, a Satire, 1706, folio.' As a political argument the work is triumphant, but the poetry is not entitled to much commendation.

This year brought along with it a revival of our author's troubles, arising out of his former engagements in business. In consequence of the act lately passed for the relief of debtors, De Foe surrendered to the Commissioners, who investigated his accounts in order to his discharge. This was opposed upon some frivolous pretences by an unprincipled lawyer, employed, it seems, by creditors equally unprincipled. The affair, however, will be best understood as related by himself, and it unfolds a melancholy tale of his misfortunes. The 'Review' for August 20, 1706, contains the following extraordinary narrative:—

"I confess myself surprised at my own affair, and should not have troubled the world with it, if it was not something peculiar, and that was never heard of before. Several debtors have been used hardly by creditors, and their discharge vigorously opposed; but was ever the world so mad? The unhappy author of this, claiming a discharge from old misfortunes, by a clear surrender as by law directed, finds himself opposed,—not by those he owes money to, but by those who owe him money; not by those who by disaster are wronged, but by those who have wronged, cheated and plundered him of the money which should have helped to discharge others; to whom he never owed a shilling, of whom he never borrowed, but to whom he always lent; and who have actually defrauded him of near 500*l.* advanced in compassion to save them from destruction. Would any unhappy man have looked for opposition from such people as these? Has any bankrupt been thus treated before?

"In the behalf of these people a certain lawyer opposed the discharge of the unhappy insolvent, with a fury and malice singular to himself, and suitable to the cause. I should indeed have done him justice, and told the world, he was at last so ashamed of his clients as to disown them, and say he appeared for another, who was really a

creditor; but then I must be obliged to expose his morals, the gentleman he named having since declared, before good witness, he gave him no orders, and was under a promise not to appear. If the truth of this be questioned, and it be doubted whether there are any such monsters in the world, the reader may at any time have the persons and particulars; for I scorn to conceal names in a charge so direct as this. If this has not in it all the villany of abstract malice, I know not where to search for it, and hope no real creditor of mine can be offended, either that I then told him so, or that I now publish it to the world; the first, to convince them how this man's design is to screen those whom the creditor ought to call to account for above 400% of their money; and the last, to let the world know what monsters there are in it. If this paper should acquaint the world how these people have hitherto treated its author; how they have seized upon his writings, left only in trust; how conveyed away their relation, a partner, that he might not be an evidence, and compounded his private debts for him without which he would not go; how they have sued for bonds given and afterwards discharged in partnership, and sued in the name of the persons to whom they were paid, without their knowledge; how, after beginning a suit, they have not dared to go on, and after proposing a reference, have not dared to stand to it, though accepted, and offered to be determined by their own arbitrator: if I should run into all these particulars, the story would be too black to read.

"I ask pardon of the unconcerned part of the world, that this paper should take up any of their time in reading the melancholy story of my private oppressions; and I break it off here, because I propose to lay it wholly open to the world by itself; where the persons concerned may reflect upon the methods taken by them or their lawyer, for I question if they are privy to it at all, to ruin the family of a man that twice endeavoured to save theirs." De Foe resolves the opposition to him into mere spleen, and says, "As to the lawyer's declining afterwards to own he appeared for these people, and affirming he appeared for another, 'tis plain it was a forgery of his own, to prevent his being turned out of the room with the infamy he deserved. That gentleman has since owned, as by his affidavit will appear, that he gave him no orders, nor had any such design. If by such art and fury I fall, let no man wonder; for who can stand against envy? who can resist refined malice?"

"This case gives a sad instance of the madness of the age; wherein nothing but the entire destruction of the debtor and his family can expiate the crime of his own disaster. Having been fourteen years in retreat, in jeopardy, in broils, and most of the time in banishment from his family, he had swallowed up all he had gained, though that has been very considerable, in the gradual payment of his creditors, and in defending himself against those who would have it, not only faster than their fellow-creditors, but faster than it could be got. They have since seen him stripped naked by the government, and the foundations torn up, on which he had built the prospect of paying his debts and raising his family. And yet, now, when by common reasoning they ought to believe the man has not bread for his children, they have redoubled their attacks with declarations, executions, escape-warrants, and Gods knows how many engines of destruction. As if a gaol and death would pay their debts; as if money was to be found in the blood of a debtor, and they were to open his veins to find it.

"That bind the ready hands of industry,
Pinion the willing wings, and bid men fly;
Resolv'd to ruin me the Shortest Way,
They strip me naked first, then bid me pay."

"But this is not yet all. For, though I confess I did not expect it, yet, as some whisperings have been spread of a further plot, even against the life of this unhappy debtor, and that amongst his friends, he cannot but take notice of it here, as what he

thinks the only proper season, as it is indeed one of the chief reasons of this publication. It is no other than a vile and scandalous suggestion, that he made concealments to defraud his creditors; or, in plain English, has not made a fair surrender of his effects. Now, if this be true, he must be the greatest fool as well as knave, knowing how many bloody enemies, as well as base and hypocritical friends, he is encompassed with. But, if it be not true, it is a most vile and barbarous scandal. Omissions are certainly possible; the author is no more infallible than other men. He may, and 'tis much if he has not, in the life of constant hurries that he has lived, have erred in some part of his account; and if this is your charge, if you are men of like frailties, and whose case may one time or other want the like charity—if you have anything left in you that is human—if any compassion for a man in danger, with a family of seven children, that must perish in his disaster, inform him of it, and show him this gulf of destruction before it be too late. If this is not the point, if it be a snare or an advantage you have gotten to expose, and as far as in you lies, to ruin and disappoint him, pray come in with your charge at the meeting, and let it appear. But, if it be nothing but blood, and death is in your imagination, know, gentlemen, the murder is already committed, and your guilt determined in the intention. But, as to himself, he frankly defies your attempt, as he is out of fear at your rage. He has already appealed to sovereign truth in his case, and willingly throws himself into the hands of justice, fairly challenging all the malice of hell, and the rage of men, to fasten the crime upon him.”*

Having placed his affairs in a train for settlement, as far as he was able, he resolved to quit a scene that was productive of so much disquiet and vexation. His steps were now directed to Scotland, where we afterwards find him actively employed in promoting the union. But, before his arrival there, he had to encounter fresh scenes of persecution; they are thus related by him:—

“I was no sooner upon my own affairs come out of London, with a design to travel for some time, but these sons of slander reported I was fled; and having nothing to fix a flight upon, it must be for debt. This, however, would not hold, having, just before this pretended flight, made a full, free, and honest surrender of all my affairs which the law directed, and this after four severe trials upon oath. Then I was fled from the resentment of a certain eminent and honourable person, at something printed in the ‘Review,’ and for which the printer and publisher were called to answer. But this slander was, unhappily for its author, contradicted, in that the paper so giving offence was not written till since I left London. And, as I have on all occasions declared, I had not the least thought of reflecting on that honourable person, so had I offended him, I am too sensible of his lordship’s candour and justice to have fled anywhere but to himself; and I would have entirely submitted to ask his lordship’s pardon in the humblest manner, making all the satisfaction either his clemency or his justice should have awarded.

“But neither of these things happening to hold water, then it comes out that I have given in a wrong statement of my affairs.” De Foe here publishes a letter sent to the commissioners, the purport of which was that some nameless person could discover an estate of 400*l.* per annum, belonging to De Foe, which he had omitted in his schedule; but, before he revealed the secret, he expected the expenses of his journey to be defrayed, and a reward secured to him, of which notice should be given in the Gazette. Upon this malicious hoax he observes, “This gentleman had been unknown till now, for any answer that had been given to so plain a sham; because, had D. F. 400*l.* per annum, he would certainly have had no creditors to surrender to; and the money to be paid before the discovery intimated so much of a cheat, that it was not worth an advertisement in the ‘Gazette,’ which would have cost ten shillings to answer such a fellow, who was left

to go on with his discovery his own way. But since he, or some other person like him, has taken upon him to raise such a report, I shall answer in short—that if any man can make out any concealment, fraud, or wilful reserve of anything relating to my account or effects surrendered, and pleases to offer proof of it, in whatever nation, kingdom or country I may happen to be, I will, on the first notice, come to England, and put myself into the hands of justice, to suffer whatever the law shall inflict. In the meantime, I beg of all impartial persons who regard the reputation and character of an injured and innocent man, that they will treat such stories with the contempt they deserve till fair proof be made ; and this is all the favour I ask.—D. F.”*

CHAPTER XII.

THE most important subject that occupied the attention of Parliament, and of the nation in the year 1706-7, was the union with Scotland. In the success of this measure De Foe was warmly interested, and he discovered his zeal by composing and publishing a variety of works ; in some of which he exhibited its policy and utility, and in others replied to the arguments of its opponents.

As De Foe had resided a considerable time in Scotland, he had ample opportunities for making his observations upon the country and its inhabitants ; and the result was favourable to both. In debating the Union, he says—“Those who fancy there is nothing to be had there but wild men and ragged mountains, storms, snows, poverty, and barrenness, are quite mistaken ; it being a noble country, of a fruitful soil and healthy air, well seated for trade, full of manufactures by land, and a treasure great as the Indies at their door by sea. The poverty of Scotland, and the fruitfulness of England, or rather the difference between them, is owing not to mere difference of climate, or the nature of the soil ; but to the errors of time, and their different constitutions. And here I must tell our friends in England, who are so backward to set their country free, and so willing to enslave us again, that the different face of the two countries, to whoever will please to survey them as I have done, is the best lecture upon politics. All the land in England is not fruitful, nor that in Scotland all barren. Climate cannot be the cause ; for the lands in the north of Scotland are in general better than the lands in Cornwall, which are near six hundred miles south of them ; but liberty and trade have made the one rich, and tyranny the other poor.”†

In prospect of the intended union, he devoted one of his ‘Reviews’ to a poem upon the subject, entitled, ‘Peace and Union.’ His rhyming genius being as prolific as the subject, it produced two other poems, which appeared in some subsequent numbers. But he rendered more important services to the promoters of the measure by his publications in prose. The act of security, which had been lately revived in Scotland, and conceded by the necessities of the English ministers, had caused much unnecessary alarm amongst the Tories of England. To allay their fears, De Foe published his pamphlet, entitled—‘The Advantages of the Act of Security, compared with those of the intended Union, 1706.’ Whilst the treaty was in progress, he published several other works, both in England and Scotland, for the purpose of forwarding the business. One of these was—‘An Essay at removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland. To be continued during the Treaty here. Part I : London, 1706.’ A second part was advertised in the ‘Review’ for the 25th of May ; and it was followed by three other

* Review iii, 575—6.

† Review, iii. 671 ;

parts with the same title, and all published between this and the commencement of the next year.

But it was not by his pen only that De Foe promoted this great measure ; he also contributed to it largely by his personal services. By the recommendation of Harley, he acquired the favour and patronage of Lord Godolphin, who seems to have entertained as high an opinion of his talents and integrity as his first benefactor. At the suggestion of these ministers, he was now taken into the service of the Queen, and had the honour, as he himself informs us, "to be employed in several honourable, though secret services." The precise nature of them he does not state, only that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his employers.

Scotland now became the scene of his labours. His ready talents and insinuating address, combined with his general knowledge of commercial affairs, pointed him out to the ministers as a fit person for a mission to that country ; and the regard he had always manifested for the Scots, would render him more acceptable to them than many of his countrymen. The subject also was by no means new to him, having conversed upon it many years before with the late King William. The extreme jealousy of both nations against any encroachments upon their church establishments threw many obstacles in the way of its success, and required the utmost delicacy upon the part of its managers. De Foe was well acquainted with the sources of these mutual antipathies ; and a confidence in his abilities, founded upon past experience, fully justified the choice of the ministers. Before his departure, he had the honour of an introduction to the Queen, and kissed her hand upon his appointment.

De Foe arrived in Edinburgh early in the month of October, 1706, and was recognised by the treaters in a character almost diplomatic. He disguised his journey under motives of curiosity, strengthened by the encouragement of his friends, "who thought he might be useful there in prompting a work that he was fully convinced was for the general good of the whole island, and particularly necessary for strengthening the Protestant interest." By this journey, he tells us, he had an opportunity of witnessing all the succeeding transactions relating to the union, and of using his best endeavours to answer the many frivolous objections formed and improved there with great industry against it. He was frequently sent for by the committees of parliament, and employed in making calculations relating to trade and taxes. Being thoroughly conversant with these matters, he sat down to them with great expertness, and had the satisfaction of seeing his labours approved.

During the tumults at Edinburgh, he partook of the common danger that threatened all the advocates for the union. It was then unsafe to appear in the streets, and the terror of the inhabitants made them extinguish the lights in their houses. De Foe happening to view the proceedings of the mob from his window, had a large stone thrown at him ; "for they suffered nobody to look out, especially with any light, lest they should know faces, and inform against them afterwards." He adds, "the author of this had his share of the danger in this tumult, and though unknown to him, was watched and set by the mob, in order to know where to find him ; had his chamber windows insulted, and the windows below him broken by mistake. But, by the prudence of his friends, the shortness of its continuance, and God's providence, he escaped." In the midst of these scenes of disorder, he collected the documents which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity ; and they furnished him with a number of incidents which serve to illustrate the spirit of the times, as well as to enliven his narrative.

Towards the close of the year, whilst the treaty was still under debate, De Foe published some verses in praise of Scotland, entitled—"Caledonia, &c. A Poem in honour of Scotland, and the Scots Nation. Edinburgh, 1706." The chief design of the poem, next to that of doing justice to the Scots nation, is to invite an increased

attention to the improvement of the country, by the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, which would raise its prosperity to a degree commensurate with its natural advantages. Our author's gratitude for the favours he received from the Scots led him to embalm the worth of many of their most eminent families. De Foe celebrates the courage of the Scots, and enumerates some of their military exploits. He endeavours to prove that the situation of Scotland rendered it well adapted for trade; he speaks honourably of the abilities of the inhabitants; he commends them for their learning, and their attention to religion; and he hints at the advantages which they might derive from an union with England. But though De Foe's Poem was a panegyric upon Scotland and Scotsmen, it did not wholly consist of commendation. He takes notice of the evils that the common people suffered from their vassalage to their chiefs, and from their ignorance of the blessings of liberty. He also censures the Scots for not improving the natural advantages which their country possessed, and for neglecting their fishery; and he gives them some excellent advice.

Amidst all his most active personal labours, our author found time to compose several separate replies to various opponents of the union; and during the whole period continued the 'Review' at its usual rate of three numbers a-week without intermission. On this, and all other occasions, he seems very anxious "to assure the world that wherever the writer may be, the 'Reviews' are written with his own hand; no person having, or having had, any concern in writing them but the known author, D. F."

De Foe's residence in Scotland brought him acquainted with many persons of consideration in that kingdom, from some of whom, as we have seen, he received many tokens of kindness and friendship. For these favours his connexions in England enabled him afterwards to make some return; and, however, his services were undervalued by the party-writers of the day, it appears there were some amongst the great and the noble who were proud of his correspondence, and profited from his political interests.*

Dunton, who wrote at this period—'A Secret History of the Weekly Writers,' begins his catalogue with De Foe, of whom he speaks well in the main, but with all the jealousy of a rival journalist. His account of him, which is marked with all the singularities of that eccentric writer, is as follows:—

"To do him justice, take him with all his failings, it must be acknowledged that De Foe is a man of good parts, and very clear sense. Whatever he says upon the subject of peace and war, is so true and correct, that (like Pythagoras's ipse dixit) it might almost stand for an infallible rule. He is master of the English tongue; can say what he pleases upon any subject; and by his printing a poem every day, one would think rhimed in his sleep. It is his misfortune that a prejudiced person should write his character. But (with all my revenge) I cannot but own his thoughts upon any subject are always surprising, new, and singular; and though he write for bread, could never be hired to disgrace the quill, or to wrong his conscience; and which crowns his panegyrick, he is a person of true courage. It is true, I have reason to think Daniel De Foe dares not quarrel with John Dunton; but I believe he fears nothing on earth but

* The following extract from a letter to the Earl of Buchan, by De Foe, dated the 29th May, 1711, was communicated to Mr Chalmers, by his lordship's grandson. "The person with whom I endeavoured to plant the interest of your lordship's friend has been strangely taken up since I had that occasion; viz. first in suffering the operation of the surgeons to heal the wound of the assassin; and since, in accumulating honours from parliament, the Queen, and the people. On Thursday evening her majesty created him Earl Mortimer, Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harley of Wigmore; and we expect that to-morrow, in council, he will have the white staff given him by the Queen, and be declared Lord-Treasurer. I wrote this yesterday, and this day, May the 29th, he is made Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and carried the white staff before the Queen this morning to chapel."

myself; and he says as much, in telling the world—"I adhere firmly to truth, and resolve to defend it against all extremities." ('Review,' vol. ii, No. 75.) He reviews without fear, and acts without fainting. He is not daunted with multitudes of enemies; for he faces as many, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, as there are foes to moderation and peace. Loyalty to the Queen is his guide, and resolution his companion; and a lawful occasion makes him truly brave. It was this sent him to Weymouth, Exeter, and Crediton, to preach peace and moderation to the high-flyers; and though they had not the manners to thank him, yet I hope to see them all on their knees for not listening to his wholesome doctrine—Peace! It is a dangerous experiment the Western Tackers could not approve of; and for that reason the Weymouth Gothams had fettered him, whipped him, and perhaps burnt him, had not his known courage, and great party of two men, set him above their malice. (See 'Review,' vol. ii, No. 75.) To sum up all—De Foe has piety enough for an author, and courage enough for a martyr. And, in a word, if ever any, Daniel De Foe is a True Englishman; and for that reason he is more respected by men of honour and sense than he can be affronted by Alderman B——, Justice S——, and the rest of the Western blockheads. Now, if such an author as this should attack my journal, I shall think there is reason for it, and will endeavour to answer him, and to speak the truth; it is pity this peace-making traveller should have any enemy but error, and such a weak assailant as John Dunton."

De Foe's long continued absence from England, occasioned by the persecution of his creditors, produced a relaxation of his pen, which was less fertile in 1707 than in any year since the commencement of the reign. Besides his 'Review,' which furnished him with regular occupation, he does not appear to have printed anything, excepting the pamphlets upon Scotch affairs that have been already noticed. Being in Scotland during the whole of the year, he was busied in moderating the heat of parties, and in endeavouring to reconcile the disaffected to the union. Necessity led him also to pay some attention to his own affairs; but the resources upon which he drew for the support of himself and family remain unknown. It is not improbable that he may have received occasional presents from his friends in Scotland; and his publications must have turned to some account, particularly the 'Review,' the permanent sale of which would now justify a stated remuneration.

In the preface to the third volume of 'The Review,' he recounts some of the ill-treatment he had experienced. "I must confess," says he, "I have sometimes thought it very hard, that having voluntarily, and without the least direction, assistance, or encouragement, in spite of all that has been suggested, taken upon me the most necessary work of removing national prejudices against the two most capital blessings of the world—peace and union—I should have the disaster to see the nations receive the doctrine and defame the teacher. Should I descend to particulars, it would hardly appear credible, that in a Christian, a Protestant, and a reformed nation, any men could have received such treatment as I have done, even from those very people whose consciences and judgments have stooped to the venerable truth, and owned it useful and seasonable. It would make this preface a history to relate the reproaches, the insults, the contempt, with which these papers have been treated in discourse, writing, and print, even by those who say they are embarked in the same cause. The charge made against me of partiality, bribery, pensions, and payments; things, the circumstances, family, and fortunes of a man devoted to his country's peace, clears me of. If paid for writing, if hired, if employed, why still harassed by merciless and malicious men? Why pursued to all extremities by law for old accounts, of which other men are cleared every day? Why oppressed, distressed, and driven from his family, and from all prospects of delivering either them or himself? Is this the fate of men employed and hired? Is this the figure the agents of courts and princes make? Certainly, had I been employed or hired, those

people that own the service would by this time have set their servant free from the little and implacable malice of litigious prosecutions, murdering warrants, and men whose mouths are to be stopped by trifles. Let this suffice, then, to clear me of all the little and scandalous charge of being hired and employed."

De Foe goes on to say, "I am not the first that has been stoned for speaking the truth; and cannot but think, that as time and the conviction of their senses will restore men to love the peace now established in this nation, so they will gradually see I have acted no part but that of a lover of my country, and an honest man; and so, in time, it may wear off: and though it be hard to be threatened, yet I cannot but support myself with the continual satisfaction of having contributed my mite towards the public peace."

In the course of the summer, De Foe fell under the frowns of the Swedish ambassador, the real ground of which has not been stated by any of his biographers. It has been usually referred to a passage published three years before in the 'Consolidator'; but the offence, as Mr Wilson shows, arose from some reflections in the 'Review,' the particulars of which are thus related by himself:—

"Great are the triumphs and rejoicings of a party of men, well enough known among us, at a certain piece of news, spread about by their news-writers long before it was true, and impudently dressed up with forgeries and additions by one of them since it was true, viz. That the Swedish ambassador has made a complaint against this paper. But I'll soon put a stop to their rejoicings, by exhibiting a true statement of the affair to the view of every impartial reader, and I doubt not to the satisfaction of the Swedish envoy also. What it is in particular that he has taken offence at, I am not yet informed." De Foe says that if he had used too great plainness of speech, or said anything unjust or untrue, he was willing to make reparation by a public acknowledgment, or submit to the laws of England.

The affair was a source of triumph to De Foe's enemies, who made much more of it than it really deserved. "Those who show so much particular satisfaction at the hopes they have entertained of my destruction by the prosecution of this paper," says he, "and with so much gust insult me upon that head, boast, because I am remote, that I am fled from justice, and make nothing of sending the Queen's messengers after me into Scotland. Impotent malice! How does it fly in the faces of its contrivers. The government need never be at the charge of a messenger to me: I am so fully convinced of the justice and mercy of her Majesty's government, that were I guilty of a much worse crime, I would on the least summons appear, and either frankly claim the first, or submit to and implore the last. And where am I, ye sons of unwearied slander, that you should suggest I am fled from justice? Am I concealed, or out of her Majesty's dominions? Now that the Union has opened the door, the nations protect no criminals against each other. Let us see your charge; let it be as public as your malice: I'll put in bail to answer all you can object, let it be what it will. But this is the course of the age; when nothing else can revenge their cause, they fly to that worst of murders—slander and reproach.

"But to the case in hand. With what pleasure am I insulted in this affair against the 'Review?' How have I been sent to Count Zober, and, bound hand and foot, surrendered to the Swedes? Alas, gentlemen, your prophecies of evil tidings are not yet come to pass! The liberty of Englishmen is in better case; no man can be punished here at the will of the prince, much less at the will of a foreign prince. In England, even the sovereign never punishes but by law; and a jury of equals must determine the fact. An Englishman is born a freeman; no power can insult him; no superior oppress him: this is the confidence and glory of our island. He that will abandon this liberty, is not a fool only, but a knave; a knave to himself, to his family, to his posterity, and

to the constitution. Let none of my friends be afraid for me ; if I have broken the law, they ought to abandon me to the law, and I ask no favour. If I have not, no king, no threatening, no, not all the powers of Europe, can make her Majesty break in upon her people's liberties, or deviate from justice ; in the satisfaction of which all her subjects are easy and safe, and I among the rest."*

The article complained of is to be found in No. 66 of the 'Review,' which contains some speculations upon the policy of the Swedish monarch, delivered hypothetically, and couched in language which any political writer might use without offence. De Foe regards the King of Sweden, the celebrated Charles XII, as holding the balance of power in Europe, and capable of turning the scale in whichever way his policy directed. Of his future projects, he considers it altogether in vain to form a conjecture ; and leaves it to time alone to develop the reasons of his mysterious conduct. He speaks of him as a brave and warlike prince, and the article may be considered rather complimentary than otherwise. It is probable that the ambassador was prompted by some enemy of De Foe to attack his paper ; but whoever he was, he betrayed a want of judgment equal to his malice, as the article in question furnished no ground for any public notice. The government appears to have been of this mind, as the application was not listened to ; and the explanation of De Foe probably satisfied the ambassador.

Whilst De Foe was engaged in promoting the Union, and even long after it had taken place, the calumny of enemies was at work in impeaching his motives, and undervaluing his services. In his 'Review' for September 2d, he writes thus : " I have for a long time patiently borne with the scurrilous prints, and scandalous reproaches of the streets, concerning my being in Scotland. To-day I am sent thither by one party, tomorrow by another ; this time by one particular person, that by a body of people ; by some one way, by others another ; and I have long waited to see if, out of innumerable guesses, they would at last make a discovery of the true, and to me, melancholy reason of settling myself in a remote corner of the world ; which, if they had done, I should, no question, have been insulted enough upon that head. But, since their guesses have too much party malice in them to be right, though there are five or six persons in London, who can not only give a true account of my removal, but recal me from this banishment, if they had humanity in them a degree less than an African lion, I therefore cannot but take up a little room in these papers about my own case. There are two sorts of people out of reach by the world ; those that are above, and those that are below it : and they may be equally happy for aught I know. Of the last sort I reckon myself, and declare, that as I am below their envy, so I seek not their pity. I am, I bless God, secure in my retreat from their fury, and am fully revenged of the world by despising all the contempt it can throw upon me.

" But I come to the censures of the world. ' An underspur-leather,' says one, ' sent down to Scotland to make the Union, to write for it, and the like.' Angry man ! Not purely that I am employed, as he calls it, but that he is not. Another says I was hired by the court to write as I was told ; which excellent stuff answers itself." Of Leslie, who attacked him in the 'Rehearsal,' he says, in his humorous way, " He has got me a new commission from the Presbyterians : I hope in a few days I may have it down by the post, with directions where to send for my salary ; for I assure him, it cannot but be very welcome at this distance." Speaking of his book, called 'The Short Way,' lately published, Leslie had said, " It is wrote by a remarkable agent of the Presbyterians in England, who has long been employed by them as their public vindicator here, which he still continues ; and he was sent down by them the last winter into Scotland, to manage

* 'Review,' iv, 429—432.

their concerns as to the Union there ; where he stayed a long time, and performs the part of their vindicator to their brethren in Scotland.”*

In reply to these charges, De Foe says, “ How shall I do to reconcile the three opinions ? One says, I am sent by particular persons, another by the court, and a third by the Presbyterians. I wish it had been first of all true that I was sent by anybody ; for the work is so just, so good, and so honourable, I need neither be ashamed of the message nor the sender. But I think the same answer would be very fit to give to these carping, querulous gentlemen, as honest Samuel Colvil, the famous Scottish Hudibras, gave, when he was complaining of the abuses of those that railed on him about his poetry : ‘ They say that I am bad poet, but I answer in few words, that’s true, and yet they are liars, because they aver in malice, not knowing whether it be true or false.’† Now,” adds De Foe, “ though it were true that I was sent by this or that man or party, I may say, with Sam. Colvil, none of you can know whether it be true or false. But since you have been so free with me about my being sent, let me tell you and all the world something in which I am persuaded you will be of my side. If I have been sent hither, as you say, I have been most barbarously treated ; for I profess solemnly, I have not yet had one penny of my wages, nor the least consideration for the time set apart in this service ; nor, had I had the good fortune to have my brains knocked out by the high-flying mob here, do I see any prospect of having been canonized as a martyr for the cause, or of having my name inserted in the Presbyterian Kalendar. The utmost I expect is what I have before met with. What business had he with it ? What had he to do there ? Who sent him ? and the like.” Addressing the Presbyterians, he asks, “ Is not this hard, now, gentlemen, that I should have the testimony of your enemies that I have been serviceable to your cause, and none from yourselves ? Pray consider of it, and either discharge yourselves honourably to your poor missionary in the North, or let these fellows know they are a gang of liars, and you know nothing of the matter. Indeed, it is very hard, and I hope the Presbyterians will consider of it, that I should be sent down by them to manage their affairs, having been long before employed by them as their public vindicator in England, and yet have not received one farthing salary. I think they have done me a great deal of wrong, and ’tis but small encouragement to anybody to enter into their service. But to leave jesting, I would desire Mr Rehearsal, in order to preserve the common decency of language, to prove things as he goes on ; and I fairly challenge him to prove one tittle of what he positively affirms. If he cannot do this, let the world judge to what purpose it would be to enter upon a debate with a man who makes a positive charge, but brings no proof of the fact.”‡

In reply to the charge of writing for the court, he says, “ If I have espoused a wrong cause ; if I have acted in a good cause in an unfair manner ; if I have, for fear, favour, or by the bias of any man in the world, great or small, acted against what I always professed, or what is the known interest of the nation ; if I have any way abandoned that glorious principle of truth and liberty, which I ever was embarked in, and which I trust I shall never, through fear or hope, step one inch back from ; if I have done thus, then, as Job says, in another case, ‘ Let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley ;’ then, and not till then, may I be esteemed a mercenary, a missionary, or spy, or what you please. But, if the cause be just, if it be the peace, security, and happiness of both nations ; if I have done it honestly, and effectually, how does it alter the case if I have been fairly encouraged, supported, and rewarded in the work, as God knows I have not ? Does the mission disable the messenger, or does it depend upon the merit of the message ? Cease your inquiry then, about my being sent

* ‘ Rehearsal,’ No. 226.

† Whig’s ‘ Supplication.’—*Pref.* p. 6.

‡ ‘ Review,’ iv, 346—8.

by this or that person or party, till you can agree who it is, when I shall be glad of an opportunity to own it, as I see no cause to be ashamed of the errand."

Pursuing his manly vindication, De Foe thus replies to another charge: "Oh, but 'tis a scandalous employment to write for bread! The worse for him, gentlemen, that he should take so much pains, run so many risks, make himself so many enemies, and expose himself to so much scurrilous treatment for bread, and not get it neither. Assure yourselves, had not Providence found out other and unlooked-for supplies by mere wonders of goodness, you had long ago had the desire of your hearts, to starve him out of this employment. But, after all, suppose you say true, that all I do is for bread, which I assure you is very false, what are all the employments in the world pursued for, but for bread? But, though it has been quite otherwise in my case, I am easy, and can depend upon that promise, 'Thy bread shall be given thee, and thy waters shall be sure.' I have espoused an honest interest, and have steadily adhered to it all my days: I never forsook it when it was oppressed, I never made a gain by it when it was advanced; and I thank God it is not in the power of all the courts and parties in Christendom to bid a price high enough to buy me off from it, or make me desert it."

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY in the month of January, 1708, De Foe returned to London, after an absence in Scotland of about sixteen months. He seems to have been anxious to obtain a settlement of his affairs; and his negotiations with his creditors held out a prospect of success. Being now at the head-quarters of the parties contending for power, he could not avoid being involved in their disputes; and of the various subjects that engaged his attention the reader will be informed in the sequel.

For his services in Scotland and elsewhere, the ministers now rewarded him with an appointment, with a fixed salary; but the nature of it is not mentioned. It was obtained for him by the intervention of Harley, and continued to him after the fall of that minister. As his name does not stand in the *red book* of Queen Anne, Mr Chalmers was induced to think it was a pension rather than a place; but he speaks of it himself as an *appointment*, which seems to denote a place. It was probably a sinecure that did not require a personal attendance, as may be gathered from his long and frequent absences; and it must have been one that did not demand the sacramental test, which De Foe always objected to. During the ministry of Lord Godolphin, after the retirement of Harley, his salary fell into arrears, perhaps in consequence of his long absence in Scotland; and notwithstanding his interest with the succeeding ministry, it does not appear that his claims were ever liquidated.

Upon the secession of Harley, which took place in February, 1708, De Foe not unnaturally conceived that his political prospects were at an end with the fall of his patron; but he was treated with the highest generosity by both Harley and his successor. When he waited upon the former, the ex-minister magnanimously advised him to continue his service to the Queen, which he supposed would have no relation to personal differences among statesmen. Godolphin received him with equal kindness, saying, "I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary." And if we may credit De Foe's assertions, in the presence of those who could have convicted him of falsehood, he for three years held a correspondence with his former benefactor, which the great man in power never took ill of him.

In the early part of the year government received intelligence of some hostile preparations at Dunkirk, which had for their object the invasion of Scotland. The

French king, disheartened by his losses on the continent, thought that such a diversion, headed by the Pretender, might have a favourable influence on his affairs; and the opposition which the Scots had so lately offered to the union, induced him to reckon too hastily upon their assistance. In the month of March, accordingly, Admiral Fourbin appeared with a French fleet and army off the Firth of Forth; but finding an English army ready to receive him, he steered his course to the north of Scotland, where an immediate insurrection was expected. But in this also he was disappointed; for a storm arising he was driven to sea, and after braving the element for about a month, he was glad to return to Dunkirk, with the loss of one ship, and about four thousand men. De Foe was so satisfied of the loyalty of the Scots, that he had no apprehension of the result, even should a landing be effected. He thought they had been sufficiently surfeited by the tyranny of the late times, to set at rest any doubt on the subject; and he recommended that a reward should be issued for the apprehension of the Pretender. He adds, "Let but forty or fifty of the chief heads of clans and known Jacobites be secured, and he may come when he pleases; he'll meet with but cold entertainment in the north of Britain, in spite of all the imaginary discontents which are suggested by us of that people, of whom we are very forward to be scandalously abusive."*

The loyalty of the Scots having been brought into question in England, upon account of their refusing the abjuration oath, De Foe, who from a long residence amongst them was well acquainted with their sentiments, pleads their defence in the following passage: "The scruples raised among the Scots-Presbyterians, against the abjuration, is not from any inclination they have to the popish Pretender, or any aversion to the present government; but from such circumstances in it as seem to shock their consciences, in that they may come into such a condition as may make it impossible to keep it."† He therefore urges the government not to press it upon them, as a matter of policy. Grateful for the favours he had received from the Scots, and stimulated by his preference for their church establishment, he rejoices in every opportunity of doing honour to their nation. "I speak it with boasting," says he, "no man has concerned himself more than the author of this paper to clear up the suspicions entertained among us in England of the Presbyterians in Scotland joining with the French and falling in with the Jacobite interest."‡

In the midst of the general alarm at the prospect of an invasion De Foe published a short tract, entitled 'The Union Proverb;' viz. :—

' If Skiddaw has a cap,
Scruffell wots full well of that.'

Setting forth, "I. The necessity of uniting. II. The good consequences of uniting. III. The happy union of England and Scotland in case of a foreign invasion. 1708." In a prefatory address De Foe gives the following explanation of the proverb from Mr Ray. "Skiddaw and Scruffell are two neighbouring hills, or high mountains; the one in Cumberland, in England; the other in Annandale, in Scotland: and if the former happens at any time to be capped with clouds or foggy mists, it will not be long ere rain or the like falls on the latter. It is also spoken of such who must expect to sympathize in their sufferings, by reason of the vicinity of their habitations." Our author, thinking the proverb would bear a moral and political accommodation, applies it to the union of the two kingdoms.

The return De Foe met with for his labours as a peace-maker gave him but small encouragement in his office. "The author of this paper," says he, "is very unhappy in the difficulty he finds to make truth please; and though he has endeavoured to pursue it without respect to persons or parties, yet he cannot but regret the failure. I know,"

* 'Review,' iv. 670.

† 'Review,' v. 8.

‡ Ibid, v. 113.

continues he, "this age hates to be instructed, and the saying of the elders to the blind man is in the mouth of all self-wise people—'Dost thou teach us?' From this temper flows the constant want of manners, false construction, slander and ill language with which your humble servant is always treated, instead of argument, by all those that are concerned in the guilt, and at any time pinched with the application. If I speak plain truth, then he is an impudent fellow, a bully, and an incendiary; if I speak soft things, then he is a flatterer, a parasite, &c. How many satires had I levelled at me for a poem called 'A Hymn to Victory,' only because it paid some respect to the Duke of Marlborough and the Queen? Again, when I speak of the public affairs, if I do not rail as others do, I am a coward, and afraid of new prosecutions. If I speak against things, I am turning my tail and going over to the enemy; the high church has bought me off; and if I speak for the public affairs, then I am bribed, employed, and paid for it, and a mere mercenary. And what shall a poor author do in all this? I'll tell you what I do: I go on freely with telling you offensive truths, regarding no censures, and fearing no prosecutions; but at more hazard than some of you would run to save a father, I prompt you to see the things that belong to your peace. 'Rehearsals' rave, 'Observers' bully me, and the high church vote me to the devil, every paper they read. And what is the matter, but because I tell you that in all your proceedings high-flying extremes will be your destruction, and principles of peace can alone secure us? But, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, 'tis a sad truth, that all the mischiefs which have befallen any party of men amongst us have been from their own precipitations."

In the early part of the spring De Foe made a journey to Scotland, for what purpose is not known. He was there in the beginning of April, soon after the commitment of the Scottish prisoners, and paid a visit to Lord Belhaven. Our author's journey was probably upon some public account, but he did not stay long in Scotland, as we find him soon afterwards actively concerned in the parliamentary elections in his own country.

The first parliament of Great Britain was dissolved by proclamation on the 15th of April; after which the country was busily occupied in the new elections. Upon this occasion De Foe earnestly exhorts the electors not to choose high-flyers, "who are the declared enemies of the present constitution;" nor to betray their country for the sake of gratifying a sordid appetite. He remonstrates, in strong language, against the continued practice of bribery, which placed the liberties of the country at the mercy of those who have the longest purse. "He that will buy the country to choose him, will sell the country when he is chosen;" he therefore recommends them to elect their representatives free of expense; "for men who in conscience cannot bribe will serve you impartially when chosen."* De Foe justly observes that "railing at courts makes no patriot;" and that we are rather to estimate a man upon his tried principles and known character.

During this busy season De Foe took a journey into the country to observe the state of political parties, and animate the friends of liberty wherever he could interpose his influence. He tells us he was present himself at many of the elections, and observed, with shame and regret, the mode in which they were conducted. "I have not," says he, "so far sat still at the coffee-houses all this summer, as some of you have done, forming elections, telling noses, and casting up parties over a dish of coffee; but I have been

* De Foe illustrates his remark by the following story:—"William Rufus having an abbey to bestow, several of the clergy, knowing the King to be covetous, bid large sums for the place. The King, seeing a monk stand by who offered nothing,—'And what wilt thou give for this abbey?' 'Indeed, not one penny,' says the monk, 'for it is against my conscience.'—'Then,' says the King, 'thou art the fittest man to be abbot,' and so gave him the abbey immediately."—'Review,' v. 117.

among a great many of your electors myself. I have been an eye-witness to many of the most fulsome and loathsome stories I have told you ; I have seen the possibility, aye, and too much the practice, of men's voting implicitly, here for ale, there for influence, here again for parties, and there by persuasion. And, God knows, I speak it with regret for you all, and for your posterity, it is not an impossible thing to debauch this nation into a choice of thieves, knaves, devils, or anything, comparatively speaking, by the power of various intoxications. Having seen and heard so much of your follies, and knowing the consequences, I think myself justified before God and man to tell you, that so far as these practices are allowed by you, so far you are ruining your country, and selling your liberties to French and Jacobite tyranny. And, far be it from me to fear the resentment of any power, be it never so great, in a truth so plain and significant as this. I tell you again, if you have chosen high-flyers and Tories, abjuration-taking Jacobites, such as I have been describing, you have sold your nation, your birthright, your children, to a pack of thieves, and sacrificed the liberty and religion of Britain to your sordid, debauched luxury and covetousness."* Our author finely exposes the inconsistency of some modern Whigs, in voting for Tory candidates, thus dividing their interests and electing their own destroyers. "Oh, Whigs, Whigs, are these the politics your enemies charge you with? Catch a Tory voting for a Whig? Where can you find that fool to his party? The devil's votaries are always true to their master ; and the children of this world wiser in their generation than the children of light."

From the temper of the times, De Foe had strong apprehensions of the ascendancy of Tory influence ; and, in a strain of pointed irony, he lays open to the electors the consequences to be expected from such an event. "They can give away nothing," says he, "but our money ; they can overthrow nothing but our constitution ; they can overset nothing but the succession and the union ; they can sell nothing but our liberties ; and what then ? We shall do as well as our neighbours, who never knew what those toys and trifles of law, liberty, or property, meant ; and yet they sing and dance, and are as merry as other people, though they have not so much gear. Who knows but this may be the '*Shortest Way*' to a general deliverance ? for, as has been noted, nothing opens our eyes in this age like precipitations. Now, if you will but choose these honest sort of folk into parliament, they will confirm all your melancholy reflections ; and the scheme of management being swallowed up to a due height, you shall soon come to a perfection of your endeavours—a Tory parliament, a Tory ministry, a Tory peace, a Tory successor, and hey ! boys, up go we ! The revolution, the succession, the union, the toleration, shall all receive their due regulations, and this nation shall arrive at its immediate state of bliss—'*THE SHORTEST WAY*.'"

De Foe knew well enough that all the pseudo-patriotic outcry against the ministers was to get them turned out, that the high-flyers might occupy their places. He intimates that many engines were at work for its accomplishment, and cautions his countrymen not to be led astray by the arts that were employed to seduce them. "If our united interest," says he, "is little enough to keep this vigilant party out ; if court Whig, and country Whig, and all sorts of Whigs, are few enough to make up the bank, and keep out the flood of high-flying invasions, then a caution to the friends of this settlement, to unite and keep together, and shun all dividing breaches, is both necessary and reasonable. And while I think it the duty of every man that respects his country's interest to assist in so good a work, I cannot but discharge my part by pressing it in the most earnest terms."†

Amidst his labours in the cause of peace and liberty, the privacy of De Foe was often interrupted by threatening and abusive letters, most of them anonymous, or with

* 'Review,' v. 142.

† 'Review,' v. 418.

fictitious names. In the month of May he writes thus:—"I received a letter signed with my own name, a counterfeit no doubt; for I am fully satisfied no man owns the name justly, nor does any man covet to be called after the unfortunate. However, as I am not ashamed of the name, and hope I have no reason, I am content to be mocked at the pleasure of the party; but let them take this by the way, that though I am not ashamed of the relation of any honest man, yet I should be heartily ashamed of being related to any man, however great, who had so far degenerated from justice and honour as to own the principles in that letter, and who flies in the face of the late king, the present constitution, the Queen, the succession, and all the united building of Britain's present government." A little further, he observes, "We have cause to bless God, in this age, that we live under a government whose actions will bear the light, and is best pleased when its proceedings are placed in an impartial view. Heretofore, misrepresentations and false lights have been the practice of our courts and the grievance of the subject; now the case alters, and we find it the practice of the subject, and the grievance of the court."*

In the month of June De Foe made another journey to Scotland, being employed upon a secret mission, the object of which remains unknown. The silence he observes upon such occasions is creditable to his prudence and judgment; and we may easily trust him that it involved nothing that was dishonourable, or we should probably have heard of it from his enemies. He continued several months in the north, and seems to have given full satisfaction to his employers. For this he appealed long afterwards to the Duke of Marlborough.

These repeated visits to Scotland, we may easily collect, were not disagreeable to De Foe, who had contracted an affection for the Scots, as well from gratitude for favours received as from a zealous attachment to their religion. To the piety and hospitality of their nation he is always proud to do honour; and the only return he could offer for their civilities was to celebrate their virtues and defend them from the reproaches of their enemies. As a public advocate, when their religion or their liberties were attacked, the Scots, perhaps, had not a more zealous and sincere friend amongst the English.

During all his visits to Scotland his active mind appears to have been busily engaged in gathering stores of information concerning the history and condition of that country; neither of which subjects had, up to that period, attracted, comparatively speaking, any considerable portion of attention from the people of the sister kingdom. De Foe, in his quality of a sincere and zealous dissenter from the Church of England, was attracted, not repelled, by most of those circumstances of national faith and manners which were disagreeable to the English writers who had hitherto treated of the affairs of Scotland; and so, without doing any violence to his own feelings, he laboured effectually by his representations to remove the barriers of antipathy between the nations. He seems to have made diligent journeys over most parts of the northern kingdom, and has left, in his *Tour*, a picture of her then state which cannot be perused without the highest interest by those who are acquainted with the face of Scotland now. Her institutions, civil and religious, he has described with all the fulness of partiality—her cities and palaces graphically and distinctly.

Whilst De Foe was in Scotland he had ample opportunities for becoming acquainted with the state of religious parties in that part of the kingdom; and the case of the episcopal Dissenters occupying much of the public attention, he discussed the subject at large in his 'Reviews.' After tracing the origin of that party, its struggles for power, and the various acts of the government to keep it in subjection, he proceeds to consider the merits of the complaints that were then urged against the Presbyterian church.

* 'Review,' v. 95.

The episcopal clergy having made known their alleged grievances to the world in a work entitled 'A Narrative of the late Treatment of Episcopal Ministers in the City of Edinburgh,' &c., the object of which is to prefer the charges of injustice and cruelty against the Presbyterians, De Foe replied to it in 'The Scots' Narrative Examined, or, the Case of the Episcopal Ministers in Scotland stated, and the late Treatment of them in the City of Edinburgh inquired into,' which seems to contain a faithful account of the matters referred to in the title.

As soon as the union with Scotland was completed, De Foe had announced his intention of presenting the world with a complete history of that most important transaction. Various engagements prevented him from fulfilling his design until 1709, when the first edition was published in Edinburgh under the following title :—'The History of the Union of Great Britain. Edinburgh.' The work seems to have been noticed but little when it first appeared, for, as the preface states, it had many difficulties in the way, many factions to encounter, and parties to please ; yet it was re-published in 1712, and a third time in 1786, when a similar union had become the topic of public debate and private conversation. De Foe prefixed two dedications to the work ; one to the Queen, the other to the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State for Scotland. In such complimentary effusions he excelled. Dryden and his contemporaries had brought dedications into disgrace by the fulsomeness of their flattery and the servility of their style. The dedications of the present day have absurdly run into the contrary extreme. But the writers who are permitted to dedicate their works to royal patrons ought to peruse De Foe's dedicatory epistles to King William and Queen Anne ; wherein they will find dignity of sentiment and delicacy of praise, conveyed in language at once delicate and instructive. His dedications to the 'History of the Union of Great Britain,' would alone justify this remark.

The minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the manners and sentiments of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions ; and while the man of taste is amused by his manner, the man of business may draw instruction from the documents which are appended to the end and interspersed in every page. This publication had alone preserved his name had his 'Crusoe' pleased us less. "De Foe's 'Union between England and Scotland,'" says Mr Dibdin, "first published in 1709, and more recently with valuable additions by Mr George Chalmers, is really a performance to place the author amongst the soundest historians of the day."

Towards the end of 1709 an event occurred which fully justified all that De Foe had written concerning the temper and views of the high party, and which involved the most important consequences to the nation. Upon the 5th of November Dr Sacheverell preached his far-famed sermon at St Paul's, before the city magistracy, upon *the perils of false brethren*, wherein, to use De Foe's words, "having plentifully railed at and anathematized the Dissenters, and left them in custody, without bail or mainprize, with the devil and his angels, he particularly asserts two things :—1. The doctrine of passive obedience, which he most remarkably justifies from the late revolution. 2. The hereditary right of her present Majesty to the crown." The political tenets advanced by this pulpit incendiary had been answered over and over again by our author in his replies to Leslie and the whole race of non-jurors ; so that, in compiling this production, he did no more than repeat his former arguments. Still, both in his 'Review' and in several separate tracts, he exerted his powerful talents in the suppression of this factious dema-

gogue and his frantic followers, an account of whose outrageous proceedings will be found elsewhere. The titles of his tracts are, 'The New Wonder, or a Trip to St Paul's,' by the author of the 'True Born Englishman;' 'A Letter from Captain Tom to the Mob now raised by Dr Sacheverell;' and 'Instructions from Rome' in favour of the Pretender, inscribed to the most elevated Don Sacheverellio and his brother Don Higginisco.

About this time, one Cooper, a Yorkshire clergyman of loose morals, contrived to introduce himself to the notice of Lord Wharton; and by avowing the same political opinions as his lordship, hoped to secure his favour, and by that method to procure some preferment in the church. As the man was a stranger to that noble lord, who seems to have been imposed upon by his representations, De Foe, who had become acquainted with his real character, was desirous of undeceiving him upon this point, as well as to spare the church the disgrace of so unholy a pastor. In pursuance of these laudable motives, he transmitted a private letter to Lord Wharton, to whom he appears to have been hitherto unknown. The effect of this communication cannot now be told; but the letter, for which the public, through the medium of Mr Wilson, is indebted to Mr Upcott of the London Institution, is as follows:—

"My Lord,—As this is written from a sincere principle of duty, and respect to your L^dpp. and just concern for that honest cause your L^dpp. is so heartily embarked in, I hope your L^dpp. will pardon the forwardness and presumption of the attempt, tho' you should not accept of y^e hint. I am not going to offer to yo^r L^dpp. any thing that wants proof, or that shuns sufficient inquiry. I should not have insulted a person of yo^r L^dpp's. character in that manner. The design is not to speak in y^e dark, but to assist truth to come into y^e light, and offer something to y^r L^dpp. for y^r L^dpp's. farther and pticular enquiry and services, and therefore, my Lord, I shall neither conceal from yo^r L^dpp. the story, nor who it is that writes it.

"I have, my Lord, repeated importunitys from some people in y^e north, men of honesty and friends to y^r L^dpp's. interest, to acquaint y^r L^dpp. of the following affair. Their only mistake is that they suppose I have y^e honor to be known to y^r L^dpp., which is their error as it is my misfortune, and my not having that honour is the occasion of my making so much preamble to y^r L^dpp. contrary to my custom in y^e world, and for w^{ch} I ask y^r L^dpp's. pardon. The story is this:—

"There is one Cooper, a Clergy Man of or near Leeds, who, if Fame sayes true, is now, or has been lately, applying himself to y^r L^dpp. either to be entertained in y^r L^dpp's. service, or to obtain y^r L^dpp's. favour and recommendation to some living, or some other way to be employ'd or advanced by y^r L^dpp.; and pticularly, it is alledged that he gets himself recommended to y^r L^dpp. as a Low Churchman or a moderate man, and as persecuted and turn'd out by the Vicar on account of his moderation, &c.

"Now, my Lord, the business of this Letter is to giv yo^r L^dpp. a true acco^t of y^e morals and manners of this man, that yo^r L^dpp. may be inform'd from unquestioned authority what kind of person he is, and nobody then questions but y^r L^dpp. knows what measures to take either that y^e church may not be ill served and further reproach^t, or y^r L^dpp's. recommendacon dishonour'd by the most scandalous person alive.

"And my Lord, that yo^r L^dpp. may not depend upon my single authority, I shall give y^r L^dpp. his brief character in the words I rec^d it, and the psons. shall at any time be produced for yo^r L^dpp's. farther satisfaccon.

"From Leeds, March 22.—This scandalous priest his name is Cooper, he was seen in y^e very act, debauching a woman on a Sunday morning, and pticularly, being to administer y^e Sacrament the same day, and did also actually administer y^e Sacram^t in our church that same day (called y^e old Church in Leeds). Perjury in several cases can be proved against him, and that in severall places he has been discarded as a common

drunkard, and for his being a common swearer our whole town will witness it. For these crymes our Vicar turn'd him out, and deny'd him his pulpit, upon which he is fled to my L^d Wharton for preferm^t, and we are told my Lord has given him hope of a liveing, &c.'

"Thus far my author. There is more in my Letter, but I presume this is enough to prevent yo^r L^dpp. being imposed upon—and this I thought it my duty to lay before y^r L^dpp. If your L^dpp. please to hear any more, or that I should make farther enquiry about it, in that, or any thing else for y^r L^dpp's. service, I shall esteem it my hono^r to receive y^r L^dpp's. comands.

"I am, may it please yo^r L^dpp.

"Yo^r L^dpp's. most humble and obedient Serv^t,

"From Newington, near Hackney,

"DE FOE."

"Apr 7th, 1710."

De Foe, who seems to have had his eyes everywhere, was not unacquainted with the low state of morals amongst the Yorkshire clergy. In order to awaken the people, and especially the holders of church patronage, to the propriety of decorum in their teachers, he announced the following squib in his 'Review' for January 14, 1710 :—"Just published, 'The Northern Worthies: Or a Visitation of the Yorkshire Clergy;' a Satire humbly dedicated to Parson Plaxton, the Reverend Author of the Yorkshire Racers. To be bought where it is to be sold, and to be sold where it is to be bought: Written for the edification of the Northern Gentry, and to cure them of the Contagion of Priestcraft. In five volumes in Folio. Price 5*l*. 7*s*. 6*d*., being a very voluminous work."

In August, 1710, Godolphin was in his turn manœuvred out of office by Harley, with the assistance of Mrs Masham. "The unhappy Queen," says Cunningham, "tired out with the wrangling of scolding women, seduced by the chattering of her physicians, and withal moved with compassion for her brother, having inquired into the strength of parties, not only began to change her ministers, but her measures also." The Earl of Sunderland had been replaced by Lord Dartmouth; and the other ministers being now removed, Harley was put into the Treasury, and made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr St John, Secretary of State, in the room of Mr Boyle; the Earl of Rochester, President of the Council; and Sir Simon Harcourt, Keeper of the Great Seal. The Lieutenancy in London and other places was also changed; and as the new ministers were suspected of being hostile to the Protestant succession, it was further confirmed by some appointments in favour of persons who were declared friends of the Pretender. "Mr Harley, to whom it was natural to give fair words to everybody, gained upon many people by his address, who were far from being of his sentiments. He judged it most prudent to proceed with moderation; and it is said, he persuaded his friends, and the Queen herself, to dissemble many things concerning the Pretender on account of the Duke of Marlborough's forces, and his extraordinary power both at home and abroad. He was also afraid of the authority and inconstancy of the parliament. The Tories therefore resolved that the present parliament should be dissolved, and another called. Mr Harley, who had formed his whole scheme, gave many instructions to divers men of different parties how to reconcile the minds of people to him, and to render them subservient to his measures. Many were inquisitive to know his design; nay, some said he had no design at all, or else, that it was most artfully concealed, lest, by the dissent of any one, the whole combination should be broken. Those who are supposed to know him thoroughly, own that he was averse to the Pretender; but if we may judge of him by his actions, men of all parties agreed in concluding that his designs were in his favour; and it is certain that he affected to have it thought so." As the writer here quoted was well acquainted with Harley, he may be considered a competent judge of his character, as far as the mystery with which it was encircled would allow.

About this time, Hoadley, the celebrated Whig churchman, attacked the Tories in disguise; and under the semblance of a friend to the party, dealt out some severe censures upon its proceedings. His tract is entitled, 'The Thoughts of an Honest Tory upon the present Proceedings of that Party. In a Letter to a Friend in Town. Lond. 1710.' This produced an answer in a similar disguise, called, 'The Thoughts of an Honest Whig upon the present Proceedings of that Party. In a Letter to a Friend in Town. Lond. 1710.' In the last work, De Foe is held up to censure for writing the

'Experiment,' and is loaded with the same reproaches that the Tories had been long dealing out to him. The stale charge of his being supported by the Whigs is brought forward, and an attempt is made to disparage the political doctrines he had long defended in his 'Reviews.' He was also attacked at this time in a libel levelled at Burnet, and called, 'The No Church Catechism;' in which he is made to keep good company. To the question put to the bishop, "What Canons are the support of your Opinions?" The answer is, "None but two great blunderbusses—the sweetening 'Review' and souring 'Observer,' the mouths of cozenage. This of contradiction; that, general of all corrupt principles and guardian of the good old cause." It was a cause, however, of which neither of the writers had any need to be ashamed.

The recent turn of public affairs had given a shock to credit that was as embarrassing to the ministers as it was injurious to all parties. Discouraging as were the prospects of De Foe, he was not for sacrificing his country to the interests of party, and was therefore averse to any measure of annoyance that involved so serious a thing as public credit. That his motives might not be mistaken, he says, "I believe no man will deny, that this is the most critical time for any man that writes of public affairs. I know but one man in the world so qualified; and find him where you will, this must be his character:—He must be one that, searching into the depths of truth, dare speak her aloud in the most dangerous times; that fears no faces, courts no favours, is subject to no interest, bigotted to no party, and will be a hypocrite for no gain. I will not say I am the man; I leave that to posterity. If I have had any friends, it is amongst those that turned out; and if I had the power to lead, perhaps, I should bring them all in again. If Tories, Jacobites, High-flyers, and madmen are to come in, I am against them. I ask them no favour, I make no court to them, nor am I going about to please them; and yet I expect not to oblige those that I think the best of." De Foe here remonstrates with the Whigs for giving in to the national panic, by withdrawing their property from the funds whilst in a state of depression, and thus enriching the Tories at their own expense. This was the more unwise, as the bulk of the stock was in their hands, and by contributing to a further depression, they assisted in their own impoverishment."*

Our author exhorts the Whigs to support the national credit by an appeal to their public spirit. "Let the public affairs go into what hands they will," says he, "your concern for the nation must not lessen; nor must you do anything that may let in a bloody, Popish, and faithless tyrant upon Europe and upon the Protestant interest. I should be very sorry to see a Tory administration, and the old game of persecution revived among us; to see the toleration broken, the union invaded, the Whigs trampled upon, and the dissenters harassed and plundered as I have seen them; but if it must come to that hard choice, I had rather see all this than France triumphant, the Queen dethroned, and the Pretender and Popery established. In short, we have but one interest as Englishmen, whatever interest we may have as to parties. And, though I abhor the tyrannical principles of some men among us, yet when it comes to this,—England or France, the Queen or the Pretender, the Church of England or the Church of Rome, the choice is easy to an

* 'Review', vi, 233—235.

honest man." In these sentiments, no one will doubt that De Foe uttered the language of good sense, and of genuine patriotism.

It was the opinion of De Foe, that let the ministry be who or what they may, neither we nor they ought to do anything, by way of party-disgust, that may endanger the public safety. In support of this principle he now published a pamphlet, entitled 'An Essay upon Public Credit; being an Inquiry how the Public Credit comes to depend upon the Change of Ministry, or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so or no? London: 1710;' the main object of which is to show, that national credit depends not upon any set of ministers, but may remain safe under all changes, provided the government maintains its character for probity. The work is dexterously written, and calculated to serve the new ministers, although without that ostensible design.

The success which attended the foregoing treatise, induced the author to follow it up soon afterwards by 'An Essay upon Loans; or an Argument proving that substantial Funds settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of Interests, and the Advances of Prompt Payment usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the Contrary. London: 1710;' the object of which was to dispel the alarm which still continued in consequence of the backwardness of the Whigs to invest their money in government securities.

Upon the subject of the addresses manufactured by the high church party, preparatory to the change in the ministry, De Foe now published 'A new Test of the Sense of the Nation: being a modest Comparison between the Addresses to the late King James and those to her present Majesty, in order to observe how far the Sense of the Nation may be judged by either of them. 1710;' a work which, by a most unaccountable oversight, has been frequently confounded with Oldmixon's 'Collection of the Addresses that have been presented to the Queen since the impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell,' to which mass of nonsense De Foe's work was intended as an antidote, and a most effectual one it is.

Upon the secession of Godolphin, our author waited upon the ex-minister, who obligingly said to him that he had the same good will but not the same power to assist him, and advised him to receive her Majesty's commands from her present confidential advisers when things were settled. Our author's political feelings at this period he himself thus describes:—"I believe everybody that knows me, or has read what I have written on the subject, will know that I have been no friend to the high-church party. I ever did, and still do look upon them to be enemies to the nation's peace, destroyers of all the blessings we hope for, and disturbers of all we possess; and that the principles these gentlemen pursue, are in their own nature destructive to the liberties of the nation. God knows, I have no personal malice towards any man; but I abhor the principles of slavery, let them come from, or be professed by, whom they will." Prudence now dictated greater caution in his writings. "I have as little need to embroil myself with the government," says he, "and am in as ill a case to defend myself against resentment as any; and therefore, though I shall speak that truth I think myself obliged to speak with as little fear as anybody, yet I shall endeavour to lay it open to as few exceptions as possible." *

Considering the circumstances of the country, particularly with respect to our foreign relations, De Foe thought that the new ministers would be obliged to pursue the policy of their predecessors. Harley, the chief minister, he knew to be most inclined to the Whigs, and he therefore exults in the idea, that although the Whigs had lost by the accession of the Tories, yet the latter had gained nothing in point of strength; the fallacy

* Review, vii. 245, 246.

of which notion he lived to see strongly verified. "The constitution," says he, "is of such a nature, that whoever may be in it, if they are faithful to their duty, it will either find them Whigs, or make them so. This is the reason that the joy of the party is already turned into chagrin; they cry out that they are betrayed, and are beginning to form new parties."* The new ministers appear to have been as unpalatable to the more violent Tories as they were to the Whigs; a circumstance highly gratifying to De Foe, who used much ingenuity to persuade himself and his readers that their public acts would be conformable to the constitution, and less injurious to the cause of liberty than from their previous conduct he had anticipated. His reliance was chiefly upon Harley, who had been educated a Whig, but made common cause with the Tories as a political malcontent.

These speculations upon the future conduct of the ministers gave no satisfaction either to Whigs or Tories, who united in saying that our author was making court for a place. To this he facetiously replies, "And what place does he write for? Indeed, I have not yet inquired whether there is a vacancy in the press-yard; but I know of no place anybody could think I should be writing for, unless it be a place in Newgate. This, indeed, may be the fate of anybody that dares to speak plainly to men in power. But I must tell the kind people, that though I am like to speak as plain English as anybody, yet, perhaps, I may not speak it in such gross terms as they would have it. 'Tis not my way to rail and call names. Some people think no man can serve them but he that flies in the face of government, and they want to have the 'Review' speak so as he may be sure to speak no more. Let such know I understand how to serve their interest without gratifying their humour. They are not so generous a party that any man need covet a gaol in dependence upon their support. If the author gets a place in Newgate, which he is not afraid of in defence of truth, so he knows whose fury will send him there, and who will stand by him when he is there. *Teste Delaune, Anno. 1684.* As to places, I have been now seven years under what we call a Whig government, and have not been a stranger to men in power. I have had the honour to be told I have served the government; the fury of an enraged party has given their testimony to it, and I could produce yet greater; but the man is not alive of whom I have sought preferment or reward. If I have not applied myself for it when, I may say without vanity, I had some pretence, the pretender to this must take me for a fool to think of it now. The commissioners of her majesty's treasury have no reason to think themselves obliged to me, that I move you to support credit. The Whigs, though they are turned out of place, are not turned out of the nation; they have too great a share in the wealth, too great a cargo in the ship, to be careless what becomes of the bottom. Therefore, let the queen put in, or put out, the nation must be preserved; and this may be done without courting, or indeed approving, the officers concerned in the management."†

The enemies of De Foe were unremitting in their attempts to embroil him with the government; but he was too wary for them. "The case of the new ministry," says he, "and the case of the author of the 'Review,' however opposite, stand exactly on the same footing. While they do nothing in breach of the laws, or against the constitution, though I make no court to them on the one hand, yet I have no business to affront them on the other. *Vice versa*: While I write or speak nothing but truth, and that truth, however plainly, yet with decency and respect, they can have nothing to say to me." It was his opinion, that "whoever comes into the ministry must recognize the Revolution, and carry on the administration upon that foundation. If they do not," says he, "we have another language to talk to them. For, let not governors flatter themselves, nor people be dismayed, the Revolution cannot be overthrown in Britain. It is not in the

* Ibid, vii. 247.

† Review, vii. 257—317.

power of ministry or party, prince or parliament, to do it. If the attempt is made, let them look to it that venture upon the attempt. The people of England have tasted liberty, and I cannot think they will bear the exchange."

Whilst some were prompting him to abuse the ministers, others were as industriously stimulating the government to fall upon him. This was the case with the author of a pamphlet, entitled 'Now or Never.' "With a head as full of ignorance as a heart full of malice," says De Foe, "he takes upon him to prompt my Lord Dartmouth, to whom he addresses his libel, to prosecute the author of the 'Review;' in which he has most scandalously abused that noble person, as well as betrayed his own folly." To silence this writer, he tells a story of the Czar of Muscovy, who, when he was in England, and saw a number of fine ladies on some occasion, is said to have applied to the king to send him twenty or thirty of them, and was surprised when he learnt that his majesty had not the power to send one of them without her consent. "Englishmen," says he, "enjoy a thing called liberty, and are protected by the laws; nor can any man be punished but after a fair hearing, and a verdict *per pares*; a privilege I hope Scotland will now learn to value, and which they will gain by the Union. To punish without law, and prosecute without crime, is not the English way; and to ask it of a minister of state is an affront to his understanding." Our author adds, "I have been desired to bestow an answer to that ridiculous paper, but I really think it merits no better answer than this: To be laughed at for its ignorance."

As the ministers could scarcely expect to maintain their footing with the present parliament, its dissolution was one of the measures contemplated in the new changes. But before this could be effected there was much opposition to encounter, and Harley was long embarrassed as to what course he should pursue. His own feelings were in favour of moderate measures, and he promised to observe a medium between the two parties. Aware of the untractable nature of the Tories, he wished to form a junction with the Whigs, and made overtures for that purpose, but being unsuccessful, he was thrown upon the Tories; and when a dissolution was decided upon, it spread a general panic amongst the citizens of London. Addison, writing upon the 5th of August, says, "The bank have represented that they must shut up upon the first issuing out of new writs; and Sir Francis Child, with the rest of the monied citizens on the Tory side, have declared to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that they shall be ruined if so great a blow be given to the public credit as would inevitably follow upon a dissolution."* Most of the monied men having brought their stock to market, there were more sellers than buyers, so that the price of bank-stock fell gradually down to 100. At this time many foreign merchants, who had large concerns in the funds, sent orders to their agents to dispose of their stock, which not only increased the evil, but gave a tolerable hint of the general feeling abroad upon the probable policy of the new ministers.†

Notwithstanding the evils that seemed to threaten this measure, and the loss of a powerful friend in the Duke of Somerset, who resigned his place as Master of the Horse, and went over to the Whigs in consequence, a proclamation for the dissolution of parliament was issued the 21st of September. As soon as it appeared, "all England was in an uproar, and so inflamed by the churchmen, that their fury was to determine elections without any regard to the rights of the electors; for the canvassings and elections were carried on with such feuds as had never before been known in England. In many cases they were carried on by open violence. That firebrand of sedition, Dr Sacheverell, employed his whole time and pains to this purpose. Religion was therefore looked upon as the only popular cause, in the support of which all the furies were raised to procure votes, and ran together as it were to the funeral of the government and public liberty."‡ In-

* Steele's Correspondence, i. 99. † Impartial View, p. 251. ‡ Cunningham, ii. 305, 306.

numerable were the outrages committed by the rabble ; but as the cause they appeared for sanctified their crimes, they were passed over with impunity. Two flagrant instances of this fury appeared at the elections for London and Westminster. In the former place the chief magistrates met with the grossest insults, and in the latter the proxy of General Stanhope only escaped with his life. "These times were full of all kinds of insolence, and the glorious actions and victories lately obtained were turned into ridicule ; good men, therefore, thought it advisable to withdraw themselves from public affairs until the tumult should be ended."*

In the midst of these disorders De Foe was one of those true patriots who stood in the breach between his country and the party that was aiming to enslave it. In energetic strains he now warned his countrymen of the dangers that beset them, in 'A Word against a New Election. 1710.'

The distracted state of the country at this time is pathetically described by our author, who took a circuit into several parts of the kingdom. "In the counties through which I have passed," says he, "I have been an eye-witness to practices that every honest heart, concerned for the welfare of the country, cannot but bleed at the sight of. A people miserably divided against themselves, in consequence of which their destruction cannot be far off. All the arts and engines imaginable are made use of to bring the people to a wilful surrender of themselves to names and parties. To this end they heat their blood with wine, foment their passions by continued reproaches, and expose each other to studied quarrels. No man but he that sees these things, as this author does to his amazement, could believe it possible that the animosities of the people of this nation could, in so short a time, and after such views of the danger these things have formerly brought them to, be capable of such inflammations. The name of peace is become a scandal. Nor do we fight with cudgels only, as at Marlow, Whitechurch, &c. ; with swords and staves, as at Coventry ; with stones and brick-bats, as at other places ; but we fight with the poison of the tongue, the venom of slander, the foam of malice, and the poison of reproach. This is the present temper of the people where I have been, and too much so all over the nation ; wounding not men's bodies only, but stabbing their reputation, reproaching their morals, ripping up their miscarriages, and wounding their families, without any regard to truth or honour. Even our civil war, though bloody and unnatural enough, was not carried on with such a spirit of fury as is now to be seen. Rogue and villain are in the mouths of our men of manners ; and, as Sallust tells us of Catiline's conspiracy, when his men came to fight, rage and fury were to be seen in the countenances of both sides. Doubtless God, who governs the world he made, has designed some extraordinary event from this strange *phenomenon* ; and men's minds cannot bear this fermentation without some eruption which, like that at Etna, must put the whole country into confusion."†

The scene that was exhibited in the city of London affords a striking picture of the times, and is thus described by our author :—"Honest men have been afraid to come to the poll for fear of being abused ; and many that attempted it have been so beaten and bruised, that they thought it a happiness to get safe back again without getting up to the books, and so have not polled at all. A lane of these furies was formed from the entrance of the hall to the hustings, and in the avenues, through which every man that came to poll was obliged to pass. Here, such insufferable insults were committed as is a shame to this well-governed city."—"I cannot think that any wise man of either side can approve of the riots and tumults practised at the election.‡ Let him go through the streets and view the houses, how they look like houses of ill-fame, with their windows broke, their shutters daubed with dirt, and their balconies full of stones, as if some public

* Cunningham, ii. 307.

† Review, vii. 335—337.

‡ Ibid, 356.

enemy had taken possession of the city. Rage and madness filled the streets, and every one was exposed to the discretion of the rabble. In the general disorder no regard was paid either to friend or foe. Let any man view the streets. Are they all Whigs that dwell between Ludgate and Temple Bar? And was there a house that was not in this manner insulted? And what was it for? All for choosing parliament-men, to make laws for good government, protect our property, and preserve the peace!"* In reference to these disorders, the 'Tatler' humorously remarks, "That if the whole people were to enter into a course of abstinence, and eat nothing but water-gruel for a fortnight, it would abate the rage and animosity of parties, and not a little contribute to the cure of a distracted nation."†

At this time, many rumours were in circulation of plots and conspiracies to bring in the Pretender. It was given out that the French were to land a body of ten thousand troops to assist in the design, and that there was a strong party in the nation ready to join them. Letters were industriously spread about, and found in the public streets, implicating many persons of consequence, and full of ciphers and half-sentences, pointing out the particular individuals. Of these contrivances to alarm the people, De Foe had no good opinion. He observes that the nation was not then ripe for such a plot, nor were the measures of the party that would be most inclined to it in sufficient forwardness for its execution; but that whatever might be the ulterior design of the Jacobites and High-flyers, their pushing it forward just then would be fatal to their object.‡ Amongst the delusions of the times, it was unblushingly given out, that the Whigs and Dissenters were favourable to the Pretender; a fallacy thus exposed by our author:—"We have a wild suggestion, and the party have taken some pains, in this time of public delusion, to possess the poor abused country-people with this wild story:—That the Dissenters are for the Pretender, that the Whigs are turned Jacobites, that the Low-churchmen are Atheists, and that the bishops are Presbyterians. But these things will die of themselves, and the persons accused need be under no concern for clearing their reputation from that scandal. You might as well accuse the Scotch kirk to be for episcopacy, the Non-jurors for King William, and the High-flyers for a calves'-head feast! Yet, such is the present infatuation, that the poor people are really ready to fancy such things as firmly as they believe anything." He adds, "If the Pretender is kept out till the Whigs and Dissenters concur to bring him in, we may be all easy, and he may e'en go and hang himself; for he has nothing to do as to that matter, but to despair and die."||

Unripe as the nation was at this time for any exertions in favour of the Pretender, it is certain that the change in the ministry inspired hopes in his adherents. and they continued to be fed until the close of the reign. At this time there appeared a remarkable pamphlet, entitled 'A Letter from a Gentleman at the Court of St Germain's to one of his Friends in England; containing a Memorial about Methods for setting the Pretender upon the Throne of Great Britain. London: 1710.' This pretended discovery was probably of English manufacture, and written by a person well acquainted with the state of parties in England. He gave a long list of instructions for the use of the Jacobites, and, as De Foe says, let out some important confessions. The letter says,—“That since the Prince of Orange was the great cause of all their misfortunes, it will always be a great point gained to lessen the esteem for him, and to blacken his memory as much as possible.” Upon this De Foe remarks, “The poor unfortunate author of the 'Review,' who had the honour once to serve, and if I may say it with humblest acknowledgments, to be beloved by that glorious prince, has run a strange variety of fate for his zeal for the honour and memory of his person and actions. By governments ruined, by pretence of

* Review, vii. 361.

† No. 240.

‡ Review, vii. 351—354.

|| Review, vii. 417—419.

justice punished, by enemies reproached, and even by Protestant writers, pretending the defence of our constitution, scurrilously insulted for adhering to his service, and vindicating his character. And now it appears that the blackening the memory of this prince is the first maxim of the politics of St Germain's towards preparing a way for the Pretender." *

Another work relating to the Pretender, that appeared just before the dissolution of parliament, and has been given to De Foe, is 'Reasons against receiving the Pretender. Together with some Queries of the utmost importance to Great Britain. Lond. A. Baldwin. 1710.' The object of the writer is to alarm the nation with a prospect of the consequences that would result from the admission of the Pretender, but there seems no good reason for attributing it to our author.

As De Foe now wrote with great caution, and abstained from attacking the ministers, he was charged with wavering in his politics. To this he makes the following reply:—"The author of this paper, finding the times perilous, the age censorious, enemies furious, friends cautious, and espousing truth dangerous, and knowing not how long he may be permitted to speak in this manner, humbly desires to state a little the case of this paper and its author. It is now seven years since this work first began, during which time the author has had the fate of pleasing and displeasing in their turn, as must be the lot of every man who writes in an age when so many parties have alternately governed, and where the men of the same party have so often been of several opinions about the same thing. All the world will bear me witness that this is not a Tory paper, as the rage with which I am daily treated will testify. Yet, because I cannot run the length that some would have me, new scandals fill their mouths; and now they report I am gone over to the new ministry. These are the men who, it seems, are angry that I write for upholding credit, without regard to changes in the administration. I have had some conference with these men, and I thank God I have; for it has taught me to abhor their temper, pity their folly, and laugh at their censure. The scandal, therefore, of changing my principles, because I am not for ruining my country, is what I despise. I shall trouble the world with no more apologies. The method I shall take for the future in speaking of public affairs, will be with the same desire to support and defend truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myself with a party that has no mercy, and for a party that has no sense of service."

In November he paid a visit to Scotland, where he stayed for some time, most probably engaged in some secret service. During the whole of his stay there, he furnished the materials for the 'Review;' and he continued it, amidst all his other avocations, on his return, with unabated diligence. There is reason to suppose that his worldly circumstances were now pretty comfortable, for he describes himself as writing his 'Review' in "a nice retirement" at Newington, a pleasant situation, endeared to him, as we have seen, by the recollections of his boyish years. There were not wanting enemies who, in order to destroy the effect of De Foe's writings, afterwards asserted that during this period his pen had been employed in the composition of Tory tracts and pamphlets—the implied condition, as they would have us to understand, of the continuance of his allowance. But we shall soon have to notice a most speaking instance of the falseness of these charges. When Harley himself, bred in revolutionary principles, first came into power, he did so, indeed, by the aid of the Tory party; but he had neither espoused their principles in their full extent, nor did he consent to anything like a total expulsion of the Whigs from office; for this last part of his policy, indeed, as our readers may remember, he was some years afterwards severely blamed by Swift in the celebrated 'Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs.' But the minister's object, no doubt, was to strengthen

* Review, vii. 371—374.

his own power by carrying along with him as many of the more moderate Whigs as he could detach from Godolphin's party ; and if he failed ultimately in the attainment of this object, the blame was more imputable to the fiery and audacious temper of his colleague, Bolingbroke, than to him. As yet, however, Bolingbroke himself had not entirely forgotten the Whig principles, in which he also had been educated ; or if such a change had taken place in his mind, it was not suspected even by those who knew him best.

De Foe, in truth, less than any one either of the political rulers of that period, or even than any of its political writers, seems to have merited the blame of versatility in political principles ; he wrote against the peace of Utrecht, although by doing so he must have known he was thwarting Harley in the dearest and most important of all his measures. Yet his honesty does not appear even in this delicate instance to have lost him the protection of the minister.

During this residence in Scotland, the corporation of Edinburgh, grateful for his former services, empowered him to publish the 'Edinburgh Courant,' in the room of Adam Rooge. This was the second newspaper published in Scotland, and was projected by James Watson in 1705. The first was the 'Edinburgh Gazette,' established by the same writer, and printed by authority in 1699. This, and his 'Review,' the matter for which he regularly transmitted to London, seem to have occupied nearly all his literary leisure during his absence from England ; but after he had issued forty-five numbers of the 'Courant,' he relinquished it to "the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, printer to the queen, the city, and the college." De Foe returned to London in March, 1711.

During his absence, our author was assailed in a penny pamphlet, called 'A Hue and Cry after Daniel De Foe and his Coventry Beast ; with a Letter from that worthy Horse-courser to a Friend of Mr Mayo in Coventry, that lent it him. London : 1711.' This libel recites that De Foe's travelling occasions leading him, about three years since, into Warwickshire, "to encourage the faction there as well as elsewhere, he could not but pay his respects to the brethren, who at times were very numerous in Coventry ;" that he there hired a horse of one Mayo, which he took with him into Scotland ; and that neither the animal nor the hire of him had been heard of since. A letter is added, said to be written by De Foe, in reply to one that had been left for him at his printer's, but its contents prove it a manifest forgery. In reply to this libel, De Foe published the true state of the case in one of his 'Reviews,' from which it appears, that "about three years since, the author going to Scotland, a gentleman who went with him, his horse falling lame, was obliged to leave him at Coventry and hire another ; so that, in the first place, the story is a falsity as to the person ; for the author of the 'Review' hired no horse at all, neither was the other person any servant, or otherwise belonging to him, but a travelling companion." It appears that the hire of the horse was paid down, and a further sum agreed upon for the purchase, in case it was not returned. De Foe's friend, settling in Scotland, kept the horse, and remitted the money to Coventry ; but the horse-dealer had hitherto declined receiving it, there being a dispute between them as to the price. Such is the substance of a story that was made the ground of a senseless slander against our author, who considered it little deserving of notice, but thought fit to state it correctly, "for the sake of some people who are willing to lay hold of any shift to reproach the man they hate."

Our author's most frequent assailant at this time was Dyer, the new's-writer, who dealt largely in personalities, and was far from particular in the means he employed for advancing the cause of High-church. His libels upon private individuals sometimes exposed him to summary chastisement, but this did not cure him of the *cacoethes scribendi*. His frequent clashings with De Foe, which produced a waste of words that often degenerated into scandal and abuse, induced our author at this time to propose a literary truce,

that each might advocate his cause without personal reflections, and whilst they continued to differ, might express their sentiments in language restrained by the decencies of life; but the strict observance of such a treaty could scarcely be expected at a period so distinguished for political strife. The letter from De Foe to Dyer on this point is among the Harleian MSS. (No. 7001, folio 269) in the British Museum, is directed to "Mr Dyer, Shoe lane," and is as follows:—

"Mr Dyer,—I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggressor, than justify a thing which I am sure you cannot approve; and in this, I assure you, I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long since you had wrote *I never fled from justice*; one Sammon being taken up for printing a libel, and I being then on a journey, nor the least charge against me for being concerned in it by anybody but your letter, when I was in Scotland on the affair of the Union; and I assure you, when my paper had not in the least mentioned you, and those I refer to time and date for the proof of.

"I mention this only in defence of my last letter, in which I said no more of it than to let you see I did not merit such treatment; and could nevertheless be content to render any service to you, though I thought myself hardly used.

"But to state the matter fairly between you and I, as writing for different interests, and so possibly coming under an unavoidable necessity of jarring in several cases, I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, *viz.* that if what either party are doing or saying may clash with the party we are for, and urge us to speak, it shall be done without naming either's name, and without personal reflections; and thus we may differ still, and yet preserve both the Christian and the gentleman.

"This, I think, is an offer may satisfy you. I have not been desirous of giving just offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him; and I see no reason why I should affront a man's person because I do not join with him in principle. I please myself with being the first proposer of so fair a treaty with you, because I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable, so it is not less so in coming first from me, who, I believe, could convince you of my having been the first and most ill treated; for further proof of which I refer you to your letters at the time I was threatened by the envoy of the King of Sweden.

"However, Mr Dyer, this is a method which may end what is past, and prevent what is future; and if refused, the future part, I am sure, cannot lie at my door.

"As to your letter, your proposal is so agreeable to me, that, truly, without it I could not have taken the thing at all; for it would have been a trouble intolerable both to you as well as to me to take your letter, every post, first from you, and then send it to the post-house.

"Your method of sending to the black box is just what I designed to propose, and Mr Shaw will doubtless take it of you. If you think it needful for me to speak to him, it shall be done. What I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it constantly to be sent, upon hinting whereof I shall send you the names. Wishing you success in all things (your opinions of government excepted), I am,

"Your humble servant,

"Newington, June 17, 1710."

"DE FOE."

The factions of the time had given birth to a new paper, superior in talent to most that had gone before it, but as devoid of good breeding as the lowest of its contemporaries. An affectation of contempt for other writers was one of the arts employed by the 'Examiner' to supplant them in public opinion, and those who conducted it were well aware of its power upon persons not qualified to judge of their pretensions. De Foe naturally came in for a full share of its vituperation; but he was not a person to be attacked with impunity, even by so great a master of the art as Swift. "I wonder

much," says he, "to hear an author, who first calls the 'Observator' and the 'Review' stupid and illiterate, should quit his talking to men of sense, to talk to these idiots. Now, what the 'Observator' may do I say nothing; but, as I have all along practised with many other such scurrilous, angry sons of emptiness, so I shall still—*answer and say nothing*." He asks the 'Examiner' how it is, since he boasts of so much learning, that he comes to have so little manners? "I know nothing," says he, "that can render a gentleman so contemptible as to lose his breeding; nor does any difference of persons discharge the obligation of good manners. The author of the 'Examiner' haughtily tells the world that he has kept a footman; and though he does not pretend to say that the 'Review' has been in that capacity, yet he treats him as a man of behaviour would not treat a footman." He tells the 'Examiner' that the 'Review' is not upon equal terms with him in the use of Billingsgate language, and adds, "There is a known story of the mastiff and the little spaniel, which I could also refer him to, as most proper for such an author; but I leave it and him. When he is tired he will have done; and when he is done, he will be tired. Happy is the 'Review' in pinching this party, and making them rave at this rate; it is an immortal testimony to the victory of truth, given by its enemies."

The ill-usage our author received from the high party is circumstantially related in his 'Review' for December 16, 1710, which records some curious particulars:—"Lest I should some time or other, as God shall let loose their hands, fall into the power of this enraged party, give me leave to show a little how they have treated the author of this paper, that it may stand upon record against them; and I'll be very brief:—When railing in print, bullying, and hectoring would not silence him, letters were sent threatening to murder him. His house was marked to be pulled down by the rabble, and he was assured by writing and by messengers that he had not long to live. The very printer was threatened to have his house mobbed for printing it. Several attempts were made to prosecute the paper at the Old Bailey, at Guildhall, and at Westminster; but when no jury could be found to present it, and no crime to present for, that was let fall. Other measures were taken to embroil him with the government; but still all was in vain. When this failed, endeavours were made to rouse sleeping lions, and harass him with dormant creditors; men who, satisfied with the frequent offers he had made of a complete surrender of his effects, had declined for seventeen years a fruitless cruelty upon a man who had given such evidence of his integrity. However, some mischief of this kind they brought him into; and when he had extricated himself from that, the same perjured villain that insulted Mr Daniel Burgess for a sham pretence well known, assaulted him, took fifteen guineas from him to get out of his hands again, which extortion he is now under legal prosecution for, and may speedily be brought to justice. Not content with this, the same villain entered his house on the Sabbath-day without any legal warrant, or the least pretence, in order, upon a sham, to get him into custody, and betray him, whether to murderers or creditors he yet knows not. Then sets of rogues were employed after this to take out sham writs in names not known, and men that were not officers pretended to arrest him; which pretended officers are now under prosecution also, and one of them has confessed the fact. He has been often beset, waylaid, and dogged into dark passages; yet, when they have actually met him, and found him prepared for his defence, their hearts have failed them; for villains are always cowardly. And all this, 'tis evident, is for writing this paper.

"And now, as if this was not enough, *Mr Examiner* is falling upon me with much noise, but little shot; many ill names, but no argument. After *idiot*, which is the first mark of distinction, comes *illiterate*: much wit in that, truly; for how should an idiot but be illiterate? This brings a remark into my thoughts that I have often had occasion to make: we have abundance of learned fools in the world, and ignorant wise men. How often have I seen a man boast of his letters

and his load of learning, and be ignorant in the common necessary acquirements that fit a man for the service of himself and of his country. I know a man at this time, a minister, who is a critic in the Greek and Hebrew, a complete master of the Latin; yet it would make a man blush to read a letter from him, sleep to hear him preach, and sick to read his books. Again, I know another that is an orator in the Latin, a walking index of books, has all the libraries in Europe in his head, from the Vatican at Rome to the learned collection of Dr Salmon at Fleet Ditch; but, at the same time, he is a cynic in behaviour, a fury in temper, unpolite in conversation, abusive in language, and ungovernable in passion. Is this to be learned? Then may I still be illiterate.

“I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages, and have not lost them yet, though I write no bill over my door, nor set Latin quotations in any part of the ‘Review.’ But, to my irreparable loss, I was bred only by halves; for my father, forgetting Juno’s royal academy, left the language of Billingsgate quite out of my education. Hence I am perfectly illiterate in the polite style of the street, and am not fit to converse with the porters and carmen of quality, who grace their diction with the beauties of calling names, and cursing their neighbour with a *bonne grace*. I have had the honour to fight a *rascal*, but never could muster the eloquence of calling a man so; nor am I yet arrived at the dignity of being laureated at her Majesty’s bear-garden. I have also, *illiterate* as I am, made a little progress in science. I read ‘Euclid’s Elements,’ and yet never found the mathematical description of a *scurrilous gentleman*. I have read logic, but could never see a syllogism formed upon the notion of it. I went some length in physics, or natural philosophy, and could never find between the two ends of nature, generation and corruption, one species out of which such a creature could be formed. I thought myself master of geography, and to possess sufficient skill in astronomy to have set up for a country almanac-writer; yet could in neither of the globes find either in what part of the world such a heterogeneous creature lives, nor under the influence of what heavenly body he can be produced. From whence I conclude very frankly that either there is no such creature in the world, or that, according to *Mr Examiner*, I am a stupid idiot, and a very illiterate fellow.”*

De Foe met with as much injustice from the public authorities as from private individuals. The issue of the prosecution above alluded to is thus related by himself:—“It is but lately that I troubled the world with a complaint of the barbarous usage I met with from a villain’s waiting and watching for me, under a pretence to arrest, though without a warrant, and whether to murder or deliver me up to those that should, is like, for want of justice, to remain a secret. I took up lately one of these fellows with a sham writ. He had taken money of a man employed by me formerly to treat with him, believing him then to have been an officer. This villain I had long pursued, and at last apprehended. He begged, confessed, offered to refund the money, and pay the charges; but, not discovering his accomplices, he was carried before a justice of the peace, not a hundred miles from Sir H——y B——lds. The justice, when he heard the first complaint, readily granted his warrant; the case was so black he could not but resolve to punish it. The rogue is brought before him, a lawyer appears, makes out the fact, and the justice discovered some indignation at the crime. But as soon as he heard the prosecutor was Daniel De Foe, author of the ‘Review,’ he calls the gentleman that pleaded it a rogue, though as honest a man as himself, and, by the way, no Whig, discharges the warrant, and bids the villain keep the money; which, for all that, he shall not do, nor shall the justice himself escape the shame of his partiality, for giving orders to a cheat to keep what he owned to have been unjustly gotten. Excellent justice this to make a nation flourish.

* Review, vii, 454—5.

“ Well, this is all on one side,” observes our author, who proceeds to relate a dishonourable transaction that implicated some Whigs :—“ On board of a ship,” says he, “ I loaded some goods. The master is a Whig, of a kind more particular than ordinary. He comes to the port, my bill of lading is produced, my title to my goods undisputed ; no claim, no pretence ; but my goods cannot be found. The ship sailed again, and I am told my goods are carried back, and all the reason given is that they belong to De Foe, author of the ‘ Review,’ and he is turned about, and writes for keeping up the public credit. Thus, gentlemen, I am ready to be assassinated, arrested without warrant, robbed and plundered by all sides ; I can neither trade nor live ; and what is this for ? Only, as I can yet see, because there being faults on both sides, I tell both sides of it too plainly.”*

Writing in the month of March, De Foe says :—“ He that will speak at all must speak quickly ; and he that has but a little while to speak ought to speak to the purpose.” This remark was suggested by a projected tax upon printed papers and pamphlets, the object of which was to suppress the fry of small writers who gave so much annoyance to men in power. Pamphlets now flew about the nation like hail ; and in these the pretensions of all parties were canvassed, and their actions libelled according to the humour of the several writers. A ministry founded upon public opinion, and honest in its designs, has nothing to fear from such missiles ; but the one now existing was vulnerable upon so many points that there was ample room for soreness, which could not be healed by silence, nor by the eloquence of its own writers. Towards the end of this year no fewer than fourteen persons were taken up and held to bail for printing seditious pamphlets ; and as their crime was not specified, they loudly complained that at this rate the office of the Secretary of State might be converted into a Spanish inquisition. Upon a subject so intimately connected with liberty, so important to the diffusion of just opinions upon every subject that is interesting to man, De Foe wrote largely and well in his ‘ Review.’

In the month of March Harley laid before the House of Commons his project for a trade to the South Seas, a scheme upon which he calculated for paying off the national debt. The idea, however, was by no means new, having been suggested to Godolphin, who laid it aside until a convenient opportunity offered for giving it mature consideration ; nor did it appear to be any more than what an ordinary mind might have invented. Harley had no sooner disclosed it, than Rochester and his party vented their ridicule, and did all in their power to defeat it ; but he overpowered opposition, and it was received with an implicit confidence that superseded investigation. So great was the infatuation in its favour, that it was even extolled as an effort of genius and patriotism surpassing all his former merits.

A subject of so much importance to the country was not likely to escape the attention of De Foe, who discussed it at some length in his ‘ Review ;’ but he strips Harley of any claim to the invention. He had himself, long before, projected the establishment of a trade with South America, by the settlement of a colony there ; and had suggested a plan of the kind to the government, as the least costly and most effectual way of distressing Spain, and diminishing the power and resources of France. “ I had the honour,” says he, “ to lay a proposal before his late Majesty, King William, in the beginning of this war, for carrying the war, not into Old Spain, but into America ; which proposal his Majesty approved of, and fully proposed to put it in execution, had not death, to our unspeakable grief, prevented him. And yet I would have my readers distinguish with me, that there is always a manifest difference between carrying on a war in America, and settling a trade there ; and I shall not fail to speak distinctly to this difference in its

* Review, vii, 490—491.

turn. And because I purpose to dwell a little upon the subject, and to make what I shall say on this head, as far as my capacity extends, a perfect though short compendium both of Spanish and English commerce as they respect each other, either in Europe or America, I shall first lay down what the circumstances of this trade are, how carried on, and by whom, and how far we are concerned in them." These points are illustrated by our author at considerable length. He then proceeds to correct some misconceptions of our people with relation to this trade, which they were not to expect upon the same footing as the French enjoyed it. "In this," says he, "I am far from designing to discourage this new undertaking, which I profess to believe a very happy one; but to correct these wild notions, it seems needful to ascertain what we are to understand by a trade to the South Seas, and what not, that in the first place our enemies may not make a wrong improvement of it, our friends in Spain may not take umbrage at it, and our people at home may not grow big with wild expectations, which might end in chagrin and disappointment." He says, "There is room enough on the western coast of America for us to establish a flourishing trade, without encroaching upon the Spaniards;" and intimates, that there are vast tracts of land which they hardly meddle with, combining every advantage of soil and climate, besides plenty of gold and silver, as an effectual foundation for all manner of commerce. The industry and enterprise of the English in such a situation, he says, would open a wide door for the consumption of our manufactures, and bring a vast revenue of wealth to our own country.*

These various matters were embodied by our author in a separate pamphlet, in which he expressed his thoughts upon the subject, arranged in a methodical form, and treated at full length. It was published in the following September, under the title of 'An Essay on the South Sea Trade. London: 1710.' 8vo.

The station to which Harley had raised himself by his intrigues, when viewed in connexion with his political associates, occasioned various speculations as to his future conduct. Although the mystery that he affected in all transactions of a public nature was such as to set conjecture at defiance, yet those who imagined themselves to be acquainted with his opinions, argued upon the future prospects of the nation as their own wishes or their political bias dictated. As he entered upon the ministry with large professions of moderation, it brought him the support of those who would have withheld it from the other ministers. De Foe, who was in this number, always gave him credit for the political virtue upon which he so highly valued himself, and published a work at this time, in which he lays it down as a motive for conciliating the public in his favour. It is entitled, 'Eleven Opinions about Mr H——y; with Observations. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711.'

The nature of the matters discussed in this pamphlet obliged our author to adopt much circumlocution in telling his story. In his desire to forestall a favourable opinion of Harley, and of the measures he expected him to pursue, he is evidently hampered between a desire to do justice to the former ministers and a reconciliation to the change. It is, upon the whole, dexterously written; and upon a presumption that Harley's moderation would have more effect upon the subsequent management than was eventually the case. The prosecution of the subject in another pamphlet, of which he holds out the expectation, does not appear to have been realized.

The tenor of this pamphlet, and of his weekly writings, exposed our author to much obloquy from the Whigs, who accused him of wavering in his politics, and of time-serving servility to the ministry. These unjust attacks he answered in his 'Review,' in a manner perfectly satisfactory to every impartial mind. The motives which guided him in his line of politics after the change in the ministry he thus describes:—

* 'Review,' viii, 165—274.

“ When revolutions happen at Court, as I have seen many, when this or that party goes in or out, it always lays the subject under some difficulties as to his behaviour ; but one general rule serves me in all these turns. The constitution is my guide ; so far as the ministry goes along with it, every subject that regards the general good, acquiesces and is quiet. The reason is clear—we do not go along with the ministry, but they go along with us. There is a manifest difference between a revolution in the government, and a revolution in the administration. The first is a change of the constitution itself, and settling it upon a new, or restoring it to its old foundation ; the latter is only a change of persons. In the former I have a voice as a member of the constitution ; in the latter I am passive. I may be sorry when I see some men put out, and others put in, as I think they are, or are not likely to make us happy and easy in their administration ; but I have no more right to challenge the sovereign, than the sovereign has to call a subject to account for turning away his servants. While they keep within the circle of the laws, and do right, they go along with me ; if they do wrong, they go away from me, and I go wrong too if I follow them. He that serves a minister of state, or joins with him in any illegal step, especially knowing it to be so, is a mercenary, a flatterer, and ought to be the contempt of mankind. But while the ministry keep within the circle of the law, preserve the constitution, uphold the liberties and interests of the nation, let their persons be who or what they will, without inquiring their names, it is my duty to join with them. This is the golden mean by which I regulate myself. If I give offence to some hot friends, when aversion to persons runs them into extremes, I am sorry for them ; for I think I act by principle. He that tells me of bribery, and writing to please, is first a knave, in charging me with what he cannot prove ; and secondly, a fool, in putting more value upon the ‘ Review,’ and its author, than he pretends to, and suggesting that his pen is of such consequence to the present ministry, as to make it worth their while. When the administration of affairs has run wrong, I have never spared myself, but have dared to speak the truth in the face, and in contempt of the power of arbitrary ministers of state ; nay, in opposition to parliaments themselves, when I have thought they invaded the liberties of their country, which they were constituted to protect ; and if I see the same cause, I dare do the same thing again, and shall not fail to do it, let what power or persons soever stand in my way. But, till the ministry break in upon the constitution, invade liberty, encroach upon property, break the laws, and oppress the subject, I cannot think it is the duty or interest of any wise man, to carry on his regret at any change the queen pleases to make, to such a degree as to fall upon the persons that succeed, only because they are in place, whether they act amiss or no. They that think otherwise may act as they please. But it was never my talent to complain without ground, which would be to obtain the favour of not being regarded when I had cause.” *

If we may believe De Foe, he lived in an age when men were very versatile in their politics ; for it was so much the fashion to be governed by persons rather than things, that “ it is almost impossible to find a man, either Whig or Tory, who is of the same sentiments now that he was twenty years ago.” † In that age of political defection, there were, perhaps, few writers less open to the charge of tergiversation than De Foe, notwithstanding the powerful arguments of a wife and six children, with a precarious dependance for their support ; a fact never told by his enemies. In spite of their calumnies, it is impossible not to believe that he was, through life, the consistent friend of civil and religious liberty ; whilst upon minor points, he never allowed his judgment to be fettered by the opinions of any party. Yet, because he did not run the full career of opposition with the Whigs, they set

* Review, viii., 338, 339.

† Ibid, viii., 365.

him down as a mercenary writer, and insisted upon his being in the pay of Harley. Oldmixon, who is resolved never to speak well, either of De Foe or of his patron, repeats the charges against him, with additional scandal; but no credit is to be given to a writer who dips his pen so deeply in the gall of party. He couples De Foe with Swift as "fellow-labourers in the service of the White-Staff;" and says, that "he paid De Foe better than he did Swift; looking on him as the shrewder head of the two." The same writer, in his life of Maynwaring (p. 168), says, "He told me that De Foe, who had had very great obligations to my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, when he began to turn his 'Reviews' against his benefactor" (which, by the way, he never did), "wrote his lordship a letter that he did it in compliment with the madness of the times, and seemed to fall in with those that clamoured against his administration, only that he might get a hearing for him in his favour." A very improbable story, and of a piece with what follows: "Nay, he was so base as to take money of the Earl of Godolphin, at the same time that he had a pension from his successor, who sent him to Scotland as a spy, when the treaty of union was afoot, and kept him in pay ever after, as a man whose conscience was exactly of a size with his own, and who was fit for any drudgery he should put him upon. Mr Maynwaring has often expressed to me his admiration, that either the Earl of Godolphin, or the Treasurer that came after him, could put any trust in such a fellow, or have any opinion of his capacity, he being the most ignorant rogue that ever scribbled. He would never let me take any notice of his 'Reviews' (in the Medley), yet himself fell upon one of them in a half-sheet, and made such a devil of the author that he laboured a long while after to clear himself of so much infamy; but it was laid on too thick and too close for him to wipe it off." The works of De Foe vindicate him from the contempt sought to be put upon him by this and other writers; and from the other charges he has satisfactorily cleared himself in his 'Appeal to Honour and Justice,' and in his 'Review.'

De Foe's next separate publication was on the subject of the peace, which ministers were now negotiating with France, very much to the dissatisfaction of the English nation at large, with whom the long train of successes that had attended the arms of the confederates against the ambitious French monarch, had rendered the war popular, as affording a prospect of creating a balance of power in Europe. De Foe, though his opinion remained unchanged as to the necessity of securing that object, was a friend to peace, provided it could be obtained on safe and honourable terms, as he contended that the circumstances of the nation required it, and the state of the question was now, in some material points, different from the position which it held in the time of William. Besides entering largely into the subject in his 'Review,' De Foe, in the month of March, sent forth "An Essay at a Plain Exposition of that Difficult Phrase, 'A Good Peace.' London. 1711."

In discussing this question, De Foe refers to the primary objects of the war, as laid down in the treaty of partition, and the articles of the grand alliance, and contends, that a treaty founded upon those stipulations can be the only basis of a good peace. Since the formation of that alliance, however, an event had happened, which not being foreseen, could not be provided for, and would render some alterations necessary in the terms to be insisted upon. The event here referred to was the accession to the empire of the Austrian King of Spain, which De Foe contends put an end to his claim upon the latter country, and rendered a new arrangement necessary to preserve a balance of power in Europe: for this could not be obtained by giving Spain either to France or Austria. It was apparent, therefore, that satisfaction must be given to both powers by a distribution of the Spanish dominions, but upon the nature of the allotment he does not presume to give an opinion. This must be settled by a general treaty between all the powers; and if France did not agree to reasonable terms, we should only be in the same situation

that we were, and could renew the war. It is evident from the tenour of this discourse, that De Foe had abandoned the idea of King Philip's removal from the Spanish throne, and that he thought some equivalent might be provided for the allies, without compromising the honour of the country, or defeating the wishes of the people for peace. His pamphlet must have been of considerable use to the ministers, whilst it is so dexterously written as not to compromise the politics of the writer, nor commit him with the policy which dictated the terms that were finally agreed upon.

The reproaches cast upon the memory of King William, for the Treaty of Partition, and their revival at this time for party purposes, awakened De Foe to a renewed vindication of his royal master. Besides devoting his 'Review' to the subject upon the anniversary of the Revolution, he published, early in December, 'The Felonious Treaty ; or, an Inquiry into the Reasons which moved his late Majesty King William, of Glorious Memory, to enter into a Treaty at Two several Times with the King of France, for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy.' Our author adopted this title in ridicule of John Howe, member for Gloucestershire, who had used the term in a debate in the House of Commons, for the purpose of insulting the King.

We are now again approaching a measure that had been an object of earnest solicitude with high churchmen during the whole of this reign. The menaces thrown out against the Dissenters, in the bold and senseless declamations of the clergy, were not empty words, but gave an earnest of their designs upon the earliest opportunity for putting them in execution. A session of parliament having passed over without any demonstrations in their favour, or rather against the rights of their fellow citizens, they began to clamour at their friends, complaining of their slow paces towards the removal of the toleration, and the substitution of sanguinary laws for the support of the church. Not a few of them were looking forward to those halcyon days when they were to have the custody of scrupulous consciences ; when the sword of the church, which had been in a rusty state since the Revolution, should be new-furbished, and held up *in terrorem* for the confusion of all heretics. To prepare the minds of people for what was to follow, the proceedings of both houses of parliament upon the Occasional Conformity Bill, were now re-printed, with the arguments at large, and "Reasons for bringing in such an useful bill as this must be to the church and kingdom, this present session of parliament."

The long-wished-for day at length dawned upon them. By a strange conjunction of party interests the Whigs and Tories now united to fasten upon the Dissenters that yoke of bondage which the former had hitherto so successfully resisted. As the ministers had little prospect of standing their ground but in the event of a peace, the Whigs bent the strength of their opposition to that point ; and the Earl of Nottingham having been soured by his exclusion from the ministry, agreed to a coalition with them in this particular, upon the condition of their giving up the Dissenters. The ingratitude of these men was the more remarkable, as the Dissenters had always supported them with the whole weight of their influence, whether by voting for them at elections, or by contributing their money for the support of public credit by banks, joint-stock companies, and other ways.

Those Whig writers who have dealt out the charges of versatility so copiously against De Foe, would have done well to reserve a portion of their anger for the Whigs upon this occasion ; but they showed less regard for consistency than for the interests of party. The feeble assistance gained by the Whigs, as a recompense for their loss of honour, was for an object as worthless as the alliance itself was unnatural and disgraceful. This nobleman was of so little real consequence, that he had always been the subject of their ridicule. "What lampoons was the town full of," says De Foe, "when he encumbered the state ; and now, how caressed ! And, to gratify a desire as prepos-

terous as all the rest, how willing are some men to give up their friends as victims to this convert, and to his mighty interest! Nay, how do they abandon the just and righteous interest they had before espoused, to oblige a man of no interest at all! Of what a camelion-like disposition is man made of!" * As the Whigs were predominant in the Lords, it is very certain that, without this dereliction of principle, so infamous a measure could not have passed; they must, therefore, participate with the Tories in its disgrace, which, says De Foe, "will infallibly ruin many hundreds of Dissenting families, or cause them to act against their consciences for bread; which I think is one of the worst kinds of persecution." † Well might our author exclaim, in the words of Julius Cæsar, when he saw the hand of his old friend lifted up against him, *Et tu Brute!* "The case of the Dissenters," says he, "is circumstanced too similarly; this mortal stab could have been received from no hand but that of a friend. The Dissenters in England, as they stood united in interest with the low-churchmen, could have received no fatal blow but from themselves. Three times the united power of their enemies had attacked them, and could never prevail; but given up by their friends, they fall of course." ‡

Upon the strength of this disgraceful alliance, the Earl of Nottingham brought forward his favourite measure in the House of Lords, the 15th of December, and meeting with no opposition, it passed through its several stages in three days! Even Burnet, who was so eloquent upon a former occasion, now preserved a dead silence, and relates the affair with a brevity and *sang-froid* that reflect no honour upon his character. He tells us the Whigs yielded more readily because the court had promised to carry the measure in the Commons; but this should have been a stimulus to their exertions in the Lords, where they possessed the most weight. As a sop to their consciences, Nottingham promised to draw the bill with all possible temper; as if it made any difference to a man who is to be butchered whether the act be performed in a passion or in cold blood! The title of the bill was singularly curious, and formed a part of the juggle then played so skilfully between politics and religion. It professed to be "An Act for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of England as by law established; and for confirming the Toleration granted to Protestant Dissenters, by an Act, intituled &c., and for supplying the defects thereof; and for the further securing the Protestant Succession, &c." To shut out one quarter of the Protestants, and those the farthest removed from Popery, from an interest in the constitution, was rather an odd way of providing for the Protestant religion; but no man was so blind as not to see through the artifice of these cunning churchmen, who were for playing off religion upon the loaves and fishes of the state. If the body of the bill bore but little affinity to its title, it corresponded better with the motives of its supporters. Not only were Dissenters to be excluded in future from all civil employments, but such was the contagious nature of non-conformity, that henceforward no person in office was to be allowed to put his nose within the doors of a meeting-house, gracefully called a *conventicle*, without becoming liable to the penalties of the act. These involved a forfeiture of place, and a fine of forty pounds for each offence; and the unlucky offender was to pay further for his curiosity by being rendered ineligible to any appointment until he had passed through the purgation of conformity for a full twelvemonth. Such was the eagerness to pass this measure, that it was before the Commons only three days; and a petition from the foreign Protestants in London to be exempted from its provisions, was rejected with contempt. The Dissenters, justly alarmed at a measure so fatal to their interests, applied to the Earl of Oxford to use his influence in their favour; naturally supposing that a man who had been nearly all his life a Presbyterian, and whose family was still of the same religion, would feel some sympathy for their wrongs. But the minister thought fit to

* Review, viii, 470.

† Review, viii, 470.

‡ Ibid, 473.

sacrifice his religion to his ambition, as was the case with Harcourt, St John, and others, who now left the Dissenters in the lurch. The bill received the royal assent upon the 22nd of December, being the eighth day after its introduction.

By this measure the Dissenters sustained a blow which had been long aimed at them by their enemies, but without success! "A blow," says De Foe, "by which they are excluded from the common concern of fellow-subjects in the trusts and advantages of the society they live in; by which they are treated as aliens and strangers in the commonwealth, or as persons dangerous to be trusted by the government they have so faithfully and so largely contributed to support."

Whilst the bill was before the Commons, De Foe wrote strenuously against it, without respect to persons or parties. He thought it very hard that those who were so anxious for a peace with France "should bring along with it the fetters and chains of their country, and especially those worst of chains, impositions upon conscience. It would be a sad conclusion of the war," says he, "that peace and persecution should come together; and therefore, while your Protestant brethren, though dissenting from you in particulars which are acknowledged by yourselves to be indifferent, continue peaceable, submitting to the laws, it is very hard that they should be oppressed in conscience at a time when they ought rather to be reaping with you the consolations of peace, after they have shared the miseries of the war. On the other hand," addressing the Whigs, he says, "you that are against a peace, will you fortify your political interests by giving up for a prey those you have so long espoused both in their civil and religious liberties? Methinks I see some people abroad, whose characters have for some years been adorned with the word patriot, strangely easy to give up all these things, that they may but strengthen their party interest. But this is not the first time that some people who call themselves friends to the Dissenters, have offered to sacrifice them to their enemies upon very mean conditions." Our author contends that the toleration was a legal establishment, expressly stipulated for at the Revolution, and granted to the Dissenters for the assistance they afforded to Churchmen in bringing about that event. He notices the repeated promises of the queen, who had passed her royal word that she would preserve the toleration inviolable; and expresses his fears that this was but the commencement of further breaches upon it. He forbears meddling with the proceedings in parliament, in consequence of the injunction of the Lords; but, says he, "If persecuting laws are set up, and the liberty of Dissenters established at the Revolution is attempted, God forbid that I should cease, though humbly, to complain of the injury, let what human authority soever prohibit it. If they make it criminal, I am ready to suffer; but I will never lose my little share in the liberties of my country, without crying out against both the mischief and the contrivers of it, let them be who they will." *

In another paper he makes a powerful appeal to the feelings of the nation, which had become blunted by the inroads of bigotry. After noticing the services of the Dissenters, and their contributions to the war, both personal and pecuniary, he says, "Many of the poor families who must now lay down the little places which long importunity and perhaps some little money has helped them to, are the miserable remains of the descendants of the French in our colonies, which they assisted in taking; and give me leave to say, many are the ruined masters and owners of ships, let out to the public for transporting King William's army to Ireland, who had no provision made for them till they were ruined by the delay. Some are victims to parliamentary deficiencies; and these are a part of the people who are now in a merciless manner to perish without any crime, and who, having first lost their estates in the service of the government, must now lose their employ under it, because they cannot be hypocrites. If this is honourable

* Review, viii, 466—468.

dealing, let our enemies themselves be judges. For my part, I have no place to lose ; no expectation of any to give over. I neither have, nor can accept of, any place upon the terms that have been, any more than on the terms that are now required ; though perhaps I have had as many offers and as much family occasion as any man. I cannot be arguing, therefore, any part of my own interest. The corruption of the times makes it necessary to say this ; let any man equally indifferent answer it if he can." *

As soon as the bill had passed, De Foe published, in his 'Review,' a paper which he says was handed about at the time in manuscript, and was no doubt of his own composition. "I have met," says he, "with an unlucky paper in the town, said to be a speech spoken by a stone chimney-piece, which expostulates this matter very smartly." It was afterwards printed in another of his works,† and purports to be "The Speech Spoken by the Stone Chimney-piece in the House of Lords," and is thus introduced : "The bill having been read and committed, and no lord offering to speak against it, on a sudden a great noise was heard towards the fire, and from a crack in the Chimney-piece these words were audibly heard :—

"Wonder not, my Lords, when you sit mute, like statues of stone, that I speak. I am now a Peer, and since you, with hearts harder than rocks, can tamely abandon those poor creatures who have trusted to your protection, without saying one word for them, my softer stone cannot any longer keep silence. I have often been witness, my Lords, to the zeal and passion with which some of you have defended their cause. I heard with pleasure those Reverend Prelates, those noble patriots, plead for them, and now I see them sit more unconcerned than myself. For God's sake, my Lords, what meant your former zeal ? or what means your present indolence ? Were you in the wrong when you opposed what now you consent to ? Or are you now in the wrong, in consenting to what you before reckoned the greatest act of violence and oppression ? Speak, my Lords ; a reason of your change is due from you. (Here was a long pause, and all silent.) What, silent still ! I conjure you, by your honours, my Lords, to speak. (Here was another pause, and yet silent.) What, silent still ! Oh shameful change ! Will not the sense of honour move you more than statues ? Harken then to me, and I will reprove you. I will not, my Lords, tell all that I have heard you whisper, while you lolled on me in your late unnatural caresses ; I will not expose you too far, but I have not been totally deaf. I heard what passed when you sold your friends, and sold them for nought—for a vote, for a single worthless vote, that will desert you in the matter you depend upon it for, and so return upon you a just retribution. Was this, my Lords, an equivalent for those that had always stood by you ; that had endured mobbing, plundering, burning, and all manner of abuses for your sakes ? is it possible that after all this they should be thus surrendered, without one word for them ? Who, my Lords, will depend on you after this ? Who will move a finger or lip in your quarrel ? Depend upon it, you will miss your aim, you have ruined your own interest, and have lost the honour of your former integrity. With what regret will you reflect on this day's action, when you shall find yourselves the jest of those that decoyed you, and the scorn of those that you have abandoned ? Think of this ; repent if you can, though it is too late.' "

As a last effort to avert so obnoxious a measure, our author besought the Queen, in pathetic terms, to interpose her good offices. For this purpose, he drew up a pamphlet with so much dispatch, that it was announced for publication in the 'Review' for the 22nd of December, and bears the following title : 'An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution in Britain.' The appeal, however, was in vain, for the bigotry of the Queen was as incurable as the ambition of her ministers, and was a torment to her subjects throughout her reign.

* Review, viii, 479.

† Present State of Parties, p. 102.

CHAPTER XIV.

AT the opening of the year 1712, our author was engaged in some commercial concerns, the nature of which remains unknown. His partner in this speculation was a Mr Ward, who for many years carried on a respectable business as a mercer and draper at Coleshill, in Warwickshire. He was then a member of the Established Church, but a Whig in politics, which exposed him to the rage of his High-church neighbours, who, following the fury of the times, raised such an odium against him as occasioned his business to decline. Mr Ward was the only Whig in the town; but being a man of a mild temper, and of inoffensive manners, he gained the respect even of his enemies. Unable to move him from his principles, party malignity at length triumphed over this deference to his character, of which the following anecdote furnishes a striking instance. The curate of Coleshill, whose name was Badger, paid a visit one afternoon to Mr Ward, who had the company of other neighbours. Whilst they were enjoying themselves over a cheerful bottle, the Jacobite priest thought fit to propose for a toast the health of James the Third, which, from prudence and principle, Mr Ward declined to drink. This irritated the parson so much that he threatened to drive him from the town, and from that time he lost his business. After this occurrence the spirit of malevolence was further manifested in the following imprecation written upon his door :

“Curse and confusion, hell and damnation,
Be to Ward and his generation.”

The machinations of his enemies at length obliged him to leave the town, and he settled at Nuneaton, in the same county. Whether it was here or at Coleshill that he became connected with De Foe, is uncertain; but if it was at the last-mentioned place, it must have been previously to March, 1712, when Mr Ward was still at Coleshill. Their scheme, whatever it was, proved unsuccessful, and Mr Ward suffered considerably in his fortune by it. The seeds of Jacobitism were sown at Coleshill by Mr Kettlewell, who was dispossessed of the vicarage for refusing the oaths to the government in 1690. Thomas Carte, the historian, seems to have possessed the living at this time, and was zealous in propagating the same anti-revolution principles. Badger was probably his curate. The political bias of the inhabitants was owing principally to the influence of Lord Digby, who owned most of the town, and was patron of the living. Being himself a friend to the Stuarts, he took care to place such clergymen there as were zealously attached to his own politics. Under such instructors, it is no wonder that the people went astray. *

* The folly of persecution De Foe has strikingly portrayed in the following narrative :—“A certain corporation town, having abundance of poor, large manufactories, and great trade, was thus circumstanced :—The magistrates, mayor, aldermen, and town-council, were all Churchmen; the master manufacturers were generally Dissenters; at least, being twelve in number, nine of them were so, and the other three had the smallest business; so that the government of the town was Tory and the trade Whig. The times running hard upon the Dissenters, the laws were put in execution against them in most places; and the magistrates, pushed on by the parson, fell upon them here also. Two meeting-houses which they had in the town were immediately demolished, many of the people sent to prison, their ministers driven five miles off by the Corporation Act, and the chief of the Dissenters prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, to excommunication, seizing of their goods, and all manner of extremities. A gentleman about six miles from the place, who was a Dissenter, and had a good estate in that country, invited two of the principal persecuted tradesmen to shelter with him, and gave them two houses rent-free in his village; their two ministers he entertained in his house, and there they preached every Sabbath-day. The two tradesmen finding themselves easy here, which they could not be in the neighbouring

Whilst De Foe was occupied in the peaceful pursuits of industry, the news-writers assailed his character for the purpose of destroying his credit. The real ground of offence was the assistance he afforded to the ministers by advocating a peace; but they betrayed their malice in diverging from that topic to his private misfortunes. One of the writers of whom he had thus to complain was Ridpath, who succeeded Tutchin in the conduct of the 'Observator.' "Instead of confining himself to public matters," says De Foe, "he descends to personalities, and, for want of better arguments, reproaches me with private misfortunes, things altogether foreign to the matter in hand, and which he can on no honourable pretence mention, but merely *renovare dolorem*. While, to make good the deficiency of his reasoning, he frequently called me bankrupt, I held my tongue, supposing he took that for a good proof that I was wrong in all I said; for how should a bankrupt have any sense? Or, how should he argue who could not pay his debts? But finding this would not move me, he comes closer, and publishes in the 'Observator' that nobody will trust me with a shilling. This, indeed, though it were true, as I thank God it is a premeditated untruth, weighs not one grain in the scale of his argument; yet it forces me to speak a word or two more than I designed. If I had not at this time in the lawful pursuit of my business, by which, and not by writing, as he does, I get my bread, support a large family, and honestly set apart the overplus, all which this malicious person has thus endeavoured to blast and overthrow,—if, I say, I had not in the course of this business, even at this time, the trust of several thousand pounds in my hands,—if I had not, since the misfortune he reproaches me with, been trusted both with public and private money above the value of 100,000*l.*, and if I was not every day oppressed with credit of both goods and money, by friends whom I act for, much more than I desire, all which business and credit he has done his utmost to ruin and prevent, I should have said nothing. But as this is my case, justice to myself, my family, and such as are daily trusting me, obliges me to take this notice of it."

De Foe then refers him to several persons of his own acquaintance who had trusted him with a thousand pounds at a time, which he had faithfully discharged; and observes, "Had what he says been true, he, a professed Dissenter, ought not to have mentioned it, since thereby he only calls to mind how I suffered 3,500*l.* loss for a cause that he owns, and a party which he ought to have more respect for than to force me to upbraid them with unkindness, and to tell how easily I could have prevented that loss with advantage, if I would have betrayed honest men, even some who have since forgotten the obligation. But, as he can, without any just provocation, thus attempt to ruin and overthrow a family

corporation, soon removed their families and working servants, and settled in the village; such of the weavers and other work-people as were dependent upon them for employment soon followed, and the poor of the village soon found the sweets of it. In a short time three more of the masters, with all their et ceteras, followed the example, and in less than two years all the nine master manufacturers removed, so that the village could not receive the people that followed. Some built houses, the lord of the manor letting them land, and giving them all imaginable encouragement. In the meantime the persecution of Dissenters slackened, and they began to preach openly in the new town. This also drew many from the corporation, and the trade increasing with the people, the village grew up to a great town. All this while the corporation town decayed, the employment of the people was gone, the weight of the poor not only remained but increased, insomuch that the rate was doubled. The people ran all away, not to the village only, but to the meeting-house too, to make their court to the masters for work. These, remembering how they had been used, encouraged chiefly those that were Dissenters, so that hundreds went to the meeting-house who used to go to church, for fear of losing their work. By the industry of some and the charity of others, all their real poor were provided for, and the few that remained in the Tory corporation served only to show the ruins of a good town, and the fatal effects of cruelty and persecution. Some corporations in England besides C——," observes De Foe, "may take a hint from this story."—Review, viii, 711, 712.

struggling with a known and unwearied diligence to recover its misfortunes, and do justice to all the world, so I cheerfully depend upon it, that God will not suffer so malicious a purpose to have its effect." De Foe then gives notice that he is ready to return all goods, money, and effects entrusted to him, to such persons as may have been rendered uneasy by this villanous attempt to stab his reputation.* This was not the only occasion upon which our author had to complain of the injustice of Ridpath; but he meets his attacks with gentleness, and scorns to return the ill-language that was meted out to him by his adversary. "I own it is my affliction," says he, "to be used so, having not given the least occasion; but it is my duty when reviled not to revile again. Time, perhaps, will better inform any one that these people shall deceive; I only remember that this same man assailed me in the very same manner with being employed by the late ministry, and flew as much in their faces for mismanagement, and in mine too for defending them, as he does now. And yet he cannot charge me with one word which contradicts anything I said then, nor reflecting on the cause I ever espoused, which I hope is the cause of truth. I might go back to his reviling King William, but I say no more; nor shall I give any more answers to anything he thinks fit to say, till he can assume so much of the Christian as to say nothing but what he can prove, and so much of the gentleman as to give good language."†

De Foe's next production was a pamphlet, entitled 'The Conduct of Parties in England, more especially of those Whigs who now appear against the new Ministry, and a Treaty of Peace. London, 1712;' wherein much information is brought together relating to the factions of the reign, and the party distinctions by which they were known. In exposing the inconsistency of the Whigs, the author abstains from those terms of vituperation which were dealt out against them by the Tories, and censures them chiefly for joining with a set of men who were equally enemies to the late and present ministry.

Next appeared 'The Present State of Parties in Great Britain: Particularly an Inquiry into the State of the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland. 1712.' A work containing a good historical view of the times, illustrated by some useful documents, and abounding in good sense and manly feeling.

The delicate hand with which De Foe now touched the acts of the government, and his forbearance upon topics which must have deeply engaged his feelings, induced many to suspect that he was bribed by the ministers. But the suggestion was as unfounded as it was unworthy; his conduct being wholly governed by prudential motives, and by delicacy towards the chief minister, from whom he had formerly received benefits. Some printed papers having been circulated to his disadvantage, he thought it necessary to interpose the following defence:—

"I remember a malcontent of a reign not many years behind us, whether he wrote Pagan or Protestant 'Post-Boys,' 'Examiners,' or what, authors are not agreed, when an argument was brought a little too close to him, said, 'Sir, you would rail as I do, if you were not bribed.'—'Ay,' replied the other, 'and you would be quieter than I, if anybody would bribe you.'" Upon this De Foe remarks, "Three sorts of men always rail at a government. First, those whose opinion of their own merit makes them think they are never well enough rewarded. The second sort are those who having enjoyed favours, but being found unworthy, are discarded from their offices; these always rail as if they had never been obliged. But we have a third sort of people who always go with their mouths open, in order to have them stopped; like a sort of dogs I have met with, that, when they attend under your table, bark that they may be fed. I remember a man of some note who practised this with great success, and canted a long while in the

* Review, viii, 495—6.

† Ibid, 434.

House of Commons about abuses in the management, misapplying the public treasure, making felonious treaties, and the like ; but a wise old fox no sooner halved his den to this badger, but he put a stop to the clamour, and the nation's treasure was never misapplied since, because a good share of it ran his way." Our author here alludes to John Howe, M.P., in this and the former reign, who was made joint pay-master of the forces with Sir Stephen Fox.

Our author continues, "He that takes a bribe is a traitor to his own principles and to his country. It has been the fate of these nations to be always plagued with such vermin ; but I never knew any real good come of buying them off, and therefore just governments always let them alone." De Foe intimates that the railers of his day were of too little importance to be bought off. "For my own part, I must needs be perfectly free from the scandal ; and if the rest had not more vanity, they would leave off expecting it. I do not believe many of the writers of this age were ever offered a bribe ; and I'll clear them of that scandal upon the same foot as I do myself, believing that the ministry know better what to do with their money ; therefore, whatever honour they do me that way, I am in no condition to return it. I have written this upon account of two printed papers relating to myself, of which the authors have so far owned themselves ashamed as to let them but just see the world and retire : and upon account of those who boast of their being employed by the government, when what they write is scandalous even to human society."

The Preface to the eighth volume of the 'Review,' published at this period, gives a narrative of the treatment he had received during its progress, and relates some affecting particulars of his past life, as well as of the existing state of his circumstances. Although the narrative is rather long, yet it throws so much light upon his personal affairs, and is so descriptive of his real character, that to suppress it would deprive the present work of an important document.

"I have now finished the eighth volume of this work, and as this particular part has been the subject of as much clamour and noise as any of the former, though on a different account, and from different people, I cannot close it without giving some account both of it and of myself. From the beginning of this undertaking, which I have now carried on almost ten years, I have always, according to the best of my judgment, calculated it for the support and defence of truth and liberty. I was not so weak when I began as not to expect enemies, and that by speaking plain, both to persons and things, I should exasperate many against both the work and the author, and in that expectation I have not been deceived.

"I confess I did not expect that if the same truth summoned me to differ from the people I was serving, they would treat me as they do for it. I own I thought an uninterrupted fidelity, and steady adhering to an honest principle for near forty years, would have been some plea in my behalf, and, if not, that suffering the shipwreck of my fortunes, which were at that time recovering, and by the bounty of his late majesty, in a fair way of being restored ; suffering all the indignities, penalties, and punishments, an enraged party could inflict upon me, and above three thousand pounds loss ; I say I thought this might have lodged a little in the breasts of my friends, and might have allowed them at least to examine, before they condemned me, whether they did me wrong or no.

"I thought that while I had given such proof that I could neither be bribed from the truth, or threatened, or terrified from my principles, it might at least be a ground for impartial, honest men to examine before they censured me. But I have found all this in vain ; and as if forfeiting my reason as well as my estate were a debt from me to the party I espoused, I am now hunted with a full cry, Acteon like, by my own friends, I won't call them hounds, in spite of protested innocence and want of evidence against the

genuine sense of what I write, against fair arguing, against all modesty and sense, condemned by common clamour as writing for money, for particular persons, by great men's directions, and the like ; every tittle of which I have the testimony of my own conscience is abominably false, and the accusers must have the accusation of their own consciences that they do not know it to be true.

" I cannot say it has not given me a great deal of disturbance ; for an ungrateful treatment by a people that I had run all manner of risk for, and thought I could have died for, cannot but touch a less sensible temper than I think mine to be ; but I thank God that operation is over, and I endeavour to make other uses of it than perhaps the people themselves think I do. First, I look in, and upon the narrowest search I can make of my own thoughts, desires, and designs, I find a clear untainted principle, and consequently an entire calm of conscience, founded upon the satisfying sense, that I neither am touched with bribes, guided or influenced by fear, favour, hope, dependence, or reward from any person or party under heaven ; and that I have written, and do write, nothing but what is my native, free, undirected opinion and judgment, and which was so many years ago, as I think I made unanswerably appear by the very last 'Review' of this volume.

" Next, I look up, and without examining into His ways, the sovereignty of whose providence I adore, I submit with an entire resignation to whatever happens to me, as being by the immediate direction of that goodness, and for such wise and glorious ends as, however I may not yet see through, will at last issue in good, even to me ; fully depending that I shall yet be delivered from the power of slander and reproach, and the sincerity of my conduct be yet cleared up to the world ; and if not, *Te Deum laudamus*.

" In the third place, I look back on the people who treat me thus, who, notwithstanding under the power of their prejudices they fly upon me with a fury that I think unchristian and unjust ; yet as I doubt not the day will still come when they will be again undeceived in me, I am far from studying their injury, or doing myself justice at their expense, which I could do with great advantage. It is impossible for the Dissenters in this nation to provoke me to be an enemy to their interest ; should they fire my house, sacrifice my family, and assassinate my life, I would ever requite them in defending their cause, and standing to the last against all those that should endeavour to weaken or reproach it. But this is, as I think it, a just and righteous cause, founded upon the great principle of truth and liberty, which I am well assured I shall never abandon. Not that I am insensible of being ill treated by them, or that I make any court to their persons. When any party of men have not a clear view of their own case, or a right knowledge of their own interest, he that will serve them, and knows the way to do it, must be certain not to please them, and must be able to see them revile and reproach him, and use him in the worst manner imaginable, without being moved either to return them ill, or refrain from doing them good ; and this is the true meaning of that command which I thank God I cheerfully obey, viz. to pray for *them* that despitefully use me. I have not so ill an opinion of myself as not to think I merit better usage from the Dissenters, and I have not so ill an opinion of the Dissenters as not to think they will some time or other know their friends from their enemies better than they do now ; nor have I so far forgot my friends as not to own a great many of them do already. I remember the time when the same people treated me in the same manner upon the book called 'The Shortest Way,' &c., and nothing but suffering for them would ever open their eyes. He that cleared up my integrity then can do it again by the same method, and I leave it to him. *Ad te quacunqve vocas* is my rule ; my study and practice is patience and resignation ; and in this I triumph over all the indignity, reproach, slander, and raillery in the world ; in this I enjoy, in the midst of a

million of enemies, a perfect peace and tranquillity ; and when they misconstrue my words, pervert the best meaning, turn everything which I say their own way, it gives me no other contemplation than this : how vain is the opinion of men, either when they judge well or ill.

“ I have made such protestations of my receiving no reward or directions whatever for this work, as none but those who are used to prevaricate themselves can, upon any foundation that is consistent with Christianity, suspect, and the circumstances I labour under are a corroborating evidence of the truth of it ; yet, without grounds, without evidence, without any testimony but general notion, they will have it to be otherwise ; two of their authors have the impudence to assert it, but not one step have they taken to prove it, nor can they do it, though both openly challenged to do it, and a hundred guineas offered upon the proof of it. Thus they give the lie and the rascal to themselves without my help, who quietly let them go on their own way. My measures are, to the best of my judgment, steady ; what I approve I defend, what I dislike I censure, without any respect of persons ; only endeavouring to give my reasons, and to make it appear that I approve and dislike upon good and sufficient grounds ; which being first well assured of, the time is yet to come that I ever refrain to speak my mind for fear of the face of man. If what I have said were false, my enemies would certainly choose to answer rather than to rail ; but as I have unanswerable truth, they choose to rail rather than to answer.

“ I have lived too long, and seen too much, not to know that all those violent party feuds are of short duration ; and we see the very men I now speak of, approve to-day what they were loudest against but yesterday. It is my disinterested study to serve them, but I confess 'tis not so to please them ; I shall never leave off to wish well to their interest, and can I but serve it, they shall have leave to throw stones at me as long as I live. But this does by no means hinder but that I may, and ever shall, as the best mark of my zeal for their interest, tell them plainly their mistakes.

“ This passion I have for their interest fills me with resentment at the barbarity of the treatment which the Dissenters have received in the affair of the Occasional Bill, and that from a people they had deserved other usage from ; and in this, as I said before, I do them but justice. That they themselves are so easy under it as not only to make no complaint, but even to say it has done them no harm, is an evidence of their unconquerable passion to a particular view, which I believe they will always be disappointed in ; since it is evident this has ruined the interest of the Whigs in almost all the corporations in England, and put them into such a posture as never but by miracle to recover it. I pity the delusion of those who entertain a notion, that if ever the Low Churchmen come to the administration, they will restore the Dissenters. I grant it would be both just and generous so to do, but if they will first show me one Low Churchman in the nation of any figure, that, however he may exclaim at the method, does not appear secretly satisfied that it is done, then I'll join in expecting it. But I shall farther show them the vanity of these hopes in my other discourses upon this head. We need not wonder at the other mistakes we see some people run into, when they are so intent upon the party interest they push at, that they are contented to be the sacrifice offered up for the purchase of human help to carry it on ; in all which unchristian course we have seen them effectually disappointed, and I must own, till I see another spirit among them, I do not look for their deliverance.

“ To return to my own case. I am a stoic in whatever may be the event of things. I'll do and say what I think is a debt to justice and truth, without the least regard to clamour and reproach ; and as I am utterly unconcerned at human opinion, the people that throw away their breath so freely in censuring me, may consider of some better improvement to make of their passions than to waste them on a man that is both above

and below the reach of them. I know too much of the world to expect good in it, and have learnt to value it too little to be concerned at the evil. I have gone through a life of wonders, and am the subject of a vast variety of providences; I have been fed more by miracle than Elijah, when the ravens were his purveyors. I have some time ago summed up the scenes of my life in this distich:

“No man has tasted differing fortunes more,
And thirteen times I have been rich and poor.”

“In the school of affliction I have learnt more philosophy than at the academy, and more divinity than from the pulpit; in prison I have learnt to know that liberty does not consist in open doors, and the free egress and regress of locomotion. I have seen the rough side of the world as well as the smooth; and have, in less than half a year, tasted the difference between the closet of a king and the dungeon of Newgate. I have suffered deeply for cleaving to principles, of which integrity I have lived to say, none but those I suffered for ever reproached me with it. The immediate causes of my suffering have been the being betrayed by those I have trusted, and scorning to betray those who trusted me. To the honour of English gratitude I have this remarkable truth to leave behind me—that I was never so basely betrayed as by those whose families I had preserved from starving, nor so basely treated as by those I starved my own family to preserve. The same chequer work of fortune attends me still; the people I have served, and love to serve, cut my throat every day, because I will not cut the throats of those that have served and assisted me. Ingratitude has always been my aversion, and perhaps for that reason it is my exercise.

“And now I live under universal contempt, which contempt I have learned to contemn, and have an uninterrupted joy in my soul; not at my contempt, but that no crime can be laid to my charge to make that contempt my due. Fame, a lying jade, would talk me up for I know not what of courage, and they call me a fighting fellow. I despise the flattery; I profess to know nothing of it, farther than truth makes any man bold; and I acknowledge, that give me but a bad cause, and I am the greatest coward in the world. Truth inspires nature; and as in defence of truth no honest man can be a coward, so no man of sense can be bold when he is in the wrong. He that is honest must be brave, and it is my opinion that a coward cannot be an honest man. In defence of truth I think (pardon me that I dare go no further, for who knows himself?) I say, I think I could dare to die; but a child may beat me if I am in the wrong. Guilt gives trembling to the hands, blushing to the face, and fills the heart with amazement and terror. I question whether there is much, if any, difference between bravery and cowardice, but what is founded in the principle they are engaged for; and I no more believe any man is born a coward than that he is born a knave. Truth makes a man of courage, and guilt makes that man a coward.

“Early disasters, and frequent turns of my affairs, have left me incumbered with an insupportable weight of debt; and the remarkable compassion of some creditors, after continued offers of stripping myself naked by entire surrenders upon oath, have never given me more trouble than they were able, or less than they knew how; by which means most of the debts I have discharged have cost me forty shillings in the pound, and the creditor half as much to recover. I have a large family, a wife and six children, who never want what they should enjoy, or spend what they ought to save. Under all these circumstances, and many more, too long to write, my only happiness is this: I have always been kept cheerful, easy, and quiet, enjoying a perfect calm of mind, clearness of thought, and satisfaction not to be broken in upon by whatever may happen to me. If any man ask me how I arrived to it, I answer him, in short, by a constant serious application to the great, solemn, and weighty work of resignation to the will of heaven; by which let no man think I presume. I have endeavoured,

and am in a great measure able to say feelingly and effectually, the following lines, which I recommend to the world, not only as the fruit of my own experience, but for the practice of all such as know how to value it, and think they need it." De Foe here inserts a poem of a hundred and sixteen lines, expressive of his contempt of the world, and his acquiescence in the will of Providence, under whatever fate may be determined for him.

CHAPTER XV.

THE subject that now engrossed the principal share of public attention, was the negotiation for peace. The preliminaries, after much altercation with the allies, being at length adjusted, they were communicated to the British parliament upon the 6th of June, 1712. When the terms became known, they created loud murmurs in the nation; nor were they better received upon the continent. Much dexterity was used to procure them a favourable reception in parliament, where the Duke of Marlborough said, "they were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies, sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all other nations."* In spite of remonstrance, an address of concurrence was hastily voted; and to prevent any further discussion of so disagreeable a subject, the ministers adjourned the parliament upon the 21st of June, and thus relieved themselves from a storm of opposition with which they were threatened.

The most difficult part they had now to encounter, was to reconcile the people to their measures; and in the course of the year the country was deluged with publications for and against the peace, which occasioned a great fluctuation in public opinion. The war of the pen was carried on with the most acrimonious feelings, and both sides descended to the grossest personalities. In order to fix an odium upon the late ministers, and to justify an unmanly persecution, charges of fraud and peculation were brought against them. Libels to this effect were circulated against Marlborough, Godolphin, and Walpole; whilst the purity and patriotism of their successors were lauded in the most extravagant strains. "In those times, nothing was more common than crimes without any accuser, judgment without consideration, and condemnation without either defence or punishment."† Those who opposed the terms of the peace, were either treated with extreme insolence, or harassed with prosecutions at law,‡ whilst the hirelings of the ministry were allowed to riot in reproach and slander, and to attack the strong-holds of the constitution with impunity. The allies, who had contributed so essentially to the glory of the English arms, were now shamefully traduced; charges of treachery and misconduct in the war were heaped upon them; and they were accused of entertaining designs subversive of the trade and other interests of the British empire.

Amongst the productions of the period, was 'A Letter from a Tory Freeholder to his Representative in Parliament, upon her Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses on the subject of Peace, June 6, 1712.' London, 1712. 8vo. The writer, who was a Whig in disguise, lavishes much of his abuse upon De Foe, whom he accuses of changing sides, and brings forward other charges, made before by Oldmixon, who was probably the author of this pamphlet. He says, "that the Whigs now universally disowned him;" and amongst other calumnies, he accuses De Foe of advocating a war with the Dutch, who, in consequence of the policy pursued in England, showed a disposition to continue the war in conjunction with the Emperor. But for such a charge there was not the least foundation, and it could only have arisen from a desire in the Whigs to identify

* Boyer, p. 577.

† Cunningham, ii, 401.

‡ Ibid. 413.

De Foe with the ministers, who during the negociation displayed anything but friendly feelings towards the Dutch. In reply to the charge, he says, "If it be, as some pretend, in the last foreign news, that we are now running headlong into a war with the Dutch, which I look upon as the worst circumstance that can befall this nation, I shall convince those who would maliciously suggest me to be writing for it, that they are in the wrong. It has been all along my argument, and I have seen no answer to it, that Britain and Holland are the essential strength of the Protestant interest in Europe; and in that respect their interests are inseparable. It is for uniting these that I have always pleaded against the union of Spain with any Popish power in Europe. I appeal to all who read what I write, that the dividing this great prize has been my aim all along, though reproached and misunderstood. The safety and prosperity of the Protestant interest depend upon the joint power of the confederated Protestants, and this must be built upon the union of the British and Dutch. . . . I profess to be as entirely against a war with the Dutch as it is possible for any man that has the good of his country at heart. But if men were to read other people as they read me, truth may be turned into falsehood, and the Scripture into blasphemy."

The treaty of peace, after a protracted negociation, was at length signed at Utrecht, upon the 11th of April, 1713. The English ministers had grown weary of its delay, which was occasioned by the address of the French negociators, who, taking advantage of the discord that reigned amongst the allies, added to their demands, and extorted concessions which they could not have meditated but for the misplaced confidence of the English court. Intimidated by hostile threats, which in all probability were never meant to be executed, the Dutch became a party to the peace; but the emperor continued the war a year longer, when, finding himself unequal to maintain it single-handed, he sought refuge in a treaty. Thus, a war which had been conducted for so many years with unexampled success, was concluded with satisfaction only to the enemy. The objects for which the nation had embarked in it was entirely abandoned; the fruits of many splendid victories, obtained at an immense cost of blood and treasure, were wantonly thrown away; and the repose which the ministers expected to derive from it was disturbed by factions in the cabinet, which in a short time accomplished its overthrow.

In the odium shared by those writers who supported the peace De Foe largely participated. From the commencement of the treaty he had declared himself a friend to peace, provided it could be obtained upon honourable terms. These, it is true, he never defined very explicitly; but he always contended for a partition of the Spanish dominions, according to the spirit of the Partition Treaty, and from this point he never severed. In expounding his opinions he showed no slight degree of tact, and argued in terms much too general to entitle him to the character of a partizan. It is evident from his writings that he never appeared as the ostensible advocate of the ministers, nor committed himself to an approval of their policy, except upon some commercial matters that accorded with his judgment. His attachment to Harley was indeed so far a snare to him as to impose silence upon those points of his policy which he could not approve, and to prevent that bold avowal of his opinions to which he gave free scope under the former ministry. This forbearance of hostility was construed by his opponents into an approbation of the ministers, and gave rise to the calumny of his being one of their retainers. For this, however, there was not the smallest foundation; and if, in the early part of their career, he gave them credit for principles which but ill accorded with their subsequent conduct, it must be set down to his confidence in the chief minister, and his desire to make the best of a ministry which he could not avoid. After the peace was concluded, he thought it his duty to acquiesce in it, although he did not approve of its stipulations; but this acquiescence being construed by the Whigs into a tacit approval, he became obnoxious

to their resentment equally with those who wrote expressly in its defence. A writer of these times, referring to what De Foe had written on the subject, says, "I know that author to be a sensible and judicious man ; for his honesty and integrity, let him defend himself as well as he can ;" * and the writer goes on to treat our author as a political apostate, associating him with Swift, Dyer, and Roper, in no measured terms of censure. As the writers just mentioned were the constant supporters of the ministers, it is rather remarkable that they should have been amongst the most inveterate of De Foe's political opponents, and it is of itself a sufficient confutation of the calumnies of the Whigs. In the 'Appeal to Honour and Justice' will be found a clear and explicit avowal of his sentiments upon this subject.

Finding himself ill treated by all parties, De Foe says he declined writing at all, and for a great part of a year never set pen to paper, except for the 'Review.' To avoid public clamour, he now withdrew to the north of England, and it was probably at this time that he took up his abode in Yorkshire. In Watson's 'History of Halifax,' he is mentioned amongst the distinguished residents in that town, and is said to have lodged at the sign of the Rose and Crown in the Back lane. Watson adds, that he was forced to abscond for his political writings, which was very possibly the fact. De Foe here cultivated an acquaintance with Dr Nettleton, the physician, and Mr Nathaniel Priestley, the dissenting minister, ancestor of the celebrated writer of that name.

Of the first separate publication upon which our author employed himself in his retirement, he has given the following account :—" Observing the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated fine things into the heads of the common people of the right and claim of the Pretender, and of the great things he would do for us if he was to come in—of his being to turn Protestant—of his being resolved to maintain our liberties, support our funds, give liberty to Dissenters, and the like ; and finding that the people began to be deluded, and that the Jacobites gained ground among them by these insinuations, I thought it the best service I could do to the Protestant interest, and the best way to open the people's eyes to the advantages of the Protestant succession, if I took some course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect if the Pretender should come to be king ; and this made me set pen to paper again."

De Foe continues: "In order to detect the influence of Jacobite emissaries, as above, the first thing I wrote was a small tract, called 'A Seasonable Caution,' a book sincerely written to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country people, and to warn them against the subtle insinuations of the emissaries of the Pretender. And, that it might be effectual to that purpose, I prevailed with several of my friends to give them away among the poor people all over England, especially in the north ; and several thousands were actually given away, the price being reduced so low, that the bare expense of paper and press was only reserved, that every one might be convinced that nothing of gain was designed, but a sincere endeavour to do a public good, and assist to keep the people entirely in the interest of the Protestant succession.†" The whole title of the work is, 'A Seasonable Caution and Warning against the Insinuations of Papists and Jacobites in favour of the Pretender. London : 1712.' 8vo.

With the same laudable design of awakening the nation to a sense of its danger, De Foe published three pamphlets in quick succession, which drew upon him the vengeance of the Whigs. Having already treated the subject argumentatively, and exhausted all the arts of persuasion in his former writings, he now sought to make an impression by the language of irony. Although he concealed his object with a dexterity suited to such a style of writing, without which he could not hope to gain a hearing from those who had been deluded by the Jacobites, yet his real design could be scarcely un-

* 'Secret Account of the late Ministry.'

† 'Appeal to Honour and Justice,' p. 28.

perceived by the dullest comprehension. The titles he selected for his pamphlets corresponded with the *ruse de guerre* which he played off in their contents, and are as follows:—1. ‘An Answer to the Question that Nobody thinks of, viz. But what if the Queen should die? London: printed for J. Baker. 1713.’ 2. ‘Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover; with an Inquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the Person of the Pretender. *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713.’ 3. ‘And what if the Pretender should come? Or some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender’s possessing the Crown of Great Britain.’ London: printed for J. Baker. 1713.’ 8vo.

No one at all acquainted with the writings of De Foe, or even moderately conversant with the satires of the day, could possibly mistake his tactics upon this occasion. Indeed, he carried the burlesque in some passages so far, that even the most devoted admirers of the Pretender must have been startled at their contents, and have had their eyes open to the real intentions of the writer.

With regard to the first of these pamphlets, the object of the writer is not so much to answer the question in his title, which he does not attempt, as to excite such an inquiry in his readers as would enable them to answer it themselves.

De Foe’s next pamphlet, although written with greater artifice, is such a palpable banter upon those who would receive the Pretender, that the dullest capacity, one would imagine, could hardly mistake him. In the third tract, our author adduces a variety of mock reasons why the Pretender should be palatable to the nation, and enlarges upon the blessings that would be derived from his government, but in a strain of burlesque that rendered it a visible jest upon the proceedings of the party. For instance, he recommends the Pretender by saying, that the prince would “confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden shoes, and at the same time ease the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expense of winter journeys to parliament.” These productions were so well approved by the most zealous friends of the Protestant succession, that they passed through several editions, and many thousands were circulated through the kingdom. It also appears from De Foe’s own account that they were so well timed as to produce a considerable impression in favour of the house of Hanover. Yet, absurd as it may appear, they rendered him obnoxious to the charge of Jacobitism, and brought upon him a storm of persecution, which, but for the intervention of his friend Lord Oxford, might have been attended with serious consequences. By his efforts to cool the warlike spirit of the times, he had incurred the resentment of the Whigs, who unjustly considered him as a retainer of the ministers, and implicated him in all their measures. In these warm times, a zeal for party betrayed men into inconsistencies, which led to a gross perversion of justice. The Whigs either fancied themselves, or endeavoured to induce a belief, that all who were not of their party were no better than Jacobites. By this fallacy they measured their opinion of the ministers; but whatever countenance the conduct of some of them might give to it, the sentence was far too general to be just. As it respects De Foe, he had already given abundant proof of his zeal for the Protestant succession; and those who had but the ordinary allotment of common sense, might have easily found it in these pamphlets. But the Whigs were eager to vent their malice upon a writer who had now become the object of their hatred, and in their haste to seize upon this occasion they only proclaimed their own stupidity.

By the absurd zeal of William Benson, a Whig writer, the author of the famous letter to the Jacobites, the same who raised a statue to Milton, and who afterwards became ridiculously famous for literary exploits, which justly raised him to the honour of the Dunciad, a prosecution was now commenced against our author for the three pamphlets above mentioned. It was undertaken at Benson’s private cost; and private malice giving a



spur to his exertions, he spared neither pains nor expense to accomplish our author's ruin. He first caused several of the pamphlets to be purchased and marked for evidence against the publishers. Through them he obtained the name of the printer, who was threatened with legal proceedings, which induced him to give information upon oath against De Foe as the author. From this person he obtained possession of the original manuscripts, in De Foe's own hand, or rather hands, says Oldmixon, for they were every one of them different; and all the three being proved by one of the printer's servants before the Lord Chief Justice Parker, his lordship granted a warrant for his apprehension. This being effected, after some difficulty, he was brought before the same judge, who ordered him to be kept in safe custody until he could find bail, with directions to send proper notice of their names and places of abode to the solicitor for the prosecution. Mr Benson endeavoured to retain the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Northey, and offered him ten guineas to appear against De Foe; but he declined it, telling him that he could not be concerned in the prosecution without an order from a secretary of state. Oldmixon informs us that he then went to another eminent counsel, who made no difficulty, but entered very heartily into the prosecution.* De Foe's sureties were J. Grantham, printer, and T. Warner, publisher, who were excepted against by the prosecutor, as "persons of small substance;" when the ministers, finding that the affair was likely to go hard against him if he was left to the vengeance of the Whigs, took it out of Mr Benson's hands, and ordered Mr Borrett, the treasury solicitor, to institute proceedings. Of this he informed the Lord Chief Justice at his chambers, and at the same time signified his approbation of the bail, who were each bound in the sum of four hundred pounds when De Foe was set at liberty. Upon this occasion, Parker forestalled his opinion upon the merits of the case in a manner scarcely decent for a person in his situation, for he told Mr Borrett he was glad the government had undertaken a prosecution so highly requiring its care.†

As the business lingered in its new hands, the former prosecutor, fearful of its slipping through them, frequently waited upon the Attorney-General, to remind him of the prosecution. At length an information was filed against De Foe for a misdemeanor only, contrary to the expectations of the Whigs, who were desirous of indicting him for high treason. Upon the first day of Easter Term, De Foe appeared with his bail in the Court of Queen's Bench, when the Attorney-General acquainted the court with his instructions, and our author was continued out upon his own recognizance. But before he left the court, the Chief Justice called for his 'Reviews' of the 16th and 18th of April, in which our author, prompted by a consciousness of innocence, as well as indignation at his unjust treatment, had made some reflections upon the prosecution, and pointed particularly at the conduct of Parker. Having shown them to De Foe, and obtained his acknowledgment as the writer, he declared them insolent libels; but being himself personally concerned, he left it to the other judges to proceed as they thought fit. The 'Reviews' being then read in court, the judges, who were somewhat infected with the violence of the times, concurred in opinion that they were highly insolent to the Lord Chief Justice, and a notorious contempt of that court, as well as the laws of the nation; and they adjudged the writer to be committed prisoner to the Queen's Bench for the said offences. Mr Chalmers says he was committed to Newgate, from whence he was soon afterwards released upon his making a proper submission. It appears that upon this occasion the court went beforehand in its judgment of the accused works, pronouncing them "scandalous, wicked, and treasonable libels;" so that the author had

* Oldmixon, iii, 509.

† 'The Craftsman's Doctrine and Practice of the Liberty of the Press,' p. 33.

everything to fear from the issue of a trial. When he excused himself to the court by urging the ironical nature of the performances, his plea was not admitted. Sir Thomas Powis, who had been one of the counsel against the bishops in King James's reign, and was lately promoted to be a judge, set common sense at defiance, wasting much learning in endeavouring to extract a meaning from them, which every dispassionate reader must have known to be beside the real intention of the writer, and he concluded his argument by telling him that they contained matter for which he might be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This ominous intimation was sufficient to shake the nerves of any man who had not conscious innocence to support him. It was fortunate for De Foe that his first benefactor was still in power, and had the disposition as well as ability to befriend him.

Lord Oxford, who was fully acquainted with the real sentiments of De Foe, was not so purblind as to mistake the true drift of his pamphlets; he therefore resolved that he should not be crushed by the malice of the Whigs for an offence purely imaginary. His interference was the more honourable, as he could not but be aware, that in these publications De Foe was actually serving the cause of the Whigs and had given real offence to none but those to whom he looked for support.* Our author justly attributes the prosecution to the resentment of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful, and not so blind to his object as they were desirous to ruin him. No inconsiderable people were heard to say, that they knew the books were against the Pretender, but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they resolved to take this advantage to punish him. The story is the more credible, as he had procured evidence to prove the fact, had the trial proceeded. But this was rendered unnecessary; for before the time appointed for a hearing, a pardon was passed under the Great Seal, which relieved him from any further apprehension upon the subject. This instrument contained an ample refutation of the charges being brought against him, as well as a full and explicit exemption from any consequences that might hereafter happen to him upon account of these publications. This act of justice was produced by the party-writers of the time, as a convincing proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the Pretender, and of De Foe's Jacobitism! The force of dulness could no further go.†

The treaty of peace had imposed upon the ministers the arduous duty of fixing with foreign powers the future commercial relations of the country. Of the manner in which they performed their task, particularly with regard to France, there were then contradictory opinions, and the subject gave rise to as furious an opposition as any they had been called to sustain. By the terms agreed upon, a free trade was settled according to the tariff of 1664, with the exception of some commodities that had been subjected to new duties by the French king in 1699, and were so high as to amount to a prohibition. The productions of France were to be admitted into England upon the same footing as those of other countries, and a bill was brought into parliament to give effect to the arrangement. But the Treaty of Commerce was no sooner published than it created a general clamour throughout the nation, and many treatises were published to show that it would be destructive of our home manufactures, and of our commerce with other nations. Numerous petitions were forwarded to parliament from London and other trading towns, indicating its injurious consequences; and so strong was the cur-

* Bishop Atterbury, in his tract called 'English Advice to the Freeholders of England,' says, "In all the late Tory ministry, there were not above two or three prosecuted for writing; and one of these wrote on their own (the Whig) side, and had done infinite services to their cause."

† This document, together with De Foe's own relation of the whole of this preposterous outrage, will be found in his 'Appeal to Honour and Justice.'

rent of opposition upon the last reading of the bill, that it was lost in the Commons by a small majority. Much *finesse* was resorted to by the ministers in relation to the measure. The treaty is well known to have been the work of Bolingbroke, whose mortification was not displeasing to the treasurer. From political friends they were now become rivals for power, and their alienation, which had been some time in progress, now amounted to an irreconcilable hatred. Oxford, therefore, was far from being chagrined at this expression of public opinion against the treaty; and he abandoned it to its fate before it was finally determined in parliament.

It being a subject with which De Foe was familiar, he now published his treatise, entitled 'An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France. With necessary Expositions. London: 1713.' In this work, which appeared whilst the matter was under discussion in parliament, he takes a review of the various treaties with France since the Restoration, in order to show that the subject of commerce had been waived by both parties, and left to its natural course; every state having a right to make such regulations as appear most for the interest of its own subjects. Before the Revolution the trade with France had been carried on under manifest disadvantages; but the heavy duties that were laid upon French goods during the war that followed gave such encouragement to the English manufacturers, that they were continued after the peace, and the balance of trade was turned in our favour. Of this the French king became so sensible that he gave his subjects an equivalent in a new tariff, promulgated in 1699, which restored the equilibrium, but had no influence in procuring an abatement of the duties in England. Upon the renewal of the war fresh prohibitions were imposed by both nations to their mutual detriment, for it destroyed the trade of both countries, the people being made to suffer for the quarrels of their rulers. A fresh adjustment, therefore, became a fit subject for consideration upon the conclusion of a peace. De Foe contends for the principle of a free trade, unencumbered by prohibitions, and with moderate duties, "as not only equal and just, but proceeding on the true interest of trade, and much more to the advantage of Britain than of France."

When De Foe relinquished the 'Review,' he began to write 'A General History of Trade,' which he proposed to publish in monthly numbers. The first number appeared on the 1st of August, 1713. His great design was to show the reader what the whole world is at this time employed in as to trade; but his more immediate end was to rectify the mistakes we had fallen into as to commerce, and to inform those who were willing to inquire into the truth. In the execution of this arduous undertaking he avows his intention of speaking what reason dictates and fact justifies, however he may clash with the popular opinions of some people in trade. He could not, however, wholly abstract himself from the passing scene. When his second number appeared on the 15th of August, 1713, he gave a discourse on the harbour of Dunkirk; wherein he insists that the port ought to be destroyed if it must remain with France, but if added to England, or made a free port, it would be for the good of mankind to have a safe harbour in such dangerous seas. This 'History of Trade,' which exhibits the ingenuity, the strength, and the piety of De Foe, extended only to two numbers. The agitations of the time carried him to other literary pursuits, and its factiousness constrained him to attend to personal security.

His next work was entitled 'Whigs turned Tories, and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed principles, proved Whigs: or, each Side in the other mistaken, &c. London: 1713.' De Foe had long laboured to compose the differences between the moderate men of both parties, and in so doing received the thanks of neither. There was, indeed, too much exasperating matter afloat in the nation to allow of that calmness of consideration that was necessary for the reconciliation of two parties that were bent upon each other's destruction. The estrangement had been aggravated by almost every measure of the

government, and the fierce opposition to it tended but to increase the distance.

About this time the wit that had been sported by both parties during the heats occasioned by Sacheverell's trial, was collected together and published in a volume under the following title : 'Whig and Tory ; or, Wit on both sides. Being a Collection of State Poems upon all remarkable Occurrences, from the Change of the Ministry to this time. By the most eminent Hands of both Parties. Second Edition. London : printed for E. Curll. 1713.' 8vo. De Foe figures several times in this work.

The next work assigned to De Foe is a 'Letter to the Dissenters. London, 1714,' the object of which is to withdraw the persons addressed from their political connexion with the Whigs, who had so shamefully deserted them in the bill against Occasional Conformity. The author disclaims on the part of the ministers any intention to favour the Pretender. The pamphlet, artfully written, seems designed to prepare the dissenters for further severities, which in a short time made their appearance.

The nefarious bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir Wm. Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "To prevent the Growth of Schism," the object of which was to shut up all the schools of dissenters throughout the kingdom, and to take out of their hands the education of their own children, formed the theme of De Foe's 'Remedy worse than the Disease ; or, Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism. To which is added a brief Discourse of Toleration and Persecution. London, 1714,' a work in which our author pleads the cause of religious liberty with great force and eloquence, and in lively colours exposes the hateful character of intolerance.

Upon the death of Queen Anne (1st August, 1714), the Privy Council immediately assembled, and issued orders for the proclamation of the King (George I), which was performed with the usual solemnities. The suddenness of the event shed a deep gloom over the Jacobites, whose anticipated triumphs were now at once dashed to the ground, for the French King acknowledged the Elector, and declared his intention to keep the peace.

One of the most important consequences resulting from a change of dynasty was the subversion of those political theories which had been hitherto the support of the Tories, but of which they at length grew ashamed ; and which, losing their credit with the people, found refuge only in a few of the clergy. In effecting this change the character of the new government had a great share. Before the arrival of the King, who did not come to England until seven weeks after the Queen's death, Bolingbroke was dismissed with marks of disgrace, and the other ministers were replaced by persons better affected to the Protestant interest, and more agreeable to the wishes of the nation. In the exasperated state of political parties nothing but the severest retaliations were now expected. The Whigs considered the day their own, and began to triumph in the fall of their opponents ; all their misdeeds were immediately dragged to view, and those who had been the most deeply concerned were threatened with exemplary punishment ; the most unmanly insults were heaped upon those who were considered in any way accessory to their measures ; nor did any escape who had not run the full career of opposition with the Whigs.

Of these attacks our author came in for a full share. His connexion with Lord Oxford was alone sufficient to preclude him from the favour of the Whigs, whilst on other grounds he was equally obnoxious to the Tories and Jacobites. De Foe's position, in fact, was as singular as it was painful. The Hanover Succession, which was a just cause of triumph, and an infinite source of benefit to the Whigs, had not met with a more zealous and effective champion than our author ; yet now, instead of being rewarded for his past services and sufferings, he was discountenanced by the government, and maligned by a party that reaped the advantage of his labours. It was at this period that he lost the

appointment or pension for which he had been indebted to the fallen minister ; and, in short, whilst upon public grounds he had reason to congratulate his countrymen upon their recent triumph, such was the untowardness of his own fate, that to himself it was only productive of loss and affliction. Of the hard usage that was now dealt out to him he speaks in touching language in his 'Appeal to Honour and Justice.'

Shortly after the Queen's death there appeared a considerable pamphlet, entitled 'The Secret History of the White Staff ; being an account of affairs under the conduct of some late Ministers ; and of what might probably have happened if her Majesty had not died. London : J. Baker. 1714.' It was followed by a second part, with a similar title, in the same year ; and in the year following a third part was added, completing the work. The object of this work, which has been almost universally assigned to De Foe, was to explain the policy pursued by Lord Oxford, from the time of his supplanting the former Whig Ministry, and to elucidate the conduct of his colleagues, until they succeeded in wresting from him the Treasurer's staff of office, a month or two before the Queen died. The work was considered at the time to have been written under the direction of Harley, and the facts it details certainly throw very great light upon the intrigues of his cabinet, which, being composed of persons directly opposed to the views of its chief, produced a long series of conflicts, and a system of counteraction that operated as a check to his policy, and at length undermined his power. The work passed through several editions in a short time, and met with several replies, none of them of any great weight.

De Foe's next publication was a reply to a pamphlet by Atterbury, entitled 'English Advice to the Freeholders of England,' which was followed by 'A Hymn to the Mob. London : 1715,' a poem in Pindaric verse, occasioned by the rioting that took place in various parts of England, to demonstrate the loyalty of the High Church party.

De Foe's political life was now drawing to a close. During a period of more than thirty years he had taken an active part in public affairs, either as a warm partisan of liberal politics, or in opposing the factions of the times. In the course of the contest he had been involved in personal quarrels, and had met with some severe disasters ; but the fortitude of his mind at all times rose superior to his difficulties, and enabled him to triumph in the rectitude of his principles. He had now arrived at a period of life when the mind seeks repose from the turbulence of faction ; and the course of political events having thrown him in the back-ground, he beat out a new path to fame.

In withdrawing from the tumult of parties, De Foe considered that he had an account to settle with the world, for the part he had taken in politics. The ill usage he had so long experienced both from friends and enemies, but more particularly the former, whose ingratitude touched him most sensibly, was greatly aggravated by the misconstruction that had been put upon his writings. This now led him to take a review of his political life, and produced a narrative distinguished for its simplicity and manliness, whilst it furnishes a satisfactory defence of his conduct. It is entitled, 'An Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his worst Enemies. By Daniel De Foe. Being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. London, 1715.'

Whilst engaged upon this narrative, and before he had fully completed it, De Foe was struck with apoplexy. The ill-treatment he had experienced preyed so much upon his spirits as to undermine his health, and, in the opinion of his friends, was the accelerating cause of this calamity. After languishing six months, with an uncertain prospect of recovery, his friends determined to delay the publication no longer. It therefore appeared without his finishing hand ; but Baker, the publisher, added a paragraph by way of *conclusion*, in which he noticed the author's illness as the occasion of the delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE close of De Foe's political life was in truth the beginning of his greatness; in the retirement which he now quitted no more, the leisure of his active spirit was occupied in the creation of a series of works, which raised his name immeasurably higher than it had ever been before in the opinion of his contemporaries, and which will preserve that name in freshness and honour so long as the language in which they are written endures; so long as penetration, wit, genius, and eloquence, preserve their place in the estimation of mankind. The rapidity with which these, the best and greatest of De Foe's works, followed each other into the world, after he had got fairly into the vein of composing them, is a sufficient proof, not only of the extraordinary fertility of his mind, but that he now possessed undisturbed quiet, wherein to call out and employ with uniform zeal and success all its manifold resources. From the point of time at which 'Robinson Crusoe' was published down to the death of De Foe, in 1731, almost the only incidents that mark the progress of the author's history are the successive appearances of the new works produced in his retirement. From a single circumstance or two indeed, which will be noticed, it appears that, though he almost entirely dropped politics, he still retained some little occasional hankerings after the more active pursuits of commerce. Among other speculations, he had at one time a lease of a farm, but we find him soon after disposing of it.

De Foe, the truth of the matter is, was now perhaps too much of an author to be able to succeed in anything but authorship; book-making was his trade, and he considered it as such, carrying into it all the strength of his mind in all its varieties of operation; exerting to the utmost his power as a creative genius, under the direction of a most acute and sagacious judgment, which very seldom misled him into any unfertile or unfortunate path of exertion. It is, on the whole, rarely that we meet in the whole course of the history of literature with anything at all resembling this last part of the career of De Foe. Men who possess that force and fire of fancy requisite for the striking out of new ways and species for themselves, are most commonly persons of so much delicacy of temperament that they can comparatively seldom bring themselves to the labour of exerting their faculties to the full. After producing one work, or a few works, by which they conceive themselves to have sufficiently exhibited their power and secured their fame, they slumber over the embers which they will not arouse themselves to blow, and allow the fire they might have kept bright and blazing to be smothered under the ashes of indolence. But our own literary history, more so indeed than that of any other nation, furnishes some splendid exceptions to this rule, both in past times and in the present, and of these De Foe must ever be considered one of the most illustrious.

The state of his worldly circumstances must, without doubt, be reckoned among the chief incentives of his extraordinary diligence. In all the works of De Foe we find the impress of a mind accustomed to find delight in the occupations of the world, to participate with a lively interest in the ordinary business, and pleasures, and recreations of mankind. Had he been possessed of an independent fortune, it is very probable he might have spent his time with pleasure to himself, as he certainly would with all advantage to those about him, in the amusements of life, without devoting anything like so great a portion of his days and nights to the labours of solitary meditation and composition. But in the toil to which he was at first stimulated by his necessities, who can doubt that he soon came to find his most unfailing source of happiness—an inexhaustible source, which might well atone to him for the loss of others less rich and less peculiar? The delight and the excitement with which we still pursue his works, is only the dim shadow and reflection of the more intense pleasure he must have tasted in

conceiving and creating them. Book-making in the hands of a dull man is the worst and the most degrading of all drudgeries ; in the hands of a De Foe it changes its character, and becomes the noblest and the most delightful of all possible occupations. Having acquired by long practice the most perfect ease in the use of his instruments, and having the possession of an intellectual mine no less deep than broad, the work of production was to him scarcely a work, repaid as it already was (to say nothing of its after rewards) by the perpetual delights of conscious acquisition and extended power. We sometimes hear people expressing wonder that a great author should take the trouble to write so much ; and authors themselves, of the mediocre class, are the very people from whom we most frequently hear this language. With them composition is a task and a toil, and they suppose that it is the same with all men ; as the heavy fowl that with difficulty swings across the farm-yard may perhaps regard with wonder, if not with pity, the perpetual, unwearied soarings of the "bird of Jove." The success attending the series of works which De Foe now sent forth soon raised him far above the effects of the idle malignity of such as would fain have been his rivals. He held in his hands larger means of gratifying the larger part of the reading public of the day than any one of his contemporaries, and in the use of these means he was as indefatigable as he was happy in their possession. He became, in a word, in spite of all they said or did, a British Classic in the noblest sense of that term, in the universal estimation of his countrymen, and such he has continued, and must ever continue to be.

Quitting, then, the ungrateful field of politics, De Foe now turned his attention to a class of subjects with which all parties must be pleased, and from which they might derive wholesome lessons to soften their asperities and cultivate the best affections of the heart ; and in the early part of 1715 he committed to the press one of the most valuable of his treatises, and perhaps one of the most useful of its kind in the English language. It bears the title of 'The Family Instructor, in three parts. With a recommendatory Letter by the Rev. S. Wright. London : 1715.' The main object of this performance is to impress upon the heads of families the great duty of instructing their children and dependents in the principles of religion and virtue ; and to inculcate upon the latter the obligations they are under to listen to such instructions. As a system of morals, founded upon natural and revealed religion, it has found its way to the hearts of thousands, and will continue to instruct mankind so long as practical religion shall be deemed of importance to society. One of the chief excellencies of the work is, that it is adapted to persons of all religious persuasions. There is nothing to shock the prejudices either of Churchmen or of Dissenters, but much from which both may derive lessons of sound wisdom. De Foe's polemical talents are brought to bear to very good purpose in this performance, which is in the form of dialogues ; and it is curious to mark the eagerness with which his pen, after having been taken up for so many years with dry debates and doctrinal points, flies for relief to the details and incidents of private life. His mind was equally tenacious of facts and arguments, and fastened on each in its turn with the same strong and unremitting grasp. Although our author does not seem to have received any favour or encouragement from the Court of George I, yet the acknowledged merit of this work occasioned it to find its way into the King's family, and the copy by which they were instructed is still preserved in the British Museum. By 1722 no fewer than eight editions had been disposed of, and there was an eleventh edition in 1734, since which time the reprints, in London and elsewhere, have been very numerous. Large numbers have been disposed of for prize-books in schools, for which it is well adapted ; nor can a more useful book be found for general distribution. De Foe added a second volume three years afterwards, as will be seen in the proper place.

About this period, also, De Foe issued a series of four excellent pamphlets, couched in the Quaker style, and written by way of admonition to the persons addressed.

The title of the first of these tracts is, 'A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof, from one of the People called Quakers, to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words. London: 1715.' The object of this address was to divert the preacher from the pursuit of politics in the pulpit, particularly in calling for the blood of the late ministers, and to exhort him to direct his zeal against the dissensions of the times. Next came 'A Sharp Rebuke from one of the People called Quakers, to Henry Sacheverell, the High-Priest of St Andrew's, Holborn. 1715.' This is a reproof to Sacheverell for the absurd stir he had made for the church in the late reign; and also for his continued proceedings, which had no other object than to breed riots and to alienate the affections of the people from the new government. The wickedness of his past life is glanced at for the purpose of awakening his conscience and instructing his followers; his public misdeeds in reference to King William, the Pretender, and the reigning Sovereign, are also brought to light; and he is exhorted to repent and abandon the projects of the Tories, whose cause was now hopeless. The third pamphlet is 'A Seasonable Expostulation with, and Friendly Reproof unto, James Butler, who, by the Men of this World, is styled Duke of O——d, relating to the Tumults of the People. London: 1715.' The Duke of Ormond, who had entered deeply into the projects of the Jacobites, was then the idol of the High Church mob, and was suspected of courting popularity by acts of indiscretion at a time when he was under the frowns of the government. The writer here counsels him to take heed lest he should suffer by the acts of evil men, who made use of his name for factious purposes. Last of this series came 'A Declaration of Truth to Benjamin Hoadley, one of the High Priests of the Land, and of the Degree whom Men call Bishops.' In this work Hoadley is commended for his manly avowal of the truth in his celebrated sermon before the King concerning the nature and objects of Christ's kingdom; which he declared to be a spiritual constitution, not cognizable by temporal pains and penalties annexed by ecclesiastics to the churches of this world.

In 1716 there appeared a work of a miscellaneous nature, embracing a variety of topics relating to the public interest, and interspersed with judicious remarks, entitled 'Thoughts on Trade and a Public Spirit. 1716.' This work, which has been, on very good grounds, assigned to De Foe, is an excellent treatise, abounding in just sentiments, and enlivened by many striking examples illustrating the various topics of which it treats. It also contains much useful information concerning the execution of the laws, the conduct of official persons, and the abuses in public trusts. The author writes like a sensible and judicious man, anxious to remedy the evils he complains of, which are only to be cured by the exercise of a public spirit. He has also many excellent remarks of a moral nature, designed to enforce such a public spirit, the value of which he illustrates by some striking examples.

In a former part of his life, some connexion had subsisted between our author and Dunton, the projector. The jealousy of the latter had led to some occasional sparring, which, however, does not appear to have detracted from his respect for De Foe, to whose character he pays homage in various parts of his works, though his name nowhere occurs in any of De Foe's writings. Their intercourse appears to have been renewed at this time; for we find amongst the Rawlinson MSS., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the rough draught of 'Articles of Agreement between Daniel De Foe and John Dunton, for writing a Weekly Paper, to be entitled "The Hanover Spy." Dated Oct. 28, 1717.' This project, however, does not appear to have been executed.

Our author next published 'Memoirs of the Church of Scotland. In Four Periods. 1. The Church in her Infant State, from the Reformation to the Queen Mary's Abdication. 2. The Church in its Growing State, from the Abdication to the Restoration. 3. The Church in its Persecuted State from the Restoration to the Revolution. 4. The Church

in its Present State, from the Revolution to the Union. With an Appendix of some Transactions since the Union. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, both in Paternoster row. 1717.' The materials for this valuable work were probably gleaned by De Foe during his frequent visits to Scotland. As a compendious narrative of an important period in the Scottish history, De Foe's work will always retain its interest, both for the value of its facts, and the felicitous manner in which they are related. His narrative of the earlier part of the eventful history of the Presbyterian Church may be perused with pleasure, even by those who have lived to see the same period treated of by one of the greatest historical writers of the present period, Dr M'Crie; while his representations of the more recent troubles in the times of the Covenanters, his descriptions of the battles of Claverhouse, and the cruelties of the persecution under James II, need scarcely shrink from a comparison with some of the most picturesque passages in the first 'Tales of my Landlord.' There are, perhaps, few English writers to whom the Church of Scotland owes so many obligations as to De Foe, who watched her interests with fidelity and affection at a time when she was threatened by powerful enemies, and defended her with a zeal and ability which could only be expected from a warm friend and admirer. His 'Memoirs of the Church of Scotland' has never been reprinted, and is now amongst the scarcest of his works.

In 1718, De Foe followed up his method of familiarizing religion to the young and the uninformed, by publishing a second volume of his moral dialogues. It is entitled, 'The Family Instructor; in Two Parts. 1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obstructing Religious Duties. 2. To the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the managing and correcting of Children. With a great variety of Cases relating to setting ill Examples to Children and Servants. Vol. II. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible in Paternoster row. 1718.' In point of value this second volume is not inferior to the first. The dialogue is equally pleasing, and the moral no less important and instructive. It is rather a companion than a sequel to the former volume, the story being unconnected. The excellent maxims that run through the volume commend it to the judgment of every judicious reader, whilst it breathes a strain of piety calculated to arouse the attention, and kindle the best affections of the heart. A third edition was printed in 1727, and since then has been often reprinted with the first volume. They are both admirably adapted to awaken the attention of the careless, to instruct the ignorant, and to please the virtuous. Whilst the young are attracted by the incidents that compose the narratives, their accurate delineation of human nature must extort praise from the learned, and will remain a standing monument of the skill and ingenuity of the writer. There are few books better adapted for family reading, for parochial libraries, or for circulation amongst young persons. If the author had written nothing else, these volumes alone possess sufficient merit to give him a high place amongst English moralists.

In the same year appeared our author's 'Memoirs of the Life and Eminent Conduct of that Learned and Reverend Divine, Daniel Williams, D.D., with a true Copy of the last Will and Testament of Dr Williams.' Dr Williams was an eminent Presbyterian divine, first in Dublin, and afterwards in London. He was a liberal benefactor to the Dissenters, and dying in 1716, left the bulk of his property, which was considerable, to charitable uses. He was the founder of an extensive library for the use of the Dissenters, bearing his name, and situated in Redcross street, London.

In the controversy concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, during the early part of the last century, the Dissenters, it is well known, took a large share. During the contention, much angry feeling was displayed on both sides, and the cause of charity was sacrificed to a zeal for orthodoxy. Salter's Hall, the arena of the disputers, exhibited

scenes of tumult and discord but little befitting an assembly of grave divines, met together for the avowed purpose of composing their differences. The conduct manifested by the more violent drew down much obloquy upon the Dissenters, and exposed them to the talk and the derision of their enemies. Pamphlets flew about in all directions, abounding in censure and recriminations, but having no tendency to settle the points at issue. In the midst of this paper war De Foe stepped in, not as a partisan, nor as interfering in any way in the quarrel, but in the pacific character of a mediator between the two parties. He conjures them to lay aside their quarrels, and to consult the safety and reputation of their cause, as Dissenters, by studying the things that make for peace. The title of his book is, 'A Letter to the Dissenters. London: 1719.'

In the same year he appeared again before the world as the translator of a French work, relative to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. It is entitled 'A curious Oration delivered by Father Andrews, concerning the present Great Quarrels that divide the Clergy of France. Translated from the French. By D. De F—e. London: 1719.' 8vo.

In this year De Foe assigned over some property that he had in the hands of the South Sea Company, to the person named in the following deed, but for what purpose does not appear. "Know all Men by these Presents That I Daniel De Foe, of Stoke Newington in the County of Midx. Gent. have made, ordained, deputed, authorised, and appointed, and by these Presents do make, ordain, depute, authorize, and appoint Mordecai Jenkins of London, Gent., my true and lawful attorney, for me, and in my name, to assign and transfer to any person or persons whomsoever, the sum of One hundred Twenty seven pounds ten shillings, being all the stock which I have in the Books of the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Seas, and other parts of America, and for encouraging the Fishery, with full power to make and give proper and sufficient acquittance for the consideration money to be had and received for the same, and generally to make and do all such other necessary acts and things proper to be done, as fully and effectually as I myself might or should do being personally present, hereby ratifying and confirming whatsoever my said Attorney shall lawfully do or cause to be done in and about the premises. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Two and Twentieth day of March, Anno Dom^o 1719. Anno D R^s Georgii D. G. Mag. Britan. 6^o.

"DANIEL DE FOE.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,

"JOSEPH BOONE,

"JA. RUCK."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE series of imaginative works which now fell from the pen of De Foe with astonishing rapidity, will entail honour upon his name so long as true genius, consecrated by moral worth, shall continue to be an object of estimation. No man, without the resources of De Foe, could have combined, with the same rapidity, so much varied and useful information. To extensive reading upon almost every branch of literature, he united an intimate knowledge of the world; and these resources were so much at his command that he appears to have drawn upon them with little apparent labour. Accustomed to view mankind in all its gradations of station and character, conversing sometimes with the great, at other times with the low, he had stored his mind with an abundance of materials, which a lively fancy enabled him to turn to a good account. His commerce with the world had brought him acquainted with its habits and occupations, its business and amusements, and with all the forms in which society has developed the human passions. Engaged from his earliest

years in active pursuits, and thrown by the accidents of life into almost every variety of situation, he had an opportunity of reading instructive lessons upon human nature, and furnished many scenes of real life from the storehouse of his own experience. A character formed in so extensive a school, acutely alive to passing events, and disciplined by correct habits of thinking, was at no loss for incidents to awaken the attention of mankind; whilst his habitual seriousness led him to improve every occasion for converting them into channels of instruction. Intimately acquainted with the whole circle of common life, he possessed the talent above most men of seizing upon ordinary occurrences, and throwing over them a charm which they owe entirely to the force of his own fancy. At the same time, his genius was happily chastened by a correct and solid judgment. His mind was no less vigorous than acute, and being tempered by a high tone of moral feeling, he insinuates instruction insensibly upon his readers, whilst he administers to their amusement. If some of his fictions partake of less refinement than could be desired, he nowhere sacrifices decency to wit; nor does he offend by the extravagance of his descriptions. De Foe uniformly pays homage to virtue; and when he dives into the depravity of the human character, it is for the purpose of raising it to the standard of excellence.

The following remarks upon De Foe's novels, by Charles Lamb, appeared for the first time in Mr Wilson's work:—"In the appearances of truth, in all the incidents and conversations that occur in them, they exceed any works of fiction that I am acquainted with. It is perfect illusion. The author never appears in these self-narratives (for so they ought to be called, or rather auto-biographies), but the narrator chains us down to an implicit belief in everything he says. There is all the minute detail of a log-book in it. Dates are painfully pressed upon the memory. Facts are repeated over and over in varying phrases, till you cannot choose but believe them. It is like reading evidence in a court of justice. So anxious the story-teller seems that the truth should be clearly comprehended, that when he has told us a matter of fact, or a motive, in a line or two further down he repeats it, with his favourite figure of speech, I say, so and so, though he had made it abundantly plain before. This is in imitation of the common people's way of speaking, or rather of the way in which they are addressed by a master or mistress, who wishes to impress something upon their memories, and has a wonderful effect upon matter-of-fact readers. Indeed, it is to such principally that he writes. His style is everywhere beautiful, but plain and homely. 'Robinson Crusoe' is delightful to all ranks and classes; but it is easy to see that it is written in a phraseology peculiarly adapted to the lower conditions of readers. Hence it is an especial favourite with seafaring men, poor boys, servant-maids, &c. His novels are capital kitchen-reading, while they are worthy, from their interest, to find a shelf in the libraries of the wealthiest and the most learned. His passion for matter-of-fact narrative sometimes betrayed him into a long relation of common incidents, which might happen to any man, and have no interest beyond the intense appearance of truth in them to recommend them. The whole latter half, or two-thirds, of 'Colonel Jack' is of this description. The beginning of 'Colonel Jack' is the most affecting natural picture of a young thief that was ever drawn. His losing the stolen money in the hollow tree, and finding it again when in despair, and then being in equal distress at not knowing how to dispose of it, and several similar touches in the early history of the Colonel, evince a deep knowledge of human nature; and putting out of question the superior romantic interest of the latter, in my mind very much exceeds 'Crusoe.' 'Roxana' (first edition) is the next in interest, though he left out the best part of it in subsequent editions, from a foolish hyper-criticism of his friend Southerne. But 'Moll Flanders,' the account of the 'Plague,' &c. &c., are all of one family, and have the same stamp of character.

The first, and by far the most celebrated, of those works of imagination, which have conferred immortality upon the name of De Foe, appeared in 1719, under the title of

'The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner ;' &c. Next to the Holy Scriptures, it may safely be asserted that this delightful romance has ever since it was written excited the first and most powerful influence upon the juvenile mind of England, nor has its popularity been much less among any of the other nations of Christendom. At a period when few of the productions of English genius had been transferred into any of the languages of foreigners, this masterpiece of the homely, unaffected, unpretending, but rich and masculine intellect of Daniel De Foe, had already acquired, in every cultivated tongue of Europe, the full privileges of a native work.

A second part, the labour of little more than three months, appeared in August, and the work was finally completed in the following year by the publication of 'Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.'

The success of this work encouraged our author to persevere in the new line he had marked out for himself ; and the fertility of his invention enabled him to supply the public with a series of volumes, as various in their nature as they are ingenious in their contrivance.

The same year that produced his master-piece gave birth to 'The Dumb Philosopher ; or, Great Britain's Wonder ; containing a faithful and very surprising Account of Dickory Cronke,' &c. In this simple story, De Foe has put in practice, without any apparent effort, the same peculiarity of invention that distinguishes his other performances. Although the incidents of the narrative are few in number, they are told in the same unpretending manner, and with so much exactness, that it is difficult for the reader to persuade himself it is any other than a real history. As De Foe wrote, in a great measure, for the common people, he fed their appetites with such stimulants as were suited to their love of excitement ; and when he lays a tax upon their credulity, it is levied with an air of seriousness that extorts belief, and finds ample remuneration in the moral lessons with which it is accompanied.

As De Foe had mixed much in society, he was become familiar with the habits and modes of talking that distinguished different persons, particularly in common life ; and it is upon such subjects that he feels most at home. His different excursions to the Continent would bring him in contact with the British sailor, whose peculiarity of character was not lost upon him ; and it is not improbable that he numbered amongst his acquaintance, persons of a seafaring life, from whom he derived that correct knowledge of nautical affairs which is so conspicuous in his writings. When personating the sailor he is as much at home as when he is discoursing upon trade or discussing politics. It has been pretty well understood, indeed, that he was acquainted, and spent, at one time, many evenings with the celebrated Dampier, who, to give him his due, to professional skill united other commendable qualities. De Foe lived at a period when buccaneering was carried on to a great extent, being fostered by the long wars that grew out of the Revolution, particularly the war of the Spanish Succession. From the relations of the lawless adventurers who had been engaged in such expeditions, of which fraternity his friend Dampier was a distinguished member, De Foe derived many anecdotes of surprising encounters and hair-breadth 'scapes by flood and field, which he made skilful use of. He was also well read in the voyages and travels of former days, from whence he transferred the most striking incidents into his own imaginary voyages and narratives.

The favourable reception of 'Robinson Crusoe' might be partly owing to the partiality with which every circumstance illustrating the character of the British sailor is viewed by the British public. It was probably in accommodation to this national taste, that De Foe now recorded the adventures of a Buccaneer, which he depicts with all that spirit of enterprise and variety of incident which usually marked the operations of that

hardy character. This work he entitled 'The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton. 1720.' Second edition, 1737. Third edition, 1768. This is a work in which the lovers of wild adventure will find much amusement. The hero, however, is a sad hand. He is a hardened, brutal desperado, without one redeeming trait, or almost human feeling; and, in spite of what Mr Lamb says of his lonely musings and agonies of a conscience-stricken repentance, we find nothing of this in the text. The captain is always merry and well if there is any mischief going on; and his only qualm is after he has retired from his trade of plunder and murder on the high seas, and is afraid of being assassinated for his ill-gotten wealth, and does not know how to dispose of it. De Foe (whatever his intentions may be) is led, by the force of truth and circumstances, to give the devil his due—he puts no gratuitous remorse into his adventurer's mouth, nor spoils the keeping by expressing one relenting pang, any more than his hero would have done in reality. This is, indeed, the excellence of De Foe's representations, that they are perfect *fac-similes* of the characters he chooses to pourtray.

In the same year De Foe published some particulars of a noted seer of those days, who gave rise to a variety of speculations. Steele introduces him in the 'Tatler' as a dumb fortune-teller, who imposed upon the vulgar by pretending to tell fortunes by the second-sight. Whether he was actually deaf and dumb, or only feigned so for the purpose of notoriety, was a matter of doubt; but, be this as it may, he practised many years upon the credulity of the public, and with so much success as to amass a fortune by his profession. The celebrity to which he attained is thus noticed by the 'Spectator.' "Every one has heard of the famous conjuror, who, according to the opinions of the vulgar, has studied himself dumb; for which reason, as it is believed, he delivers out his oracles in writing. Be that as it will, the blind Teresias was not more famous in Greece than this dumb artist has been for some years last past in the cities of London and Westminster." *

So remarkable a character was not likely to escape the observation of De Foe, who rightly considered that he would be a popular subject for his pen. He therefore composed 'The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Duncan Campbell, a Gentleman who, though Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's Name at first sight, with their future Contingencies of Fortune. London: 1720.' So great was the demand for the work, that a second edition appeared in the same year. It was accompanied by a portrait of Mr Duncan Campbell, ætat. 40, engraved by M. Vangergucht, in his best manner; and there are some other plates illustrative of the subject.

In the days of De Foe the resort to fortune-tellers for the purpose of prying into futurity was not confined to the lower orders. The slender education then bestowed upon females, and the habits of society so accurately described by Steele and Addison, left the higher orders equally exposed to the inroads of imposture.† Accordingly, the levee of our seer, who affected to look down upon the vulgar arts resorted to by his rivals in the trade, could boast of a large assemblage of the fair sex of various ranks, who had recourse to him for information upon the point that dwelt uppermost in their thoughts.

A rhyming fit having returned upon De Foe, he now produced 'The Compleat Art of Painting: a Poem. Translated from the French of M. du Fresnoy. By D.F., Gent.

* Spectator, No. 560.

† The 'Spectator' (No. 505) observes, "It is not to be conceived how many wizards, gipsies, and cunning men are dispersed through all the counties and market towns of Great Britain; not to mention the fortune-tellers and astrologers who live very comfortably upon the curiosity of several well-disposed persons in the cities of London and Westminster."—Moorfields had been, time out of mind, the most common habitation of these gentry.

1720.' Du Fresnoy's poem, so highly esteemed upon the continent, had been translated into English prose by Dryden, and his version met with a corresponding approbation in England. Although no attempt had been made to turn it into English metre, yet the rejection of it by Dryden might have been sufficient to deter our author from so venturous an experiment. De Foe's ear was never attuned to music, he was therefore incapable of that nice discrimination which is requisite to produce harmony. Dryden had set before him the noble example of abandoning a vicious taste; and Pope, who was now in the height of his popularity, had imparted a smoothness and perspicuity to his verse that procured the admiration of his contemporaries. With these models before him, it is surprising that De Foe could still take delight in his unmusical rhymes, for his present effort is even inferior to many of his former productions. It may be difficult to assign a motive for the publication, unless, as Mr Chalmers suggests, it was to gain a few guineas without much labour of the head or hand.

Towards the end of the same year, De Foe employed his pen upon a subject more congenial with his talents, and better adapted to purposes of usefulness. In a series of moral discourses, written by way of dialogue, he showed how competent he was to explain the real nature of religion, and to unfold its consolations. He entitled his work 'Christian Conversation: in six Dialogues. London: 1720.' "The moralities of De Foe," observes Mr Chalmers, "whether published in single volumes, or interspersed through many passages, must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries." In this judgment, those who have perused his writings cannot but concur. Upon most of them a favourable verdict was pronounced by his contemporaries; and they require only to be extensively known, to obtain for the author that meed of praise which is due to his meritorious exertions.

The misfortunes of De Foe, at a former period, had thrown him into circumstances which subjected him to the sight of human nature in its lowest and most degraded forms. Whilst immured in prison, he was necessarily brought into contact with persons who were in a position to let him into those scenes of crime and misery of which his fertile genius knew how to avail itself in the publications we are about to notice. The various incidents in the eventful life of Moll Flanders, from the time of her seduction to that of her becoming a convict and a quiet settler in Maryland, are those of real life, as exemplified by multitudes of individuals. The artless disposition of the narrative, the lively interest excited by unlooked-for coincidences, the rich natural painting, the moral reflections, are all so many proofs of the knowledge and invention of the writer; but the facts were furnished him by the annals of Newgate.

The dish which De Foe here served up to gratify the taste of the public, was certainly of somewhat coarser materials than ordinary, but adapted to amuse, and, by its moral, to benefit a numerous class of readers. It was entitled 'The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders. London: 1721;' a novel of high interest, in spite of the very detestable character of the heroine. Mrs Flanders was certainly born in sin, and does justice to her parentage. The best parts are the account of her childhood, which is pretty and affecting; the fluctuations of her feelings between remorse and hardened impenitence in Newgate; and the incident of her leading off the horse from the inn-door, though she had no place to put it in after she had stolen it. This was carrying the love of thieving to an ideal pitch, and making it perfectly disinterested and mechanical. The work has passed through many editions.

Next came 'The History of the most remarkable Life and extraordinary Adventures of the truly Honourable Colonel Jaque, vulgarly called Colonel Jack. London: 1722;' a work excellent in its kind, which, if it contains much manner of low life, at the same time aspires to an elevation of character; whilst the painting is that of nature, and the tendency strictly virtuous. There is, in truth, but little that can associate it in character

with Moll Flanders ; for, if there is a correspondency in some of their actions, the principle that actuated them was widely different, and our hero appears, through the greater part of the volume, a personage entitled to some respect.

It was the fortune of De Foe, that the circumstances of his life, concurring with the bent of his genius, enabled him to study human nature in all its gradations, from the prince to the peasant ; and in accommodation to the variety of tastes, he adapted his food to the appetite of the persons for whom he provided. In the stories hitherto noticed he administered moral instruction to the lower orders in the shape most accessible to their capacities. In some of those about to be mentioned he brings us into better company, and whilst his story rises in character it loses none of its interest.

It was probably about this period (for there is no date to the first edition of the work) that he published the ‘Memoirs of a Cavalier ; or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England, from the year 1632 to the year 1648, &c. London.’ The second edition of the work, also without a date, was printed at Leeds. These memoirs are composed with a spirit and vivacity that keep alive the reader’s attention, while he is charmed with the extreme simplicity of the narrative. The cavalier’s account of the civil wars is distinguished by great candour and fairness ; not concealing the errors of his own party, whilst he does justice to the bravery and good conduct of his enemies. The work is said to have been a favourite with the great Lord Chatham, who long considered it an authentic history, and was in the habit of recommending it as the best account of the Civil Wars extant ; nor was he a little mortified when told that it was only a romance. It is, indeed, a romance the likeliest to truth that ever was written. As a narrative of important events, containing a correct picture of the times, and enlivened by many just observations, it will always be read with a keen interest by those who may wish to occupy a spare hour in amusement combined with instruction.

A subject so uninviting as that of the plague is one of the last from which we might expect pleasure in the contemplation. Yet De Foe has founded upon it one of the finest of his productions ; one that can never be read without the deepest interest, and which will continue to be read as long as the memory of that awful event shall remain upon record. It is written with all the characteristic traits of the author’s genius, intense reality, excessive minuteness, rich natural pathos, and exquisite moral feeling. Whilst it is impossible to read his description without the keenest sensations of sorrow, the attention is rivetted by the constant succession of incidents that crowd upon the scene.

It was one of the felicities of De Foe to select such subjects for his pen as would be of permanent interest ; and such are all those pictures of life and manners that carry us back to former days, in the delineation of which he so greatly excelled. Nothing in the world is finer than the impression of the old city of London, before the fire, which one gathers from his History of the Plague. Throughout the whole of that most striking narrative his mind is visibly haunted with the idea, how princely was the desolation of her grass-grown streets—how awful the silence of her deserted palaces, and the fatal calmness of her shipless river. In this affecting narrative he has contrived to mix up so much that is authentic with the fabrications of his own brain, that it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other ; and he has given to the whole such a likeness to the dreadful original, as to confound the sceptic, and encircle him in his enchantments. No one can take up the book without believing that it is the saddler of Whitechapel who is telling his own story ; and that he was an eye-witness to all that he relates ; that he actually saw the blazing stars which portended the calamity ; that he witnessed the grass growing in the streets, reading the inscriptions upon the doors of the infected houses, heard the bell-men crying, “Bring out your dead !” saw the dead-carts conveying the people to their graves, and was present at the digging of the pits in which they were deposited. In this, indeed, consists the charm of the narrative. It is not

merely a record of the transactions that happened during the calamity, nor even of private circumstances that would escape the public eye ; it is rather the familiar recital of a man's own observations upon all that passed before him, possessing all the minuteness of a log-book, without its dulness. The advantage derived from this mode of telling the story is, that it prepossesses the reader in a full belief of its reality. When a man sits down to record the events that happened in any given year, and crowds it with incidents, many of which are known to be true, we do not hesitate to give him credit for the remainder ; and this more especially when he tells us that he was upon the spot when such a thing happened, that he saw and spoke with the persons he describes, and relates the substance of the conversation. With the same unhesitating confidence we take up the book before us. It is not the journal of a third party ; there is not even the formality of a preface ; but we open it, and come in contact at once with the author, who sees and hears all that he writes, and tells us so in the first person.

By adopting this familiar method of treating his subject, it cannot be doubted that De Foe secured to himself many advantages which he could not have hoped for in a formal history. Thus, whilst detailing incidents of importance, he will sometimes introduce a story, apparently trifling in itself, and by no means necessary to his main design ; but merely to show that he is willing to keep back nothing, or rather must communicate everything in the exact way that it happened. But however trivial his incidents, or common-place his mode of relating them, they possess a secret charm that keeps the mind upon the full stretch, and gains it over to an unhesitating confidence in the relation. No one thinks of skipping over a single particle of his narrative, nor of exchanging for other words the homely language of the writer. In truth, the circumstantiality of De Foe never wearies ; it rather adds to that intense consciousness of reality that hovers over every page of his writings. His 'History of the Plague' is one of those books in which he has carried his art to the greatest perfection. So faithful is the portrait of that distressing calamity, so entire its accordance with what has been delivered by other writers, so probable the circumstances of all the stories, and so artless the style in which they are delivered, that it would baffle the ingenuity of any one but De Foe to frame a history with so many attributes of truth upon the basis of fiction, though, indeed, the only fiction may be said to be that which represents it as the result of personal observation. It is no wonder that a work so gravely written should have deceived Dr Mead, who quoted it as an authentic history in his Treatise upon the Plague.

The propriety of such an alliance between history and fiction, more especially when so managed as to impose upon the most wary reader, has been called in question, but who would sacrifice the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' or the 'Journal of the Plague Year,' to be disenchanted of so pleasing a delusion ? De Foe well knew that a dry detail of circumstances collected from the Bills of Mortality and the pamphlets of the day would interest none but an antiquarian, the subject, thus treated, being of too repulsive a nature to invite general attention. By personating a citizen of London, who lived in the midst of the contagion, and was a spectator of the scenes he describes, he not only secured credit for his narrative, but was enabled to enliven it with numerous stories of probable occurrence, and with picturesque descriptions of the agitated feelings of the people. These, with the moral reflections which would naturally occur to persons in so distressing a situation, combine to render a story, in itself forbidding, highly attractive. His work bears the following title : 'A Journal of the Plague Year : being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well public as private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. London : 1722.' Of this volume numerous editions have appeared.

With a mind ardently devoted to the improvement of his fellow men, and energies

that seemed incapable of exhaustion, De Foe continued to instruct the world by his moralities, whilst he amused it with his fictions. The same year that produced some of the foregoing publications gave birth to a work that is composed with his characteristic talent, and distinguished as well for its utility as for its genius, for the importance of the story as for skill in its management. There are few books better known in the middle classes of society than the 'Religious Courtship,' and few that are more deserving of general perusal. To those who have been trained to religious habits it needs no formal recommendation; whilst others, who have yet to learn their value, may be amused by an interesting story, at the same time that they are instructed by the moral. Much of it is a faithful picture of manners in the upper classes of life. The work that lays claim to such regard bears the following title: 'Religious Courtship: being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of Marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only. As also, of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Religion with one another. London: 1722.' 8vo. As the work was brought early into general notice, so its well-established popularity procured for it a constant sale and a widely extended circulation. This favourable decision of the public is the highest testimony of its merits; for, notwithstanding other and more modern treatises upon the subject, it still maintains its ground, and will secure for its author a lasting fame, independently of his other works.

In discussing a subject of so much importance to young persons of both sexes, and one that required to be handled with great nicety, De Foe was well aware that precept would be of less weight than example; that whilst the world refused to be instructed by a didactic treatise, it might be disposed to listen to a familiar story. He therefore chose to convey his ideas in this more inviting form, that, by raising the curiosity of the reader, he might the more effectually fix him with the moral. Historical dialogues, when written with spirit, are particularly acceptable to the humbler classes, and to young people in general, who make themselves parties to the conversation, and can fix the subject with a slight effort on their memories. The familiar style of the present work, its deep acquaintance with human nature, and the exquisite moral feeling that pervades every page, render it peculiarly adapted to infuse instruction into the young and uninformed, and to leave an abiding impression upon the heart.

The year 1724 gave birth to another romance by our author, which, for originality of invention, for accuracy of painting, and for utility of purpose, was not exceeded by any of the former. It is entitled, 'The Fortunate Mistress; or, a History of the vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle de Belean, being the Person known by the Name of the Lady Roxana. London: 1724.' Roxana is a lady of pleasure, like Moll Flanders, but soaring a higher flight, instead of grovelling almost always in the mire of poverty and distress. Still, like Mistress Flanders, she has neither refinement nor a heart; we are only dazzled with the outward ostentation of jewels, finery, and wealth. The scene where she dances in her Turkish dress before the King, and obtains the name of Roxana, is of the true romantic cast.

De Foe's next appearance in print was as a tourist, a character which he fills in a most agreeable manner. He was not one of those fire-side travellers who describe countries they have never seen, and deal out the labours of others at second-hand. In the former part of his life he had repeatedly traversed, whether for business or pleasure, most of the counties of England and the south part of Scotland; and in his relation of what he saw he neglects nothing that is worthy of observation to the philosopher, the historian, or the antiquary. His narrative abounds in anecdotes of local customs, distinguished families, and remarkable events, which are rendered welcome to the reader by their intrinsic interest, or by the happy manner in which they are related. Although nothing material escapes him, either in the works of nature or the productions of art, that is worthy of notice, yet his principal business is with the people,

whose customs, habits, and character, in all their varieties, are pourtrayed with great felicity of description. Those who are desirous of a pleasant ramble in search of national manners at the period referred to, may be amply gratified by accompanying our author, whose volumes, notwithstanding more modern publications upon the subject, will always possess a sufficient charm to beguile the attention and please by their variety.

The first of these excursions was given to the public in 1724, under the title of 'A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies, giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Observation. 1724.' 8vo. This volume includes 'A Diary of the Siege and Blockade of Colchester, An. 1648.' The favourable reception of this volume encouraged the author to follow it by a second in the next year, with a similar title; and a third volume, embracing the North of England and the South of Scotland, and completing the work, was added in 1727. The useful information contained in these volumes is conveyed in the familiar form of letters, and the work was for a long time a standing favourite with the public. The subsequent editions, published in four volumes, bearing the name of the celebrated Richardson as editor, vary so greatly in every respect from De Foe's work, as to be no longer worthy of his name.

The versatility of our author's talents furnished him with topics as various in their nature as they were useful in their design; whilst his desire for reformation led him to select those that came recommended by their importance or their urgency. In the same year that produced 'Roxana' he addressed another class of the community upon some excesses which he had glanced at before in his 'Religious Courtship,' and which were of so notorious a character as to induce him to lay them open in a distinct treatise, entitled 'The Great Law of Subordination considered; or, the Insolence and Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England duly inquired into, &c. London: 1724.' However unpromising his subject, De Foe has contrived to make a most entertaining book of it. The numerous stories with which it abounds not only give a spur to the reading, but are strongly indicative of character and manners in those classes of society to which they refer. It does not appear that there was ever more than one edition of the work.

The abuses unfolded by our author in the foregoing treatise calling loudly for redress, he returned to the subject in a pamphlet published in the following year, in which he resumed some topics that he had before handled but slightly. His work is entitled 'Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business; or, Private Abuses, Public Grievances. Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women Servants, Footmen, &c. London: 1725.' This is the first of a series of works which he wrote under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton.

In the course of 1725 De Foe presented the world with a fresh proof of his skill in nautical affairs, in a work replete with interest, and no less ingenious in the contrivance than amusing in its details. He entitled it, 'A New Voyage round the World, by a course never sailed before. 1725.' 8vo. Although many voyages of equal extent had been performed by our countrymen, yet their published accounts, contain but little to amuse or instruct the reader, consisting chiefly of dry details extracted from their journals, and these mostly of a professional nature. Our author possessed the happy talent of rendering his voyages attractive by the variety of the incidents, and by the felicity with which he related them; and he is no less happy in making them a vehicle for insinuating instruction. From those who have explored newly discovered countries, we naturally look for information concerning the character, habits, and customs of the people, the productions of the soil, and whatever may be interesting to the philosopher and the historian. But it was the misfortune of our early navigators to be generally men of confined education, who were in the pursuit of wealth rather than of information, so that their adventures correspond more with those of a buccaneer than with anything of a civilized description.

It was the object of De Foe to give them a more inviting dress, that by mixing the agreeable with the useful, he might fascinate at the same time that he instructed the reader. In reference to this work, Mr Chalmers remarks—"Most voyages have had this misfortune, that whatever success they had in the adventure, they have had very little in the narrative. They are indeed full of the incidents of sailing, but they have nothing of story for the use of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the sea. These faults De Foe is studious to avoid in his *New Voyage*. He spreads before his readers such adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anson's tale. In the life of Crusoe, we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact: in the *Voyage round the World*, we are pleased by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage." Of fictitious biography it is equally true, that by matchless art it may be made more instructive than a real life. Few of our writers have excelled De Foe in this kind of biographical narration, the great qualities of which are to attract by the diversity of circumstances, and to instruct by the usefulness of examples. The same writer observes, "*the ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but who, like De Foe, had ever carried his readers to sea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by showing his readers the effects of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world? But without attractions, neither the originality nor the end can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he had provided, by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple, and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language."

A main object of De Foe in all his writings, is to bring forward some prominent error that has taken root in society, for the purpose of its correction. In this work he takes occasion to reprehend the excess of punishment that is sometimes inflicted at sea for trivial offences. His experience of human life had taught him, "that men were always secured in their duty by a generous kindness, better than by absolute dominion and severity." This sentiment he endeavours to enforce by example; and who that has any knowledge of mankind, does not acquiesce fully in its propriety? It is quite evident, from the aptitude and correctness of his writing, that De Foe must have been well acquainted with the stories of former navigators, from which he gleaned the materials for his fancy to work upon. But the charm of the work owes everything to his own genius, which was fertile in contrivances, and rich in the sources of amusement. Whoever may feel disposed to accompany our author in his imaginary voyage, will find much to gratify his curiosity and inform his judgment.

Amongst the multifarious subjects that engaged the attention of De Foe, one was of great curiosity to literary men, and important in its consequences to the public at large. The work we are about to notice is highly excellent in its kind, and contains much information within a narrow compass; it is entitled '*An Essay upon Literature: or, an Enquiry into the Antiquity and Original of Letters*. London: 1726.' As a writer who had contributed so largely to literature, he might be expected to feel interested in an inquiry that brought to light the sources of its manufacture. In the time of De Foe, the English language had produced but few publications upon the subject, and none containing so much information in a popular form. It was, therefore, an object of curiosity with his countrymen; and the manner in which he has treated it exhibits more learning and research than he has usually had credit for. In short, whoever wishes for much useful information within a narrow compass, will be amply compensated by the perusal of this little volume, which is now but rarely to be met with.

The public curiosity being now excited by the case of a wild youth, lately discovered in a German forest, and brought to England by George I., De Foe naturally considered it a popular subject for his pen. He therefore contributed to the speculations then afloat amongst naturalists and philosophers, in a pamphlet, entitled 'Mere Nature delineated : or, a Body without a Soul. Being Observations upon the Young Forester lately brought to Town, from Germany. With suitable Applications. Also, a brief Dissertation upon the Usefulness and Necessity of Fools, whether Political or Natural. London : 1726,' which contains, among other interesting matter, some curious speculations upon the possibility of thinking, without a knowledge of words expressive of our ideas of sensible objects.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE course of his studies, aided perhaps by his misfortunes, led our author into many speculations upon the subject of spirits, and their communication with the visible world. From early life, his own mind had been strongly impressed with a belief in their reality and there are some passages in his writings, from whence may be collected his opinion, that they exercise, more or less, a direct influence upon the affairs of men. He notices two ways by which the communication is maintained :—First, by "immediate, personal, and particular converse ;" and secondly, by "these spirits acting at a distance, rendering themselves visible, and their transactions perceptible, on such occasions as they think fit, without any further acquaintance with the person."* He thought that God had posted an army of these ministering spirits round our globe, "to be ready, at all events, to execute his orders and to do his will ; reserving still to himself to send express messengers of a superior rank on extraordinary occasions." These, he adds, "may, without any absurdity, be supposed capable of assuming shapes, conversing with mankind by voice and sound, or by private notices of things, impulses, forebodings, misgivings, and other imperceptible communications to the minds of men, as God their great employer may direct."† But, upon the power of man to control, or communicate at his will with these spiritual beings, he entertains doubts, and protests against the arts of conjuration.

De Foe has many allusions in his writings to the silent workings of some supernatural influence upon his own mind, acting as a prompter upon extraordinary occasions. He speaks sometimes of mysterious impressions directing him to particular subjects, and guiding his pen whilst in the act of writing. Under the same impulse, we find him the subject of secret forebodings, conveyed by some invisible agent, and enabling him to escape from evils into which he must have fallen but for such premonitions. However such a belief may be condemned as fanciful, it has been that of many grave theologians, and is sanctioned in some measure by the sacred writings. There can be no doubt, also, that it had a favourable influence upon the mind of De Foe, as it reconciled him to many distressing events, and enabled him to pass through the vicissitudes of life with a confiding trust in the superintendence of Providence, at the same time opening to his view the cheering prospect of another world.

"I firmly believe," says he, "and have had such convincing testimonies of it that I must be a confirmed atheist if I did not, that there is a converse of spirits, I mean those unembodied, and those that are incased in flesh. From whence, else, come all those private notices, strong impulses, involuntary joy, sadness, and foreboding apprehensions, of and about things immediately attending us, and this in the most important

* 'History of Magic,' p. 327.

† 'History of Apparitions,' p. 56.

affairs of our lives? That there are such things, I think, I need not go about to prove ; and I believe they are, next to the Scriptures, some of the best and most undeniable evidences of a future existence. It would be endless to fill this paper with the testimonies of learned and pious men ; I could add to them a volume of my own experiences, some of them so strange as would shock your belief, though I could produce such proofs as would convince any man. I have had, perhaps, a greater variety of changes, accidents, and disasters in my short unhappy life, than any man, at least than most men alive ; yet I had never any considerable mischief or disaster attending me, but sleeping or waking I have had notice of it beforehand, and had I listened to these notices, I believe might have shunned the evil. Let no man think this a jest. I seriously acknowledge, and I do believe my neglect of these notices has been my great injury ; and since I have ceased to neglect them, I have been guided to avoid even snares laid for my life, by no other knowledge of them than by such notices and warnings ; and more than that, have been guided by them to discover even the fact and the persons. I have living witnesses to produce, to whom I have told the particulars in the very moment, and who have been so affected with them, as that they have pressed me to avoid the danger, to retire, to keep myself up, and the like." De Foe repeats, that had he not neglected the advice and the notice, he had been safe ; but slighting both, he had fallen into the pit exactly as described to him. He says, that if it would be thought useful, he could descend to particulars ; but it being a private case, he did not think it so material, and therefore avoided it. The inference that he draws from the subject is, that "if such notices, by whatsoever hand, or for whatever purpose, are given us, in our personal, private, and particular cases, as I believe nobody will deny, why may not the same Providence and Power permit the like notices, call them what you will, to be given to some persons in matters public and national? History is full of these ; and were I not at the writing of this absent from books, being now travelling, and at an inn on the road, I could bring a numerous roll of quotations." De Foe refers from memory to the well-known case of Mr Wishart and the Archbishop of St Andrew's ; also to the names of Bradford, Knox, Calvin, Luther, and Buchanan, for other examples ; and particularly to Mr Withers, who foretold the fire of London several years before it happened.

Our author then descends to the phenomena of dreams, which he desires to touch with great caution, on account of the extremes into which even good people are apt to run. But, in support of his theory, he adduces the examples of Job, Daniel, Joseph, and others recorded in Scripture ; and, referring to profane history, he cites the dream of Cæsar's wife, and the celebrated case of Brutus at Philippi. From the whole, he concludes with a desire to steer between the two extremes of rejecting "the warning God is pleased to give us in visions of the night, and of giving heed to those delusions of the imagination, which proceed only from a distempered brain."*

In all his excursions through the world of spirits, De Foe never allowed himself to wander beyond the confines of religion. If his speculations are sometimes fanciful, and in but little accordance with the known phenomena of the human mind, it is a consequence resulting from the uncertain nature of his subject. Further, whatever were his own sentiments upon the subject of supernatural appearances,—and there is reason to think that he entertained a belief of them upon extraordinary occasions,—yet he was far from feeding the credulity of the vulgar, by sanctioning the impostures that were daily practised by cunning men laying wait to deceive. The works he composed are designed rather to unmask the popular delusion ; and, in stripping it of its magic, he often resorts to a strain of irony, which few could handle with greater effect.

From the succession of works produced by him upon the subject, and the elaborate

* 'Review,' viii, 93—96.

manner in which he has treated it, there is reason to suppose that he was allured to it by taste, and that it occupied a large portion of his serious attention. At any rate, he could not easily have selected one that was likely to gain a larger share of popularity, or in which the depraved taste of the vulgar called more loudly for correction. It is to his credit, that whilst he administers to the amusement of the reader, he never loses sight of his improvement. Although there is no subject upon which curiosity is more awake, yet he forbears to gratify it by diving into the secrets of nature ; his treatises, therefore, partake less of the mechanism of science than of that moral instruction which he is most solicitous to impress upon his reader. But whilst our author appears more ambitious to be thought a moralist than a conjuror, his treatises display a considerable portion of learning and research ; and they are enlivened by a number of dialogues and stories, that strongly indicate the genius of the writer.

De Foe's first work in this class was 'The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern : in Two Parts. London : 1726.' A fine satire upon the credulity of mankind. De Foe explodes the vulgar notions of his person and residence as the fictions of poets and painters, and "little more or less than the old story of Pluto, Cerberus, and Charon ; only that our tale is not half so well told, nor the parts of the fable so well laid together." He adds, "Let us learn to talk of these things as we should do ; and as we really cannot describe them to our reason and understanding, why should we describe them to our senses ?" His work exhibits much and various reading, strong natural sense, and an intimate knowledge of mankind. His talent for broad-buffeting sarcasm is applied with wonderful effect in exposing the popular delusions, whilst they supply him with materials for insinuating wholesome moral instruction. One of his leading objects is to correct the bad passions of mankind, by tracing them to their proper source, and by showing that they furnish a more accurate representation of Satan than the painted spectres with which the world has been so long amused and terrified. The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. The author engages poetry and prose, reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy relieving his argument by a number of entertaining dialogues, and relating many instructive stories, partly real, and partly fictitious, in order to illustrate his subject, and confirm his moral.

In the following year, De Foe pursued the subject of his former treatise, in 'A System of Magic : or, a History of the Black Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's most early Dealing with the Devil ; and how the Acquaintance on both sides first began. London : 1727.' This is rather a satire upon the conjurors, than a book of rules for understanding their art. At a period when the dealers in the black art have been chased from the world, a treatise upon magic would recommend itself merely as an object of curiosity. The time is happily gone by for entertaining the subject in a serious light, the credulity that supported it having given way before the diffusion of rational knowledge. It was upon the wane when De Foe wrote ; but as the race of conjurors was not extinguished, his work was not only seasonable, but being written in a popular style, was eminently calculated to expose their knavery. The stories he has collected together for this purpose, are chosen appropriately and related with humour. The turn our author has given to the subject, renders it both an agreeable and an useful performance. The reader will find much information upon the early history of mankind, many scriptural illustrations, and some curious discussions upon the origin of witchcraft and idolatry. In tracing the corruptions of religious worship, he exhibits much learning and ingenuity, intermixed with many shrewd remarks upon the follies they occasion, and the knavery that produced them. His zeal for religion led him to encounter the atheists and sceptics of his day, and to level his satire at the vices of mankind, which diverted their attention from a subject of so much importance. In some few places, his zeal betrays him into improper

personalities ; but his remarks in general are distinguished by their soundness, and partake of that keen caustic humour in which he so greatly excelled ; and as a work of mere amusement, delineating the manners of former times, and exhibiting a useful moral, it may be always read with pleasure.

In the same year De Foe produced another work of a kindred nature, entitled 'An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. London : 1727.' The subject being popular, a second edition was soon called for, but not going off so soon as desired, a new title was printed in 1738, when it was announced as a third edition, with the following display of its contents : 'The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed ; or, an Universal History of Apparitions, Sacred and Profane, Human Souls departed, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London : 1738.'

Whoever peruses this treatise will find much to attract his attention, as well for the information it conveys as for the instruction it is intended to communicate. Whatever may be thought of his argument, the author cannot be denied the praise of great adroitness in managing it ; and he has seasoned his work with so many just reflections, as well as enlivened it with so much that is amusing, as to leave a strong impression of its practical utility. De Foe was far from believing the stories handed down by nurses and old women, to scare the minds of children and make up a winter evening's conversation ; and if some of the stories he relates are equally incredible, he lays less stress upon their authenticity than upon the moral to be derived from them. At the same time his impressions of whatever he chose to conceive, are so vivid and literal as almost to confound the distinction between reality and imagination. Not only could he "call spirits from the vasty deep," but they would "come when he did call for them."

The year 1727 also produced two pamphlets from De Foe, under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton. Influenced by the patriotic feeling, that "every man ought, as much as in him lies, to contribute in his station to the public welfare, and not be afraid or ashamed of doing, or at least meaning, well," he committed to the press 'The Protestant Monastery ; or, a Complaint against the Brutality of the Present Age, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to Aged Persons. London : 1727 ;' from the strain of which there seems reason to apprehend that De Foe had experienced some undutiful treatment from his children, and, indeed, he tells us that he speaks by experience ; and a letter introduced hereafter will explain more fully the nature of his case. De Foe complains loudly of the forwardness of the young people of his age, which he attributes to the injudicious management of parents ; and he has some excellent remarks upon the mode of dealing with them, in order to their becoming good and useful members of society.

Not long afterwards, our author addressed himself to another public grievance, which called loudly for redress, and which he explained in 'Parochial Tyranny : or, the House-keeper's Complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial Assessments of Select Vestries. With a Plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the Distribution of Public Charities. Together with a practicable Proposal for amending the same ; which will not only take off great part of the Parish Taxes now subsisting, but ease Parishioners from serving troublesome Offices, or paying exorbitant Fines. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London.' In this work De Foe complains largely of the abuses resulting from select vestries, the amendment of which, being perpetual, he saw no prospect of. When the subject was brought forward in the session of 1829, by Mr Hobhouse, he took respectful notice of De Foe's pamphlet.

It appears to be known to but few persons, that De Foe published, in the year 1727, a third volume of his 'Family Instructor.' The subjects being of a controversial nature, and referring to points that have been so frequently handled by other writers, has occa-

sioned it to be less popular than his practical treatises, and consequently less known. But those who may be desirous of instructing their families in such matters, will find much that is valuable for their purpose, in a compendious form, and conveyed in a familiar manner. The object of the writer in this, as well as in his former volumes, is the communication of religious knowledge ; but the subject relates to those controversies that have divided the Christian world. It is entitled 'A New Family Instructor. In familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children, on the most essential points of the Christian Religion. In two parts, &c.'

This, like the other Family Instructors, consists of a series of dialogues between a father and his children, and the children with each other. One of them, the eldest son, during his travels abroad, had turned Roman Catholic, which brings forward a long discussion upon the leading points in controversy between Papists and Protestants. The debate is managed with considerable humour, and elicits much historical information, gleaned from ecclesiastical writers. In the subsequent part of the work, De Foe turns the debate upon other topics, which he argues with perspicuity and great seriousness, and in so familiar a manner as to render them easy of comprehension to the plainest understanding. Having studied the controversies of the times, he was armed at all points with the arguments alleged by different parties, and states them with as much fairness as can be expected from one who has a system of his own to defend. He had read the Scriptures until they had become so familiar to him that he could cite them readily upon any subject that required their authority ; and the manner in which he often applies them, shows equal sagacity and judgment. Deeply impressed with the importance of religion, he aims, by the most solemn and persuasive arguments, to fix it upon the attention of his readers. To the rising generation, as most susceptible of impression, he addresses himself more particularly in the present work, endeavouring to allure their attention by diversifying his subject, and rendering it pleasing at the same time that it instructs.

In his anxiety to improve the morals of the age, De Foe now published a large treatise upon the subject of marriage ; principally with a view to correct the loose notions that prevailed with regard to it, and to counteract the abuses to which it sometimes led amongst the depraved of both sexes. It was first entitled 'Conjugal Lewdness ; or Matrimonial Whoredom : ' but this title being considered offensive to delicacy, he immediately cancelled it, and substituted the following :—'A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed, &c. 1727.'

De Foe had now arrived at a time of life when he could reprove the vices of the age with some degree of authority, and assume a dignified indifference to the reproaches that might be cast upon him for encountering such a subject. He was well aware of its delicacy, and of the clamours that would be raised against it by "the ill-nature of the age ;" but he resolved to silence the voice of censure, by avoiding any expressions that could justly offend the ears of modesty. He tells us it was almost thirty years since he had begun the work ; and that, during all that time, he had heard, with a just concern, the complaints of good men upon the subject. The grave and the sober, the lovers of virtue and of religion, had expressed themselves with grief upon the growing scandal, and often pressed him to finish and bring out this reproof. He says he had delayed the publication hitherto, partly on account of his years, and partly in hopes of reformation ; "but now despairing of amendment, grown old, and out of reach of scandal, sincerely aiming at the reformation of the guilty, and despising all unjust reproach from a vicious age, he closes his days with this satire, which he is so far from seeing cause to be ashamed of, that he hopes he shall not, where he is going to account for it."

De Foe informs us, that his work was no sooner advertised, than it was pronounced objectionable ; and this, not merely as it regarded the title, but even the subject itself,

which it was thought impossible to handle in any other than an offensive manner. Nay, some went so far as to insinuate that it was a bait to the curiosity of that part of the reading world, whose vices would be prompted as much by the reproof as by the plainest description. De Foe wisely observes, that he shall answer these people best by silence in his introduction, and a speaking performance. The satisfactory manner in which he has redeemed his pledge, must be apparent to every reader, who will admire the extreme caution of the writer, and the delicacy of his allusions. "Words modestly expressed," says he, "can give no immodest ideas when the minds of those who read are chaste and uncorrupted." Although the principal object of our author is to expose the abuses that arise out of the marriage union, yet he discusses the subject of marriage in a variety of particulars, and has many useful remarks that are well deserving of attention. He was a great friend to matrimony, which he considered the highest state of human felicity; from whence it may be concluded that he was himself happy in that relation.

The matter of the work must be allowed to be excellent, and to be composed with great seriousness as well as force of argument. The satire is free from levity, the reproof pointed, but delicate, and the moral so pure and convincing, that the reader is constrained to do justice to the piety and benevolence of the writer. He, indeed, deserves the highest praise for encountering the prejudices of mankind, at the risk of personal obloquy. It is, in short, an estimable work, with an exceptionable title.

Although age was now advancing apace upon our author, and subjected him to bodily infirmities, yet his faculties appear to have lost none of their acuteness; his memory still retained its freshness, and his mind its accustomed vigour. Of this he gave a satisfying proof in some elaborate treatises which he now composed upon the subject of trade. No fewer than three volumes of considerable bulk, the fruit of long experience and accurate observation, were issued by him successively within the short space of little more than one year. It is painful to reflect that this surprising rapidity of his pen, towards the close of a long life, was probably urged forward by the imperious demands of necessity.

The first of these works appeared in the early part of 1727, under the title of 'The Compleat English Tradesman: in Familiar Letters, directing him in all the several Parts and Progressions of Trade, &c.: London: 1727,' the favourable reception of which induced our author to add a second volume in the same year, completing the work. Both these volumes are eminently characterized by sound sense, knowledge of the world, and the inculcation of moral principle. In them the tradesman will find many directions of business, and many lessons of prudence. De Foe was not one of those writers who consider private vices public benefits. "God forbid," he exclaims, "that I should be understood to prompt the vices of the age in order to promote any practice of traffic: trade need not be destroyed though vice were mortally wounded." If his former writings had not given abundant evidence of the fact, these volumes are sufficient to show the penetration of the writer, and that he was an accurate painter of life and manners in the middle classes of society. Although the lapse of a century has necessarily produced a considerable change both in habits and manners, yet the instruction conveyed in 'The Compleat Tradesman' will be always seasonable; and this, not merely as it respects the class of persons to whom it is addressed. The caustic satire of the writer reaches the buyer as well as the seller; and it is seen how much the honesty of the one is affected by the dealings of the other. Few persons, perhaps, would expect to meet with amusement upon so dull a subject as trade; yet, inspired by the genius of De Foe, it has furnished materials for a most amusing work.

"In the first place," observes Mr Chambers, "it is a capital specimen of the good plain old-fashioned English, of which De Foe was such a master, as well as of that unpre-

tending, and yet singularly nervous colloquial style, in which he commemorated the adventures of his 'Crusoe.' In the second place, it contains all the general advices which a senior tradesman of the present day would be disposed to give to a junior; and thus after all, in one main and essential point, is as well calculated for the present age as for that of its author. But the grand recommendation of the book, and that which might make any existing author hesitate to attempt another by way of superseding it, is the admirable shrewdness and good sense which shine throughout its every page—good sense native to the author, but immensely improved by the experience of a long life, no small part of which had been spent in trade. It might, indeed, be well supposed beforehand of such a man as De Foe, that, when he was pleased to sit down in old age, and write all that his sagacious mind had observed and thought respecting that department of every-day world exertion, in which, as a private citizen, he had been chiefly engaged, the result could not fail to be one of the most instructive, and not the least entertaining, of all the books in our language; and such 'The Complete English Tradesman' really is.

"While chiefly to be esteemed for these qualities, there are others which may recommend it to many besides young tradesmen. It throws a curious light upon some of the customs of the time—as, for instance, where it describes the barbarous modes of procedure in cases of bankruptcy (chapter xiii), or where it speaks of the cotton-manufacturers of Manchester as "a kind of pedlars, who carry their goods themselves to the country shopkeepers everywhere." In chapter xviii there is a striking account of the consequences of the very worn and imperfect coinage which then existed, tradesmen of almost all kinds exerting themselves to pass off bad money, and men even going through the streets openly purchasing it at an inferior price, in order to profit by making it go as good. Upon the whole, the book conveys the impression that the honesty of the trading-class has considerably improved since 1726. There are many anecdotes, such as one can imagine to have been floating about Cheapside and Aldgate, in the reign of William and Mary, respecting trade and traders, which De Foe relates in a lively and dramatic manner. Even in De Foe's time we can gather that business had been no such pressing affair as it now is. He speaks of shopmen allowed to go away at the shutting of the shop, on condition that they should be at home again at nine o'clock, thus showing that business must have concluded long before nine—probably, we should think, at seven. From his insisting so much on the wives of tradesmen acquainting themselves with their husbands' business, and his scarcely making any allusion to out of town houses for the families of tradesmen, and from the small incomes he instances tradesmen as making, we readily see that a simple state of things then existed in London, such as is now perhaps to be found only in fourth-rate towns. Yet he speaks strongly of new and extravagant methods of fitting up shops, and of a general decline from the homely and economical manners of a past age. It might almost be supposed that his trading contemporaries, without exception, were tempted, by the ambition of a fine style of living, to exceed their incomes, and that this was a feature peculiar to the age. But even if the impossibility of a general excess like this were not sufficient to show that our author had written under a delusion, we have only to recollect certain scenes in 'Eastward Ho,' 'The City Madam,' and other plays of the reign of James I and Charles I, to be assured that 'bravery of living' was no new vice of the city. The author is probably right when he represents the religious habits of the Londoners as considerably changed in his recollection, for the impressions made in the time of the civil war had ever since been gradually wearing out; but, in all likelihood, the progress of domestic expense only kept pace with the increase of wealth, and refinement was added without any impairment of virtue."

The instructions laid down by our author for the management of trade, were followed

soon afterwards by a luminous treatise upon its history and policy, with suggestions for its improvement. This he entitled 'A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a Compleat Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In Three Parts. London: 1728.' This work was probably the completion of an undertaking commenced by De Foe in 1713, and proposed to be published periodically, but extending only to two numbers. Soon after the publication of the 'Plan of Commerce,' a work somewhat similar in design was published by Joshua Gee, under the title of 'The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered.' Mr Chalmers, who was fully conversant with such matters, draws the following parallel between the two writers:—"De Foe insisted that our industry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people, had increased, and were increasing. Gee represented that our manufactures had received mortal stabs; that our poor were destitute and our country miserable. De Foe maintained the truth which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee asserted this falsehood without knowing the fact; yet Gee is quoted, while De Foe, with all his knowledge of the subject as a commercial writer, is almost forgotten. The reason may be found perhaps in the characteristic remark with which he opens his plan:—"Trade, like religion, is what everybody talks of, but few understand."

Amongst the productions of the year 1728 was a fictitious narrative of an English officer, belonging to the same class of writing as the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' and which, after having long passed as the production of the person to whom it relates, is now well known to be the work of our author. It is entitled 'The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton. From the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served, to the Conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, &c. London: 1728.' A principal part of the work is a record of the military achievements of the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, who figured in Spain during the wars of Queen Anne; and it exhibits the character of a soldier distinguished alike by professional prowess and by devotion to the fair sex. The military details of which it is composed are relieved by many anecdotes and striking incidents, that contribute to render it an agreeable and an entertaining performance. Although full of the business of war, it abounds with picturesque descriptions of the country and its inhabitants, of many local customs and observances, and of the genius of the Roman Catholic religion. The moral reflections that are interspersed, the sarcasm upon duelling, and the hints upon predestination and providence, are quite in De Foe's taste, as are the few political allusions; and we are no less reminded of him by the plain, matter-of-fact, and off-handed manner of telling the story. The events detailed in the work are matters of history, and are related with all the minuteness and personality of an eye-witness and an actor upon the spot. So faithful is the likeness to truth, and so accurate the descriptions, that it has been generally read as an authentic work, like the 'History of the Plague,' and the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier.' As such it was considered by Dr Johnson, who expressed much satisfaction in the perusal. It was first introduced to his notice by Lord Eliot, in consequence of his observing upon the little that was known of Lord Peterborough, for whom he had a great veneration. Lord Eliot told him that the best account of that nobleman which he had happened to meet with was to be found in Captain Carleton's Memoirs.—"Carleton," he added, "was descended of an ancestor who distinguished himself at the siege of Derry. He was an officer, and what was rare at that time, had some knowledge of engineering;" particulars that he had collected from the Memoirs. Johnson observed that he had never heard of the book. After a good deal of inquiry, Boswell informs us that he procured a copy and sent it to Johnson, who told Sir Joshua Reynolds that he was going to bed when it came, but he was so much pleased with it that he sat up till he had read it through, and found in it such an air of truth that he could not doubt of its authenticity; adding, with a smile, "I did

not think a young lord could have mentioned to me a book in the English history that was not known to me."

In this and the following year our author produced two more pamphlets, under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton, and both arising out of his zeal for national improvement. De Foe had long witnessed, with regret, the abuses in the administration of our laws, and was desirous of procuring fresh enactments to enforce their observance. The alarming state of crime in the metropolis called from him many energetic remonstrances, as well as plans for its prevention. He also suggests amendments in some of our public institutions, and projects others for the relief of the unfortunate, or for the improvement of mankind in knowledge and virtue. Among his suggestions are a London University, a Foundling Hospital, and a Metropolitan Police. De Foe's other schemes are as practicable as these have since been proved to be, and are all in the highest degree benevolent and useful. His first pamphlet embodying his idea of these reforms is entitled 'Augusta Triumphans; or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe.' In this pamphlet, De Foe laid down a plain and practicable scheme for the total suppression and prevention of street robberies, "which scheme," says he, "has been approved of by several learned and judicious persons." Within a short time after its appearance, some other projector stepped in to rob him of his honours, and suggested a similar plan; which was submitted to parliament, and received the ostentatious support of venal news-writers. Indignant at this invasion of his property, De Foe resolved upon sending forth a new and enlarged version of his plan, preceded by a statement of his literary grievances. His second pamphlet is entitled 'Second Thoughts are Best; or, a Further Improvement of a late Scheme to Prevent Street Robberies. In which our streets will be so strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at midnight as at noon-day; and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the Publick Roads of England, &c. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: 1729.'

Of an author who wrote so much as De Foe, and whose works are chiefly anonymous, it may be difficult to assign the last publication. From a passage in the preface to his 'Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed,' it may be inferred that he expected to close his labours with that "upright intention for the good of mankind;" but we have seen that he lived to write several pieces afterwards. An Appendix to the 'Plan of the English Commerce,' added to the second edition of that work, in the early part of 1730, was, however, in all probability the conclusion of his literary labours; or, at any rate, the last of his published works. He was then upon the verge of his last voyage to that country upon which he had long fixed his attention, and from whence no traveller returns.

He had prepared another work for publication a little before his death, but owing to illness, or to some other cause, only one sheet of it appears to have been printed.* It was to have been entitled 'The Compleat Gentleman, containing useful observations on the general Neglect of Education of English Gentlemen, with the Reason and Remedies; the apparent Differences between a Well-Born and Well-Bred Gentleman; and

*The following letter to his printer, "Mr J. Watts, in Wild court," relates to the above work:—

"Sr,—I am to ask yo^r pardon for keeping the enclosed so long, Mr Baker having told me yo^r resolution of taking it in hand and working it off. But I have been exceeding ill. I have revised it again and contracted it very much, and hope to bring it within the bulk you desire, or as near it as possible. But this and some needful alterations will oblige you to much trouble in the first sheet, and perhaps almost as bad as setting it over again, which cannot be avoided. I will

Instructions how Gentlemen may recover a Deficiency of their Latin, and be Men of Learning, though without the Pedantry of Schools.' The manuscript of the work, which is partly in Short-hand, is still in existence, and in the possession of one of his lineal descendants, the Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, by whose courtesy Mr Wilson was enabled to give the following analysis of its contents :—

Part the First. Chap. 1. Of the Gentleman born, in the common acceptation of the word, and as the Gentry amongst us are pleased to understand it. Chap. 2. Some Examples from History and from good Information of the Want of Care taken in the Education of Princes and Children of the Nobility in former times, as well in this Nation as in foreign Countries, and how fatal the Effects of it have been in their future Conduct ; with some few Examples of the contrary also. Chap. 3. Examples of the different Educations of Princes and Persons of rank from the beginning of the sixteenth century, viz., from the Reign of Henry VIII inclusive. With Observations down to the present time, on the Happiness of these Reigns in general, where the Princes have been Educated in Principles of Honour and Virtue ; and something of the contrary. Chap. 4. Of Royal Education. Chap. 5. The head of this chapter is erased. Chap. 6. Of the G—— ; of Himself, his Family, and Fortune.

Part the Second. Chap. 1. Of the Fund for Increase of our Nobility and Gentry in England ; being the Beginning of those we call Bred Gentlemen, with some Account of Difference. Chap. 2. There is no head to this chapter. Chap. 3. Of the General Ignorance of the English Gentry, and the True Cause of it in the Manner of their Introduction into Life. Chap. 4. Of what may be the Unhappy Cause of the General Defect in the Education of our Gentry ; with a Rational Proposal for Preventing those Consequences.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE rapidity with which his publications had followed each other, and the successive editions that were in demand during his life-time, if his gains were at all commensurate, ought to have ensured our author a considerable degree of wealth, but De Foe was never destined to be a rich man. Indeed, it is quite clear, that with all his ability and industry, however he might be formed to serve his country or delight mankind, he was not one of those who are born to make their fortunes,—either from a careless, improvident disposition, that squanders away its advantages, or a sanguine and restless temper, that constantly abandons a successful pursuit for some new and gilded project. He must, however, have been in easy circumstances during the first run of his romances. In 1721 he fined to the parish of Stoke Newington, to be excused serving parish offices. In the following year he obtained from the corporation of Colchester a lease for ninety-nine years of Kingswood heath, at a yearly rent of 120*l.*, besides a fine of 500*l.* But whether his speculation failed, or to whatever cause it was owing, he did not retain it long ; for we find the property transferred soon afterwards to Walter Bernard. At the time that Mr Chalmers wrote, Kingswood heath was worth 300*l.* a-year. It must have been about this time, or a little before, that he built a large and handsome house for his own residence at Stoke Newington ; and if we

endeavour to send the rest of the copy so well corrected as to give you very little trouble. I here return the first sheet, and as much copy as will make near three sheets more ; you shall have all the remainder so as not to let you stand still at all.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ Sept. 10th, 1729.”

“DE FOE.”

may believe the report of his literary opponents, he had the luxury of a coach and its accustomed appendages. But whatever may have been his pecuniary circumstances, they could not procure him the blessings of health. He was tormented with those dreadful maladies, the gout and the stone, occasioned in part, most probably, by his close application ; and they subjected him to continual attacks of illness during the remainder of his life.

Henry Baker, the celebrated natural philosopher, who married one of De Foe's daughters, left behind him some valuable papers. Amongst these is a short narrative of his early acquaintance with his wife, which, as containing some notice of De Foe at this period, will gratify the reader. It is as follows :—

“ In the year 1724 Mr H. Baker engaged in an undertaking which required his spending some days every week at Newington. Amongst the first who desired his acquaintance there was Mr De Foe, a gentleman well known by his writings, who had newly built there a very handsome house, as a retirement from London, and amused his time, either in the cultivation of a large and pleasant garden, or in the pursuit of his studies, which he found means of making very profitable. He was now at least sixty years of age, afflicted with the gout and stone, but retained all his mental faculties entire. Mr Baker readily accepted his invitation, and was so pleased with his conversation, that he seldom came to Newington without paying a visit to Mr De Foe. He met usually at the tea-table his three lovely daughters, who were admired for their beauty, their education, and their prudent conduct ; and if sometimes Mr De Foe's disorders made company inconvenient, Mr Baker was entertained by them, either singly or together, and that commonly in the garden, when the weather was favourable. Mr Baker very soon discovered the superior excellencies of Miss Sophia, the youngest daughter, (of whose person and manners the writer speaks in strains of the highest eulogium.) He knew nothing of Mr De Foe's circumstances ; only imagined, from his very genteel way of living, that he must be able to give his daughter a decent portion : he did not suppose a large one. On speaking to Mr De Foe, he sanctioned his proposals, and said he hoped he should be able to give her a certain sum specified ; but when urged to the point some time afterwards, his answer was, that formal articles he thought unnecessary ; that he could confide in the honour of Mr Baker ; that when they talked before, he did not know the true state of his own affairs ; that he found he could not part with any money at present ; but at his death, his daughter's portion would be more than he had promised ; and he offered his own bond as a guarantee for the payment.” With this, it seems, Mr Baker was not satisfied ; and their altercation upon money matters produced a coolness between them for some time, so that they seldom saw each other ; but Mr Baker constantly visited his fair Sophia. It is said that, by creating these difficulties, De Foe expected the impatience of the young people would be wearied into a marriage, without any previous agreement with him. But if so, he was disappointed ; for, after a protracted negotiation of almost two years, the same authority says, that he consented to engage his house at Newington as a security, and articles were executed accordingly. De Foe had no ready money to part with, but gave a bond with his daughter for 500*l.* payable after his death. It bears date, April 5, 1729, and the marriage was celebrated upon the 30th of the same month.

It appears that, whilst De Foe was negotiating with Mr Baker, he had another estate in Essex, which, with that at Newington, he had secured, in some way, for the benefit of his family. But his property was a source of much vexation to him, chiefly through the undutiful behaviour of his son.

Little as it may consist with the foregoing account of De Foe's circumstances, it was not long after his daughter's marriage, that he was doomed to undergo the privation, not only of the comforts he enjoyed in his retreat at Newington, but even

of his personal liberty. The immediate occasion of it cannot now be known; but he was probably thrown into prison by some merciless creditor, whom he hints at as a "wicked and perjured enemy." He was not long in confinement, for we find him again at liberty in August 1730, although still not without apprehensions of renewed troubles. All this while he suffered greatly from bodily affliction, having been brought low by an attack of fever. But these were not the whole of De Foe's misfortunes. He who had borne so long the buffetings of the world, possessed a spirit that refused to sink under them, until he was touched by a hand that should have nourished and protected him. He could say in the language of the prophet, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." It seems that, to prevent the shipwreck of his property, he had conveyed it to his son, with a legal obligation, as well as private understanding, that it was for the joint benefit of his wife and two unmarried daughters. But he proved an unfaithful steward, converting the property to his own use, and leaving his mother and sisters to want. This unnatural conduct pierced his unhappy father to the very soul; but how it touched him can be told only by his own pen. The following letter to Mr Baker presents a scene of sorrow, such as, for the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped but rarely occurs. He who can read it with unmoistened eyes must be possessed of feelings that no man ought to envy.

"Dear Mr Baker,

"I have yo^r very kind and affecc'onate letter of the 1st, but not come to my hand till y^e 10th; where it had been delayed I kno' not. As your kind manner, and kinder thought, from w^h it flows (for I take all you say to be as I always believed you to be, sincere and Nathaniel like, without guile), was a particular satisfacc'on to me; so the stop of a letter, however it happened, deprived me of that cordial too many days, considering how much I stood in need of it, to support a mind sinking under the weight of an afflicc'on too heavy for my strength, and looking on myself as abandoned of every comfort, every friend, and every relative, except such only as are able to give me no assistance.

"I was sorry you should say at y^e beginning of your letter you were debarred seeing me. Depend upon my sincerity for this, I am far from debarring you. On y^e contrary, it would be a greater comfort to me than any I now enjoy, that I could have y^r agreeable visits wth safety, and could see both you and my dearest Sophia, could it be without giving her y^e grief of seeing her father *in tenebris*, and under y^e load of insupportable sorrows. I am sorry I must open my griefs so far as to tell her, it is not y^e blow I rec^d from a wicked, perjur'd, and contemptible enemy, that has broken in upon my spirit; w^{ch}, as she well knows, has carryed me on thro' greater disasters than these. But it has been the injustice, unkindness, and, I must say, inhuman dealing of my own son, w^{ch} has both ruined my family, and, in a word, has broken my heart; and as I am at this time under a weight of very heavy illness, w^{ch} I think will be a fever, I take this occasion to vent my grief in y^e breasts who I know will make a prudent use of it, and tell you, that nothing but this has conquered or could conquer me. *Et tu! Brute*. I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he has no compassion, and suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with; himself, at y^e same time, living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity; I can say no more, my heart is too full. I only ask one thing of you as a dying request. Stand by them when I am gone, and let them not be wrong'd, while he is able to do them right. Stand by them as a brother; and if you have anything within you owing to my memory, who have bestow'd on you the best gift I had to give, let y^m not be injured and trampled

on by false pretences, and unnatural reflections. I hope they will want no help but that of comfort and council; but that they will indeed want, being too easie to be manag'd by words and promises.

"It adds to my grief that it is so difficult to me to see you. I am at a distance from Londⁿ in Kent; nor have I a lodging in London, nor have I been at that place in the Old Bailey since I wrote you I was removed from it. At present I am weak, having had some fits of a fever that have left me low. But those things much more.

"I have not seen son or daughter, wife or child, many weeks, and kno' not which way to see them. They dare not come by water, and by land here is no coach, and I kno' not what to do.

"It is not possible for me to come to Enfield, unless you could find a retired lodging for me, where I might not be known, and might have the comfort of seeing you both now and then; upon such a circumstance I could gladly give the days to solitude, to have the comfort of half an hour now and then, with you both, for two or three weeks. But just to come and look at you, and retire immediately, 'tis a burden too heavy. The parting will be a price beyond the enjoyment.

"I would say (I hope) with comfort, that 'tis yet well. I am so near my journey's end, and am hastening to the place where y^e weary are at rest, and where the wicked cease to trouble; be it that the passage is rough, and the day stormy, by what way soever He please to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases. *Te Deum Laudamus.*

"I congratulate you on y^e occasion of y^r happy advance in y^r employment. May all you do be prosperous, and all you meet with pleasant, and may you both escape the tortures and troubles of uneasie life. May you sail y^e dangerous voyage of life with a *forcing wind*, and make the port of heaven *without a storm*.

"It adds to my grief that I must never see the pledge of your mutual love, my little grandson. Give him my blessing, and may he be to you both your joy in youth, and your comfort in age, and never add a sigh to your sorrow. But, alas! that is not to be expected. Kiss my dear Sophy once more for me; and if I must see her no more, tell her this is from a father that loved her above all his comforts, to his last breath.

"Yor unhappy,

"About two miles from Greenwich, Kent,

"D. F.

Tuesday, Augst 12, 1730.

"P.S. I wrote you a letter some months ago, in answer to one from you, about selling y^e house; but you never signified to me whether you received it. I have not the policy of assurance; I suppose my wife, or Hannah, may have it.

"*Idem.*

D. F."

From this scene of sorrow, we must now hasten to an event that dropped before it the dark curtain of time. Having received a wound that was incurable, there is too much reason to fear that the anguish arising from it sunk deep in his spirits, and hastened the crisis that, in a few months, brought his troubles to a final close. As the shadow of life declined, we may easily believe that his prospect of a better world grew stronger and brighter. It was long since that he had resolved the business of life into these two particulars: "Reflections upon things past; serious application to things future." His latter writings all lead to the conclusion, that he considered himself upon the verge of another world, and was setting his house in order, that he might not be taken by surprise. With a resolute purpose to devote his energies, so long as they continued, to the improvement of mankind, we observe a growing indifference to passing scenes, and an elevation of mind that raised his contemplations to spiritual objects. Those religious impressions which he had imbibed early, and carried with him through life, were sharpened by the asperities of his situation. They became his solace

under the frowns of the world, and the staff of his old age. Disciplined in the school of affliction, he had been taught submission to the hand that inflicted it; and aware of the difficulties that beset a conscientious adherence to the path of duty, he made them a motive for vigilance and frequent self-examination. In a former work he has the following reflections suggested by the prospect of a future state:—"I believe nothing would contribute more to make us good Christians than to be able to look upon all things, causes, and persons here, with the same eyes as we do when we are looking into eternity. Death sets all in a clear light; and when a man is, as it were, in the very boat, pushing off from the shore of the world, his last views of it being abstracted from interests, hopes, or wishes, and influenced by the near view of the future state, must be clear, unbiassed, and impartial." *

With a mind elevated above the grovelling pursuits of the mere worldling, and steadily fixed upon the scenes that were opening to him as he approached the boundaries of time, De Foe could not be unprepared for the change that was to separate him from his dearest connexions. His death took place upon the 24th of April, 1731, when he was about seventy years of age, having been born in the year 1661. Cibber and others state that he died at his house at Islington; but this is incorrect. The parish of St Giles, Cripplegate, in which he drew his first breath, was also destined to receive his last. This we learn from the parish register, which further informs us, that he went off in a lethargy.† He was buried from thence, upon the 26th of April, in Tindall's Burying-ground, now most known by the name of Bunhill fields. The entry in the register, written by some person, who made a strange blunder of his name, is as follows: "1731. April 26. Mr Dubow. Cripplegate." Whether De Foe passed his latter days in the midst of his family, or in an obscure lodging by himself, can now be only matter of conjecture: it is to be hoped he was not without the solace of those who were best fitted to administer to him the little remnant of earthly enjoyment. After his death his widow, Susannah, continued to reside at Stoke Newington; and as his daughters were afterwards in independent circumstances, it may be presumed that they succeeded in recovering their property. Mr Baker, who appears to have been a kind-hearted man, probably stood their friend upon the occasion. Mrs De Foe did not long survive her husband, dying at the latter end of the following year. She was also removed to Bunhill fields for interment, as appears by the following entry: "1732. Decr. 19. Mrs Defow. Stoke Newington." The same register records the burial of another Mrs De Foe, about four years afterwards. She was brought from Hackney, and was most probably a daughter-in law. The entry stands thus: "1737. Janr. 19. Mrs Deffoe. St John's, Hackney."

It is lamentable to reflect, that a man of De Foe's genius and talents should have died insolvent; yet the events that befel him during the last year or two of his life, could have produced no other result. Although, during a long and active life, his pen had known but little intermission, and the profits from his publications latterly could not have been inconsiderable, yet the demands of a numerous family, upon whose education he had not been sparing of expense, must have quickly absorbed them. In addition to this, he was never free from the burthen of unsatisfied creditors, which acted as a mill-stone about his neck, and plunged him at last in irrecoverable poverty. He who had nothing to leave had no occasion for a will. Accordingly, there is none to be found in Doctors' Commons; but the books there inform us, that, in September 1773, letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooks, widow, a creditrix, after summoning in official form the next of kin to appear.

* 'Review,' ii, 201.

† The following is a copy of the register: "1731. Daniel Defoe, gentleman. To Tindall's (Lethargy.) April 26."

CHAPTER XX.

It now only remains to lay before our readers the various estimates which have been formed of De Foe's character by authors who have made him the subject of their consideration, commencing with Mr Wilson, to whom the present editor is indebted for the materials of the larger portion of this memoir.

"It has been justly remarked by a sensible writer, that 'No history can furnish us with an example of a man whose life and actions have been universally applauded: malice, or a different interest, being always ready to wound the noblest integrity.'* Of the truth of this sentiment De Foe was a memorable instance. Living at a period when the political horizon was overspread by faction, invading the peace of families, and diffusing a canker through the social system, a less prominent character would scarcely have escaped without scars upon his reputation. An eminent living writer, referring to the former part of it, and what he says is equally true of the latter, observed, 'A critic of that time never deemed that he had so effectually refuted the reasoning of his adversary, as when he had said something disrespectful of his talents, person, or moral character. Thus, literary contest was embittered by personal hatred, and truth was so far from being the object of the combatants, that even victory was tasteless unless obtained by the disgrace and degradation of the antagonist.'† But this illegitimate mode of warfare was not confined to literature: it was carried into the world of politics, where it assumed the highest tone of acrimony. In those sour days, both the understandings and the morals of men were estimated according to the party they belonged to, and received a colouring in proportion to their own importance, or to the skill of their adversaries. When the human character has been subjected to so precarious a test, it is no wonder that virtue and vice have changed their positions in history, and that they have been so shifted in their application as to be accommodated to the prejudices of those who had a turn to serve by their dishonesty. Although this perversion of ideas may be set straight by the cool judgment of posterity, yet when the poison is dilated through endless ramifications, the antidote has fearful odds to contend with. But, should time moderate the symptoms, it is not before the original purpose was answered. When men are stunned by clamour, and borne down by the voice of authority, their mouths are stopped from inquiry, and they easily take that for granted which, upon sober investigation, would turn out to be merely the result of prejudice. This circumstance, so unfavourable to the cause of truth, has given a real disadvantage to those who have contended against popular opinions; the merits of the question being shifted to foreign matters, or absorbed in the common share of scandal and abuse. At the period of which we are speaking, even men of the greatest names were not above stooping to these low and disingenuous arts; whilst the calumnies they propagated derived an authority from their sanction.

"In this ocean of slander no one was dipped more deeply than De Foe. To sink his reputation as a patriot he was charged with selfishness and venality; and to ruin him in the estimation of the virtuous, his moral character was assailed by the most impudent falsehoods. If we were to believe his enemies, there was scarcely a crime that gave deformity to human nature with which he was not chargeable. The extent to which this mode of warfare was carried can be known only to those who are conversant with

* Preface to 'Ludlow's Memoirs.'

† Scott's 'Life of Dryden.'

the newswriters and pamphleteers of the day. That the libels heaped upon him by his contemporaries should have been wantonly adopted by succeeding writers, affords the less surprise, when we consider the voracious appetite that is indulged for slander, and the slender authority upon which reports are taken up and propagated. Experience shows that history may be written without investigation, and pass current in the world, in spite of the grossest inaccuracy. Of this we have a glaring instance in the volumes of the late Mark Noble, whose account of De Foe is one tissue of misrepresentation and falsehood. His flippancy and his bigotry might have been borne with if these offensive adjuncts had been accompanied by a tolerable share of accuracy; but the want of correctness that disfigures a large proportion of his pages, renders them a ludicrous contrast when placed in juxtaposition with the instructive volumes of the candid and judicious Granger.

“ But amidst the storms of reproach that De Foe was called upon to encounter, he maintained a calm serenity of mind, that could only be inspired by conscious rectitude. He was not insensible to the value of character, nor backward to vindicate himself when attacked; but, standing upon the solid ground of truth and honesty, he was able, with a virtuous indignation, to defy and confute, if not to silence, his calumniators. The frequency with which he had to meet these attacks constrained him sometimes to break through the dignified silence which he usually prescribed to himself, and to trespass upon that diffidence which he thought best befitting persons encompassed with infirmities. He avows that he is not more exempt from human frailties than other men, and is willing to look back upon the best actions of his life with the temper of a penitent. Yet, when he goes so far to stop the mouth of censure, he rejects with indignation the charge of offences that he was conscious had no foundation but in malice. He distinctly asserts that he was not a man of vice, and challenges all the world to prove the contrary; yet he was so far from boasting of his exemption from common vices that he ascribes it solely to the restraining power of divine grace. He thought that little satisfaction was to be derived from negative duties, unless accompanied by active exertions in Christian duty. For the correctness of De Foe’s private conduct we need seek no further evidence than his own manly avowal in the face of his enemies. No man can write in stronger language against the vices of the times; yet none would have had the hardihood to do so if he could be confronted with the vices he condemns. He therefore sets malice at defiance, and reposes in the consciousness of acting well. ‘He that cannot live above the scorn of scoundrels,’ says he, ‘is not fit to live: dogs will bark; and so they shall, without lessening one moment of my tranquillity.’ Anticipating the tongue of slander, he says,

‘ Malice shall write thy character in vain,
Thou know’st more faults than thy describers can;
But let the man that pens thy history
Correct his own, and first repent like thee.’

“ Although a frequenter of the coffee-houses, then the common resort of literary men, it did not trench upon his habits of temperance. Drunkards he denounces as ‘Philosophers in wickedness, who can extract pleasure to themselves in losing their understandings, and making themselves sick at heart for their diversion.’ That he was no swearer, we may justly argue from his constant ridicule of that ‘Frenzy of the tongue, in which there is neither pleasure nor profit.’ He was a great admirer of the fair sex, in the station assigned them by providence and the laws of society, and therefore had a high opinion of marriage, when suitably contracted, and founded upon mutual affection; but he despised the alienation of ‘God’s best gift to man,’ for vicious purposes, as a thing not worth the repentance. Rising above the narrow prejudices of his age, he was desirous of seeing greater attention bestowed upon the education of females, that they

might become the companions of our leisure, as well as the directors of our households. No man had a greater relish for the pleasures of society, when restrained within the rules of decorum; but he had a great contempt for that 'low-prized wit,' which was shot off at the expense of decency and morals. With his companionable habits, united to a lively imagination, a good understanding, and a general knowledge, it is easy to conceive that he must have communicated as much pleasure as he derived from society; and we may be assured, that the man who attended the levees of Godolphin and Harley, and could ingratiate himself with King William and Queen Anne, must have possessed gentlemanly manners. To the natural goodness of his temper we have the testimony of his contemporary, Dunton, who knew him personally; and his writings sufficiently attest its peaceableness. Although frequently engaged in controversy, and treated with the utmost bitterness by his opponents, he rarely departs from gentleness of language, and studiously avoids the mixing up of personal animosities in general arguments; yet, when aroused by repeated injuries, he could exhibit the manliness and vigour of an upright and independent mind. Of his personal courage no one can doubt who looks into his 'Reviews.' For his freedoms in attacking the vices of the age he was often threatened with violence, but always treated such threats with ridicule. Against the absurd practice of duelling, in which the injured party puts himself upon a level with the party who commits the injury, he declares himself in forcible terms: yet it appears that he was once concerned in 'an affair of honour,' for which he expresses his penitence.

"With regard to his petty habits but little can now be told. His religious scruples led him to discourage the theatre, the ball-room, and the card-table, from an apprehension that they are injurious to morals. In this opinion he concurred with many eminent persons, as well of the laity as of the clergy, who signified their approbation of his writings upon those subjects.* There was nothing of effeminacy in De Foe's constitution. He was a friend to many sports and athletic exercises, as not only conducive to health, but calculated to support the reputation of the British character.

"His political opinions were as sound as they are useful, as liberal as they are just. Until the change in the ministry, towards the end of the reign of Queen Anne, he was commonly identified with the Whigs, because he advocated their political doctrines; but it does not appear that he ever derived from them any solid marks of favour. He seems to have possessed too much of a public spirit for the climate of party. He therefore never entered into the private views of the Whigs, nor lent himself to their schemes for personal

* Amongst his correspondents was William Melmoth, Esq., a worthy barrister, and author of 'The Great Importance of a Religious Life,' &c. Being in pursuit of the same object as De Foe, he sought the assistance of his literary friends, and, says the writer of his life, wrote a letter to the famous author of a miscellaneous and instructive 'Review,' part of which is as follows:—"Sir,—The regard you have shown to the request I have lately made you, to pursue your design of exposing the stage, obliges me to repeat my thanks to you, which I assure you I do with great sincerity, being always pleased, I must own, whenever I see the play-houses attacked; for I am persuaded they greatly contribute to corrupt the present age. I have taken the freedom to send you Mr Bedford's new book, by which you will see that my charge is not ill-grounded, when I told you how little respect had been shown to her Majesty's order. I am the more induced to trouble you with this book, as thinking it may be of some use to you in the design in which you are engaged. I have likewise sent you the opinion of Archbishop Tillotson touching plays, which has lately been printed and dispersed in great numbers, and which, if it were still made more public, as it might be if printed in one of your 'Reviews,' would prove, I hope, of some use. His opinion, perhaps, may have some weight with those who are proof against other arguments; at least one would think it should make them consider a little what they are doing, when they give countenance to a set of men who seem to bid defiance to all that is serious, &c. &c."—*Memoirs of a late eminent Advocate*, pp. 54, 55.

aggrandizement. Before he lost their good word, he had said, 'I have never loved parties, but with my utmost zeal have sincerely espoused the great original interest of this nation, and of all nations ; I mean truth and liberty : and whoever are of that party, I desire to be with them.*' His obligations to Harley naturally linked him to that minister, and so far fettered him as to impose silence upon some measures that he could not approve. But he owed nothing to the Whigs, and was so far free to follow his patron, whose opinions upon all essential points corresponded with his own. De Foe, however, was not the man to sacrifice his independence to any minister. Whoever employed him, he made a reserve of his liberty to write upon any subject his judgment dictated ; and we have seen that he delivered his sentiments freely upon various measures that emanated from the government of his patron. But this the Whigs either had not the sense to see, or the honesty to acknowledge. In their vituperations of Harley they were equally unsparing of De Foe ; making him responsible for opinions that he never maintained, and for books that he did not write. With little regard to truth, and less charity, they accused him of political delinquencies which they could never establish ; whilst, in giving vent to their malice, they lost sight of their own factiousness. He who serves his country faithfully must expect reproach ; which he will be sure to get from the violent and the venal of all parties. Thus it was with De Foe. The Whigs hated him for his supposed alliance with the Tories : the latter, for his real attachment to the principles of the Whigs. In fact, no man was further removed from Toryism than De Foe, nor wrote more strenuously against it ; yet it was his fate to be misunderstood by the party he served, and that with more honesty than those who were loudest in their clamours against him. If upon some occasions he condemned the conduct of the Whigs, as proceeding from a spirit of faction ; and differed from them upon others that involved questions of national or commercial policy, posterity will give him praise for the greater patriotism and the sounder judgment : he never swerved, like them, from the principles of liberty, nor lost sight of those distinguished features that first gave them reputation as a party. Amidst the versatility of the times few men were less open to the charge of political apostacy than De Foe ; yet no man suffered more unmerited obloquy upon that account. His attachment to Harley, founded upon a sentiment of honour, and strengthened by the persecution of the Whigs, was attended by no compromise of principle, although it led him, perhaps, into some compliances with the times, which his better judgment disapproved ; but Harley's friendship was a crime which they could never forgive. The fall of that minister, therefore, was the signal of his own ruin ; for the Whigs, ascending to power, made him responsible for offences that were his greatest abhorrence. Of his overtures to them for a reconciliation ; of their unforgiving disposition ; and of the manner in which he reconciled himself to his lot, he gives a pathetic narrative in the ' Serious Reflections.'

"De Foe's religious opinions were conformable to the current standard of orthodoxy among Protestants. He appears to have been well acquainted with the theological controversies of his day, and evinces considerable skill as a disputant ; but, when speaking of his attainments, he always expressed himself with modesty. Living at a period when disputes were conducted with much intemperance, he protests earnestly against such a mode of warfare. It is not to be expected that a man of De Foe's temperament would be without his prejudices ; indeed, who amongst the sons of men can be said to be free from them ? If his zeal occasionally betrayed him into intemperate expressions, and led him to draw conclusions unfavourable to the character of those who differed from him, they are blemishes which occur but seldom in his writings. In the ecclesiastical disputes of the times he took part with the Dissenters. This was no

small disadvantage to him in a financial view, as it incapacitated him for those employments in the state to which his talents and his connexions might lead him to aspire. But he gloried in the profession of Non-conformity, and was one of the ablest advocates of which the Dissenters could boast. His treatment by them was not of the most generous kind; for, if they had but little to give in the shape of honour or promotion, yet they were a wealthy body; and as he suffered in their cause, he had a right to look to them for some assistance in his troubles, and for more comfort and encouragement than he appears to have received. Oldmixon, who delights in misrepresentation, repeatedly calls him an Independent and a Republican; but he was as far from the one as from the other: in his religion he was a Presbyterian, and in his politics a friend to the British Constitution, as settled at the Revolution. Of his personal piety no one can doubt who has perused his writings. The cast of it was similar to that of the Puritans, but free from moroseness, and chastened by a free conversation with men and things. That he was a man of prayer, and made a conscience of religious duties, are no less evident; and there can be no doubt that he carried into his own family those admirable lessons which he laid down for the instruction of others. From the tenour of his writings it may be easily seen that religion was uppermost in his mind, that he reaped its consolations, and lived under an habitual sense of its practical importance. The earnestness with which he enforces it upon his readers leaves no doubt of his sincerity; whilst his language intimates that it had taken full possession of his heart. Of his benevolence in private life the following instance, communicated by a late respected friend, is one doubtless out of many others, which, if known, would illustrate and exalt his character. Mr Isaac James, in a letter to the author, says, 'I have a manuscript account of one Thomas Webb, of Devizes, who afterwards removed to London. After lamenting the death of his wife, in 1724, he says, "And poor distressed I left alone, and no one to go and speak to, save only Mr Deffoe, who hath acted a noble and generous part towards me and my poor children. The lord reward him and his with the blessings of upper and nether spring, with the blessings of his basket and store, &c."

"We must now," proceeds Mr Wilson, "consider De Foe's pretensions as a writer, and the bare catalogue of his works will be sufficient to show that, like the elder Scipio, 'he was never more employed than when at leisure, nor less solitary than when alone.' That he possessed talents of no ordinary cast is a sentiment now so fully established, as to triumph over every contemporary effort to destroy his fame. Though his abilities, in certain respects, were generally acknowledged, full justice was far from being done to his reputation, either during his life or for a considerable time after his decease. By some persons he has been spoken of with contempt, and others have regarded him as a ready miscellaneous writer; but the world is at last become sensible of his great and various talents. De Foe affords one out of many examples, that literary merit, however oppressed for a time by the influence of party, is sure, at length, to find its proper place in the estimation of mankind. He has now outlived his century, when, as Mr Chambers observes, 'he must be acknowledged as one of the ablest, as he was one of the most captivating writers, of which this island can boast.'

"For the qualities that constitute the basis of his fame De Foe was more indebted to nature than to any acquired endowments. Being shut out from the universities by barbarous statutes, his education was defective, and his learning rather various than profound. He appears, however, to have had a respectable acquaintance with the ancient and modern languages, was well read in history, and had improved himself by an extensive acquaintance with the world. Few men were better versed in the controversies of his time, whether political or ecclesiastical; or possessed more adroitness in the management of an argument. To extraordinary energy of mind he united the most perfect self-possession; being as provoking by his coolness as his pertinacity was galling. He pos-

sessed a large share of that dry, caustic wit, which gave a peculiar force to his language, and told more significantly than whole pages of sentiment. Perfect master of his own resources, he adapts himself to the humour of his opponents. When they argue fairly, he reasons with acuteness, vigour, and judgment; but when they lose their temper, he laughs at their weakness, and answers their railings by sarcasm. Unfettered by the opinions of other writers, and unawed by the authority of custom and precedent, he never fails to avow his convictions; justly considering that true wisdom consists in the right adaptation of means to existing circumstances, and that novelty should be no bar to improvement. In canvassing the most important subjects of human inquiry, he had to contend with strong prejudices, fortified by imposing sanctions, and defended with bitterness. To encounter them required skill, knowledge, and perseverance; and these De Foe possessed in an eminent degree. It will be found, upon a candid examination, that his sentiments upon most subjects are distinguished by good sense, and a profound acquaintance with human nature; and that his writings, generally, have for their object the diffusion of knowledge and happiness, and the advancement of the best interests of mankind.

“De Foe paid but little attention to the graces of composition. He wrote too fast to study correctness, and seems to have read more for the purpose of storing his mind with ideas, than to express them tastefully. His style is often negligent, and sometimes coarse and verbose. Yet there are many fine passages in his writings, distinguished alike for vigour of thought, smoothness of language, and even elegance of expression; but his usual characteristics are plainness and simplicity. He writes with ease, and generally expresses himself with force and perspicuity; and whilst he pleases by his familiarity, he is often so impressive as to awaken the deepest attention, and to produce impressions that are never effaced. Many of his works appear to have been composed upon the spur of the moment, and the materials gathered from the inexhaustible stores of a retentive memory. Having read and thought much upon almost every subject, he was never at a loss for ideas; and so accurate was his recollection, that he often quotes at a distance from his books, with all the freshness of a recent impression. But De Foe was a perfectly original writer. He gathered his knowledge from men as well as from books; and the use that he made of it discovers equal penetration and judgment. He was not only a keen observer of passing events, but dives into the recesses of the human heart. Whilst the surface of nature furnished him with pictures for delineation, its study enabled him to develope the secret springs that set it in motion. With a lively imagination, and powers of invention that have been rarely equalled, he brings up new worlds of ideas to the mind, that insensibly rivet the attention, and engage the best affections of the heart. Such was the acuteness of his perceptions, that he readily seizes upon every circumstance that constitutes an item in the great drama of life, and renders it available, by his genius, either for amusement or instruction. Having studied nature in her own school, he acquired a knowledge of her capabilities; whilst he drew upon the resources of his own mind for those lessons of prudence which were suggested by her wants, or dictated by her teachings. In estimating the claims of De Foe to literary merit, it would be unjust to measure him by the standard of a more advanced period. Addison and Swift, to whom he was inferior in the graces of style, and even Johnson himself, with all his vigour and discernment, would be unable to bear such a test. ‘To judge rightly of an author,’ observes the last great writer, ‘we must transport ourselves to his time, and examine what were the wants of his contemporaries, and what were his means of supplying them. That which is easy at one time was difficult at another.’

“In the number and variety of his works, De Foe stands unrivalled by any writer in the English language; his prototype, William Prynne, perhaps, only excepted. Such was the versatility of his talents, that he wrote upon almost every subject within the

range of human speculation. Whether it were politics or morals, trade or religion, history or fiction, he seems to be equally at home, and to wield his pen with a power and facility that point him out as no ordinary man. Even the worst of his pieces, in spite of their uninviting style or forbidding subject, display marks of talent and genius that distinguish him from the herd of common-place writers. The number of his works, when we consider his other numerous engagements, evinces extraordinary rapidity of composition. As an illustration of his readiness, we are told, that he wrote two twelve-penny pamphlets in one day ; and those productions had not then attained the ample margin and loose printing of modern times. That he sometimes wrote for present support, may be as true of him as of Steele and others, and entails no discredit in either case ; but it appears that most of his writings were directed to some topic of public interest, in which he evinced greater zeal for the national welfare than for his own private advantage. The charge of his being a mercenary writer, therefore, is as unfounded as it was malicious ; and being circulated for party purposes, can no longer deceive. He had a great dislike to personal altercations, and thought the public ill-used when concerned in such debates. Although few men gave stronger evidence of moderation, yet even this was turned to his disadvantage ; for such was the violence of the times, that no man was safe in his reputation who had not the prevailing appetite for extremes.

“Perhaps few writers obtained distinction in so many walks of literature, and still fewer who deserved it so well. In one department only can he be said to have failed. It will now be scarcely believed that De Foe took his station with the poets of his day ; yet there were many who read and admired his verses. This might be partly owing to the excitement of the times, and the temporary nature of his subjects. The readers of poesy, however, will find little to gratify them in De Foe, beyond propriety of sentiment, keenness of satire, and benevolence of design ; and these, probably, compensated with the vulgar for a want of harmony. ‘Considered as a poet,’ says Cibber, ‘Daniel De Foe is not so eminent as in a political light. He has taken no pains in versification ; his ideas are masculine, his expressions coarse, and his numbers generally rough. He seems rather to have studied to speak truth by probing wounds to the bottom, than, by embellishing his versification, to give a more elegant keenness. This, however, seems to have proceeded more from carelessness in that particular than want of ability. Poetry was far from being the talent of De Foe. He wrote with more perspicuity and strength in prose ; and he seems to have understood as well as any man the civil constitution of the kingdom, which indeed was his chief study.’* With the exception of the ‘True-Born Englishman,’ in which are some tasteful and even elegant lines, his poetry would scarcely rescue his name from oblivion. The peculiar circumstances under which this poem was written, its political allusions, and its caustic satire, rendered it a favourite with the public long after the occasion that produced it, and raised a durable memorial to the author. From his perseverance in composing verses, it may be inferred that he was enamoured with the occupation, and thought better of them than has fallen to the judgment of posterity. That he had a relish for poetry, although his ear was not formed for music, may be conjectured from his criticisms upon the poets of his time, of whom he had but a mean opinion, and his judgment was probably correct. From Dryden to Pope, there was a dearth of English poets. De Foe accounts for it by ‘the drums and trumpets of war, together with the more terrible clamours of the street mobs, and all the *et ceteras* of parties ; and I am told,’ says he, ‘they can never make any music since.’

“As a political writer, De Foe takes a much higher rank. Possessed of an acute

* Cibber’s ‘Lives of the Poets,’ vol. iv.

intellect, great keenness of wit, exemplary perseverance, and a coolness not to be provoked, nature had qualified him in a high degree for a disputant.

“To an accurate acquaintance with the history of mankind generally, and of the British constitution in particular, he united sound opinions upon government; and the rational exercise of his powers enabled him to detect the sophisms invented by cunning or mistaken men, to enslave the world and encircle it with ignorance. In discussing a subject of such high importance, he brings learning and eloquence, reasons profoundly, and batters down the props of his opponents with seriousness or ridicule, as best suited the occasion. To strength and perspicuity of argument, and skill in its arrangement, he unites candour and fairness, and lets his adversary know that he is not to be driven from his point by sophistry on the one hand, or by railing on the other. Relying solely upon argument for a rational conviction, he strips it of its disguises, and recommends liberty to the world as a sacred deposit, worthy of a divine original, and rising superior to the pretences to power. ‘He that won’t fight for it is a fool; he that denies it to others must be a knave.’ The effects of tyranny, as they had passed under his own review, had given him a just abhorrence of a lawless government; he therefore rejoiced in the revolution settlement, and was a passionate admirer of its hero. De Foe’s labours in the cause of liberty have never been sufficiently appreciated. Amongst the political writers who then abounded, no one contributed more largely, nor more effectually, to the overthrow of those absurd tenets which were cherished under the Stuarts, and pertinaciously adhered to by the statesmen and priests of his day. It is to his credit that he employed his great talents in forcing the strongholds of despotism and priestcraft, and in assisting to relieve his countrymen from their oppressive influence. His political tracts abound in useful information, and are replete with solid arguments in defence of civil and religious liberty. He that would write, or even study, with accuracy, the history of that period of fermentation, alarm, and suspicion, in the public mind of England, cannot hope for success in his researches, unless he has patience to go over the fugitive pieces of Daniel De Foe. In many of them he will find more amusement than their subjects might lead him to expect—in all of them he will at least find traces of a genuine and masculine English intellect, and a power of language which he will seek for in vain among the far greater mass of miscellaneous politics, either of that or of any other period of our history.

“De Foe treated largely upon trade, both in his ‘Reviews,’ and in some separate publications; and the manner in which he handled it shows deep and uncommon penetration, knowledge as various as extensive, and a judgment at once discerning and profound. Intimately acquainted with the power and resources of his own country, he was desirous of seeing them rendered still more available by beating out new paths to enterprise and wealth. No man understood better the principles of commerce, its relative bearings, and its practical details; no man argued upon the subject more wisely, or possessed greater skill in detecting the errors and combating the prejudices with which it was surrounded. It is to the credit of De Foe that he argued the principles of free trade, and contended against monopolies, at a time when the current of opinion was set strong the other way. His acquaintance with foreign countries, their produce, their manners, and their government, gave him great advantage in discussing the subject, and shows no less the extent of his reading than his good sense in its application. Notwithstanding later treatises upon the subject of commerce, De Foe’s speculations may still be perused with advantage.

“Of his talent for executing the lighter narrative, De Foe exhibits favourable specimens in the ‘History of the Plague’ and the ‘Memoirs of a Cavalier.’ But his qualifications for a grave historian were fully exemplified in his ‘History of the Union,’ which displays a keen, penetrating, and energetic mind, turned to investigation, and capable of

discriminating the niceties of a great political question. It is minute, even to excess ; but this, so far from being a fault, is a guarantee for its fidelity. The reader will find many important remarks interspersed through the work, as well as much historical information, not only as connected with that great transaction, but as relating to other parts of the affairs of Scotland. It has been justly remarked, that 'his history of the intrigues which preceded the completion of this long-desired conjunction of the two crowns, must always be read with the most lively interest.'*

"Whoever will be at the pains to examine his writings, must be satisfied that De Foe is entitled to take a high place amongst our English moralists. Whether he discusses politics or trade, history or manners, he converts it to the noble purpose of informing the judgment, or of ameliorating the heart. Not only his 'Family Instructor' and his 'Religious Courtship,' which have for their specific object the awakening mankind to serious reflection, but his writings generally, abound in prudential maxims, enforcing some sentiment of practical importance. Such was his anxiety for reformation, that he never slips an opportunity of introducing some hint or caution, or of suggesting some remark in the way of admonition or satire, with a view to the correction of vice, and the inculcation of moral principles. Yet he never goes out of his way for the purpose, but ingeniously contrives the moral to form a requisite part of his discourse. All his satires are written for the express purpose of exposing the follies of the age, and of inviting mankind to the regulation of their habits in conformity to the dictates of reason and religion. His prose writings, amidst the frequent ruggedness of their style, are rich in sentiment, and abound in sententious passages, that convey the soundest ideas upon some of the most important subjects of human inquiry. Whilst we respect his talents and revere his genius, it is impossible not to admire that purpose of instruction which is the end of all his performances. Although politics first raised his fame, and fiction has embalmed it with posterity, yet it should not be forgotten that he was one of the ablest moralists of his age. If Johnson surpassed him in purity of diction, he only equals him in energy of thought and propriety of sentiment.

"As a writer of fiction, whether we consider the originality of his genius, the simplicity of his design, or the utility of his moral, De Foe is now universally acknowledged to stand in the foremost ground. That his inventive powers were of the first order, no one can doubt ; nor that he possessed the art above most other men, of infusing into his performances all the genuine pathos of nature, without the least apparent effort or exaggeration. Although he is now most known by the first great effort of his genius, 'Robinson Crusoe,' yet in many of his other works he carries his art to the highest perfection. In these we discover the same unpretending simplicity, a like utility of purpose, and an undeviating likeness to real life. However uninviting his subject, the attention is insensibly chained down by the intense interest it excites, and the reader is inspired with a reluctance to lay down the story until the whole is finished. Much criticism has been employed to decipher the charm that rivets the faculties, and creates so much interest and delight. There have been writers who bring to their aid greater purity of language, and more attractive subjects for their discourse ; but how few of them can be read with the same absorbing attention, and from which of them can be extracted so much nutriment for reflection ? Whilst, in ordinary cases, a single perusal is amply sufficient, and often more than can be conquered without weariness, we return to the pages of De Foe with renewed delight, and read him to the close with an appetite that refuses to be satiated. Whether the charm consist in the artificial structure of his story, in the minuteness and quick transition of incidents, or in that intense persuasion of reality which everywhere exists, or in a combination of these together, the effect is no

* Pref. to Cadell's ed. of 'Rob. Crusoe,' p. xxxviii.

less certain than it is striking ; and however it may be explained, presents a rare occurrence in the history of literature. As De Foe wrote for the common people, who form the most numerous class of readers, he selected his subjects in accommodation to their habits and ideas ; and his language is the fittest in the world to recommend them to their attention. Let the same stories be told in the classical style of our purest writers, and they would at once lose their impressive attraction ; the charm would be broken, and they would bear about the same comparison with the great original as Patrick's ' Parable of the Pilgrim' by the side of the ' Pilgrim's Progress.' It is the homely, matter-of-fact style of De Foe, wholly free from artificial ornament and unincumbered by any aim at effect, that obtains credit with the reader. He is conscious of no disguise, nor is there any in fact ; for the matters detailed bear all the marks of authenticity, and are related exactly as they would have occurred had they actually taken place. It has been justly observed, by a distinguished living writer, that ' it is the last style which should be attempted by a writer of inferior genius ; for though it be possible to disguise mediocrity by fine writing, it appears in all its native inanity when it assumes the garb of simplicity.'*

"It may call for some surprise that De Foe should have been so little known as a novelist, beyond the range of ' Robinson Crusoe.' To recal the attention of the public to his other fictions, the present writer is happy to enrich his work with some original remarks upon his secondary novels by his early friend Charles Lamb, whose competency to form an accurate judgment upon the subject, no one will doubt who is acquainted with his genius.

"It has happened not seldom that one work of some author has so transcendently surpassed in execution the rest of his compositions, that the world has agreed to pass a sentence of dismissal upon the latter, and to consign them to total neglect and oblivion. It has done wisely in this, not to suffer the contemplation of excellencies of a lower standard to abate, or stand in the way of, the pleasure it has agreed to receive from the master-piece.

"Again it has happened, that from no inferior merit of execution in the rest, but from superior good fortune in the choice of its subject, some single work shall have been suffered to eclipse and cast into shade the deserts of its less fortunate brethren. This has been done with more or less injustice in the case of the popular allegory of Bunyan, in which the beautiful and scriptural image of a pilgrim or wayfarer (we are all such upon earth), addressing itself intelligibly and feelingly to the bosoms of all, has silenced, and made almost to be forgotten, the more awful and scarcely less tender beauties of the ' Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus,' of the same author ; a romance less happy in its subject, but surely well worthy of a secondary immortality. But in no instance has this excluding partiality been exerted with more unfairness than against what may be termed the secondary novels or romances of De Foe.

"While all ages and descriptions of people hang delighted over the ' Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' and shall continue to do so, we trust, while the world lasts, how few comparatively will bear to be told, that there exist other fictitious narratives by the same writer—four of them at least of no inferior interest, except what results from a less felicitous choice of situation. ' Roxana,' ' Singleton,' ' Moll Flanders,' ' Colonel Jack,' are all genuine offspring of the same father. They bear the veritable impress of De Foe. An unpractised midwife that would not swear to the nose, lip, forehead, and eye of every one of them ! They are in their way as full of incident, and some of them every bit as romantic ; only they want the uninhabited island, and the charm that has bewitched the world, of the striking solitary situation.

* Sir W. Scott's ' Miscellaneous Works,' iv. 302.

“ ‘ But are there no solitudes out of the cave and the desert ? or cannot the heart in the midst of crowds feel frightfully alone ? Singleton, on the world of waters, prowling about with pirates less merciful than the creatures of any howling wilderness ; is he not alone, with the faces of men about him, but without a guide that can conduct him through the mists of educational and habitual ignorance, or a fellow-heart that can interpret to him the new-born yearnings and aspirations of unpractised penitence ? Or when the boy Colonel Jack, in the loneliness of the heart (the worst solitude), goes to hide his ill-purchased treasure in the hollow tree by night, and miraculously loses, and miraculously finds it again—whom hath he there to sympathise with him ? or of what sort are his associates ?

“ ‘ The narrative manner of De Foe has a naturalness about it, beyond that of any other novel or romance writer. His fictions have all the air of true stories. It is impossible to believe, while you are reading them, that a real person is not narrating to you everywhere nothing but what really happened to himself. To this the extreme *homeliness* of their style mainly contributes. We use the word in its best and heartiest sense—that which comes *home* to the reader. The narrators everywhere are chosen from low life, or have had their origin in it ; therefore they tell their own tales, (Mr Coleridge has anticipated us in this remark,) as persons in their degree are observed to do, with infinite repetition, and an overacted exactness, lest the hearer should not have minded, or have forgotten, some things that had been told before. Hence the emphatic sentences marked in the good old (but deserted) Italic type ; and hence, too, the frequent interposition of the reminding old colloquial parenthesis, “ I say ” — “ mind ” — and the like, when the story-teller repeats what, to a practised reader, might appear to have been sufficiently insisted upon before : which made an ingenious critic observe, that his works, in this kind, were excellent reading for the kitchen. And, in truth, the heroes and heroines of De Foe can never again hope to be popular with a much higher class of readers than that of the servant-maid or the sailor. ‘ Crusoe ’ keeps its rank only by tough prescription ; ‘ Singleton,’ the pirate—‘ Colonel Jack,’ the thief—‘ Moll Flanders,’ both thief and harlot—‘ Roxana,’ harlot and something worse—would be startling ingredients in the bill of fare of modern literary delicacies. But, then, what pirates, what thieves, and what harlots is *the thief, the harlot, and the pirate* of De Foe ? We would not hesitate to say, that in no other book of fiction, where the lives of such characters are described, is guilt and delinquency made less seductive, or the suffering made more closely to follow the commission, or the penitence more earnest or more bleeding, or the intervening flashes of religious visitation, upon the rude and uninstructed soul, more meltingly and fearfully painted. They, in this, come near to the tenderness of Bunyan ; while the livelier pictures and incidents in them, as in Hogarth or in Fielding, tend to diminish that fastidiousness to the concerns and pursuits of common life, which an unrestrained passion for the ideal and the sentimental is in danger of producing.’

“ It has been intimated, that Richardson, who must have been a diligent reader of De Foe, may have taken him for his model. There is the more reason to suppose this, says Dr Towers, ‘ because it may be observed, that the dramatic form into which De Foe has thrown many parts of his works of imagination, has been evidently imitated by Richardson in his ‘ Pamela,’ ‘ Clarissa,’ and ‘ Sir Charles Grandison.’ Dr Kippis, taking up the same idea, observes, ‘ Richardson seems to have learned from him that mode of delineating character and carrying on dialogues, and that minute discrimination of the circumstances of events, in which De Foe so eminently excelled. If, in certain respects, the disciple rose above his master, as he undoubtedly did, in others he was inferior to him ; for his conversations are sometimes more tedious and diffuse ; and his works, though beautiful in their kind, are not by any means so various. Both of these writers had a wonderful ability in drawing pictures of human nature and human life. A careful

perusal of the 'Family Instructor' and the 'Religious Courtship,' would particularly tend to show the resemblance between De Foe and Richardson.' But whatever likeness may be traced between the two writers, the diffuseness of Richardson will ever keep him in the back ground; whilst the very homeliness of De Foe's language, so perfectly adapted to his incidents as they respect persons, time, and place, imparts to them a witchery, which, in spite of all his defects, gives him an unrivalled claim to superiority. Dr Towers further observes, that 'If Richardson is to be traced to De Foe, we have sometimes thought that the latter was, with regard to simplicity of style, somewhat indebted to Bunyan, an author whom he must have read in his youth, and whose religious principles are obvious in the second volume of 'Robinson Crusoe.' In justification of this remark, it may be added, that examples of the likeness may be adduced from 'Moll Flanders,' as compared with Bunyan's 'Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners,' and it may be also traced in some of the other writings of De Foe.

"If the foregoing estimate of De Foe's talents has not been overstated," concludes Mr Wilson, "he will deserve to be considered as one of the most ingenious and enterprising writers of his age. But, if we regard the utility of his performances, he is entitled to still higher praise. He who aims to rescue mankind from the thralldom of oppression, who lays open the sources, and enforces the true principles of knowledge, virtue, and happiness, has no mean pretensions to our regard; and if the successful display of his talents be a just foundation for fame, but few will be disposed to withhold it from our author. His works have passed through more numerous editions than has fallen to the lot of most writers; no mean test, surely, of their merit. For, as Mr Chalmers observes, 'He whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation; the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges.' Amidst the taste for collecting uniform editions of popular English writers, it is surprising that De Foe has not received such a distinction, and it confers some reproach upon the British press. In spite of the obloquy cast upon him by his contemporaries, the time is now arrived when he must be acknowledged as one of the most useful, because one of the most instructive, writers of his day. If he paid the tax of censure for his celebrity, it was in a cause that will be approved by the wise and the virtuous."

Mr Chalmers's criticism upon the genius and writings of De Foe is as follows:—"The time is come when De Foe must be acknowledged as one of the ablest, as he is one of the most captivating writers of which this island can boast. Before he can be admitted to this pre-eminence, he must be considered distinctly as a poet, as a novelist, as a polemic, as a commercial writer, and as a grave historian.

"As a poet, we must look to the end of his effusions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him considerable praise. To mollify national animosities, or to vindicate national rights, are certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and precision of Pope; but our author's energy runs into harshness, and his sweetness is to be tasted in his prose more than in his poesy. If we regard the adventures of Crusoe, like the adventures of Telemachus, as a poem, his moral, his incidents, and his language, must lift him high on the poet's scale. His professed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of sentiment or the suavity of their numbers, may indeed, without much loss of pleasure or instruction, be resigned to those who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obsolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phrase, or for happy rhymes.

"As a novelist, every one will place him in the foremost rank, who considers his originality, his performance, and his purpose. 'The Ship of Fools' had indeed been launched in early times; but who, like De Foe, had ever carried his reader to sea, in order to mend the heart and regulate the practice of life, by showing his readers the

effects of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world? But, without attractions, neither the originality nor the end can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he has provided by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple, and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language. It was, then, idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollett lately, to speak of De Foe as *a party writer in little estimation*. The writings of no author since have run through more numerous editions, and he whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation; the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges.

“As a polemic, I fear we must regard our author with less kindness, though it must be recollected that he lived during a contentious period, when two parties distracted the nation, and writers indulged in great asperities. But, in opposition to reproach, let it be ever remembered, that he defended freedom without anarchy; that he supported toleration without libertinism; that he pleaded for moderation even amidst violence. With acuteness of intellect, with keenness of wit, with archness of diction, and pertinacity of design, it must be allowed that nature had qualified, in a high degree, De Foe for a disputant. His polemical treatises, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reserve to those who delight in polemical reading. De Foe, it must be allowed, was a party writer; but were not Swift and Prior, Steele and Addison, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party writers? De Foe being a party writer upon settled principles, did not change with the change of parties; Addison and Steele, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with persons, changed their note as persons were elevated or depressed.

“As a commercial writer, De Foe is fairly entitled to stand in the foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praise to say of him, that he wrote on commercial legislation like Addison, who, when he touches on trade, sinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argument.* The distinguishing characteristics of De Foe as a commercial disquisitor are originality and depth. He has many sentiments with regard to traffic, which are scattered through his Reviews, and which I never read in any other book. His ‘Giving Alms no Charity’ is a capital performance, with the exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed or half expressed. Were we to compare De Foe with D’Avenant, it would be found that D’Avenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. D’Avenant is more apt to consider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its general effects. From the publications of D’Avenant it is sufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means, or very attentive to consequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe must yield the palm to Child, who, foreseeing from experience that men’s conduct must finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt. De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we, however, to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole performances, we must incline to De Foe, when compared with the ablest contemporary: we must allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion.

* “See the ‘Present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation;’ and see his Commercial Papers in the ‘Freeholder.’

“As an historian, it will be found that our author had few equals in the English language when he wrote. His ‘Memoirs of a Cavalier’ show how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His ‘History of the Union’ evinces that he was equal to the higher department of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information our author relates, not only the event, but the transactions which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he spoke of James I as a tyrant, he only exercised the prerogative which our historians formerly enjoyed, of casting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to supply deficiency of knowledge, of elegance, and of style. In this instance De Foe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philosophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it is not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness. Such are the pretensions of De Foe to be acknowledged as one of the ablest and most useful writers of our island.”*

Mr Hazlitt, in the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ remarks:—“De Foe was too fond of the right to pursue the expedient; and had much too dry, hard, and concentrated an understanding of the truth, to allow of any compromise with it from courtesy to the feelings or opinions of others. This kept him in perpetual hot water. It was a virtue, but carried to a repeated excess. It set the majority against him, and turned his dearest friends into his bitterest foes. If you make no concessions to the world, you must expect no favours from it. Our author’s blindness and simplicity on this head amount to the *dramatic*. He went on censuring and contradicting all sects and parties, setting them to rights, recommending peace to them, praying each to give up its darling prejudice and absurdity; and then he wonders that ‘a man of peace and reason,’ like himself, should be the butt of universal contumely and hatred. If an individual differs from you in common with others, you do not so much mind it—it is the act of a body, and implies no particular assumption of superior wisdom or virtue; but if he not only differs from you, but from his own side too, you then can endure the scandal no longer, but join to hunt him down as a prodigy of unheard of insolence and presumption, and to get rid of him and his boasted honesty and independence together. While, therefore, the author of ‘The True-Born Englishman,’ ‘The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,’ and ‘The Legion Petition,’ thought he was deserving well of God and his country, he was heaping coals of fire on his own head. Nothing produces such antipathy in others as a total seeming want of sympathy with them. De Foe was urged on by a straightforwardness and sturdiness of feeling, which did not permit him to give up a single iota of his convictions; but it was ‘stuff o’ the conscience’ with him; there was nothing of spleen, malevolence, or the spirit of contradiction in his nature. Still we consider him rather as an acute, zealous, and well-informed partisan, than as a general and dispassionate reasoner. He was a distinguished polemic, rather than a philosopher. Though he exercised his understanding powerfully and variously, yet it was always under the guidance of a certain banner—in support of a foregone conclusion. He was too much in the heat of the battle—too constantly occupied in attacking or defending one side or the other, to consider fairly whether both might not be in the wrong. He asked himself (as he was obliged to do in his own vindication), ‘Why am I in the right?’ and gave

* “On looking over the register of books which have been entered at Stationers’ Hall, I was surprised and disappointed to find so few of De Foe’s writings entered as property, and his name never mentioned as an author or a man.”

admirable reasons for it, supposing it to be so ; but he never thought of asking himself the farther question, 'Am I in the right or no?' This would have been entering on a new and unexplored tract, and might have led to no very welcome results. As an example of what we mean : De Foe, though a most strenuous and persevering advocate for the rights of conscience and toleration to those Dissenters who, in his view, agreed with the church in the *essentials* of Christianity, was, notwithstanding, far from being disposed to extend the same indulgence to Socinians, Anabaptists, or other heretical persons. Of course he would conceive that he, and those with whom he acted in concert, were not criminal in excluding others from the privilege in question ; but he did not enlarge his views beyond this point, so as to change places with those who entirely differed with him ; and in this respect fell short of the philosophical and liberal opinions of Locke, and even Toland, who placed toleration on the broad ground of a general principle, whatever exceptions might arise from particular circumstances, and urgent political expediency. We should, therefore, hardly be warranted in admitting De Foe into the class of perfectly free and unshackled speculative thinkers ; though we certainly may rank him among the foremost of polemical writers for vigour and ability of execution."

The opinion of an able writer in the 'Retrospective Review' upon the merits of De Foe, are thus expressed in a review of the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier :—“ We avail ourselves with some satisfaction of an opportunity of introducing to our readers an old and valued acquaintance, as one whom they may have had the misfortune to lose sight of, amidst the perplexities of life, and the competition of more obtrusive candidates for their notice. For our own part, surrounded as we are by the bustle and cares of middle age, the mere mention of our author's name falls upon us, as cool and refreshing as a drop of rain in the hot and parched midday ; for it never fails to bring along with it the recollection of the morning of our life—those green and pleasant years, when the solitary inhabitant of the desert-island was perpetually mingling with the day-dreams of our imagination. * * *

“ After a vain attempt to apply to De Foe those laws of criticism which hold in ordinary cases, we are compelled to regard him as a phenomenon, and to consider his genius as something rare and curious, which it is impossible to assign to any class whatever. Throughout the ample stores of fiction, in which our literature abounds more than that of any other people, there are no works which at all resemble his, either in the design or execution. Without any precursor in the strange and unwonted path he chose, and without a follower, he spun his web of coarse, but original materials, which no mortal had ever thought of using before ; and when he had done it seems as though he had snapped the thread, and conveyed it beyond the reach of imitation. To have a numerous train of followers is usually considered as adding to the reputation of a writer ; we deem it a circumstance of peculiar honour to De Foe that he had none ; for, in general, they are the faults of a great author, the parts where he exaggerates truth or deviates from propriety, that become the prey of the imitator. Wherever he has stolen a 'grace beyond the reach of art,' wherever the vigour and freshness of nature are apparent, there he is inaccessible to imitation. The fugitive charms which are thus imparted, the volatile and subtle spirit which gives life and animation to the work, baffle and elude the grasp of mere imitative genius. In the fictions of De Foe we meet with nothing that is artificial, or that does not breathe the breath of life. The ingenuity which could counterfeit works of a more elaborate kind, and much more highly as well as curiously wrought, could make nothing of a simplicity so naked, and a manner so perfectly natural. The most consummate art was unable to follow where no vestiges of art were to be seen, for either none has been employed, or its traces are concealed as carefully as the Indian hides his footsteps from the observation of his pursuers ; since, to the critical

eye, nothing is visible but the easy unconstraint of nature, and the fearlessness of truth. Besides, it must be allowed that the temptation to imitate was as small as the difficulties were many and great ; for whilst he transcribed from the volume of life with a fidelity and closeness that have never been equalled, with a singularly mortified taste, he chose the plainest and least inviting pages of the whole book. Those who would imitate De Foe must copy from nature herself ; and, instead of dressing her out to advantage, content themselves with delineating some of her simplest and homeliest features.

“In the distribution of talents among men of genius, two or three are generally found united in the same mind, whilst not one of them is possessed in perfection. But Nature, when she made De Foe, seems to have forsaken her usual practice, and, in a playful mood, to have sent him into the world with one mighty talent for his portion, but destitute of almost every other. Amidst an entire ignorance of the more elevated passions and feelings of mankind, a surprising poverty of imagination, and a total dearth of humour and wit, of fancy and eloquence, our admiration, or rather our wonder, is still taxed to the utmost by a display of invention the most unbounded, and a faculty of imitation the most consummate. His fictions are not so much the counterfeit of something existing, as they are themselves the very originals ; the creations of his brain do not wear the semblance only of truth, but are absolutely quickened with its vitality ; his phantoms, if such we may call them, steal not forth at eventide, apparent only when the actual world is obscured ; they walk abroad in the open day, and are not to be distinguished from the substantial forms and realities of life. No unlucky mischance or awkward gesture betrays the hand that directs their motions ; the real author never for an instant obtrudes himself into the presence of his reader, the imaginary hero is the only person who appears upon the stage, and of his existence we are as well convinced as we are of our own. With a confiding security in the genuineness of his memoirs, we follow him over land and sea, engage with him in adventures, sometimes marvellous, always strange—accompany him in travels where human foot had never penetrated—sail with him in latitudes where ship had never been, along coasts that were never laid down in a chart ; and all the time have not the least suspicion that our companion is a mere shade, and that the author who has thus led us in imagination round the world never stirred from the desk at which he wrote. Our fellow traveller is sometimes a soldier, but more frequently a sailor, who is merchant or pirate as opportunity dictates, and always a rogue ; but this is respectable society. We are sometimes introduced into company of which an honest man may well be ashamed, and then we take a trip to the plantations, or skulk in holes and corners to avoid the pursuit of justice. But whether soldier or sailor, merchant or pirate, thief, or what not, we, at least, never suspect him of being an impostor, but give him ample credit for having perpetrated all the rogueries which he so deliberately recounts. All that he does, or says, or thinks, is in the line of his vocation, whatever that may happen to be. His language is always that of the plain and unlettered person he professes himself ; homely in phraseology,—in expression rude and inartificial ; yet like that of one who has received a distinct impression of objects which he has seen, it is often forcible, happy, and strongly descriptive. Generally speaking, in other fictitious narratives, a tendency to moralize out of reason, or in a vein too elevated for the character assumed, or a continued effort to be uniformly wise or elaborately witty, is almost sure to unmask the impostor, and expose the dreaming pedant at his desk ; or if these characteristic marks be wanting, either the narrative is inconsistent with itself, or it contradicts some known and established fact, or there is some anachronism, or some other overt act against truth is committed, which critical sagacity seldom fails to detect and punish. But our author is never caught tripping in this way ; he moralizes, to be sure, as much or more than most writers, but then his

reflections are always in the right vein : he never steps from behind the curtain to figure away himself upon the stage. Either a vigilance that was perpetually on the watch preserved him from error, or he went right by mere instinct ; or he so identified himself with his imaginary hero that he became, in fancy, the very individual he was creating, and was therefore necessarily always in character. But, whatever vigilance he used, he has always the art to appear perfectly unconcerned ; there is none of the constraint that usually accompanies a painful effort to support imposture ; his hero is not stiff and awkward like a puppet, which has no voluntary motion, but moves freely and carelessly along the stage ; talks to us in an honest, open, confidential sort of way ; lays his inmost thoughts and feelings open before us, as before a confessor, without caution or subterfuge ; and by never asking our belief, never seeming conscious of a possibility of its being denied, fairly compels us to grant it.

“ A circumstance peculiar to the fictions of De Foe, and which greatly tends to give them an air of reality, is, that their subjects are not such as are usually adopted by the writers of romance. They think it beneath them to have aught to do with anything but great names and high rank ; or if ever they make a stoop from their greatness, it is to descend at once into the very lowest class of men, whose rudeness has something in it of the picturesque. Between the palace and the hovel there is seldom an intermediate stage for the genius of romance to put up at, and consequently we never expect to meet with the pains-taking people who inhabit houses of brick, dealers in small wares, shopkeepers, and masters of trading vessels, straying through the realms of fiction. Now this is precisely the sort of company into which De Foe introduces us, and their adventures have more the air of matters of fact, in consequence of their names and professions sounding so unromantic and common-place. There is another peculiarity in his fictions, which is still more remarkable. Our author's indifference to the fair sex is well known, as also that he has fallen under their ban for having presumed to show that any story could be made interesting with which they had no concern. Instead, therefore, of the stale and hackneyed subject, a couple of lovers led through every difficulty and danger which the author could possibly contrive to throw in their way, to be at length crowned with felicity and marriage, he shows us a man struggling for the acquisition of wealth, and getting rich at all events, by fair means or foul. Of love, at least the sentimental part of it, he clearly has no notion ; and marriage, if it happens to be mentioned at all, is quite by the way, purely incidental to the main action, and never allowed to interrupt the grand business of life. When the hero has made his fortune, the author lays down his pen : the interest of the story is at an end.

“ De Foe himself, during the greater part of his troubled life, laboured under pecuniary difficulties, and, in the end, is said to have died insolvent. It would seem, therefore, that he was resolved to feast his imagination with what he could not enjoy in reality ; and as he felt the miseries of poverty in his own person, and was probably always speculating for the acquisition of wealth, he was naturally led to consider it the most interesting pursuit in which his hero could possibly be engaged. Whatever truth there may be in this, the propensity to accumulate ideal riches is everywhere clearly evinced. If his imagination ever grows wanton, it is in some dream of ideal wealth ; if it ever warms, it is in the recital of some brisk trade which his hero is driving at a profit of a hundred per cent. With what complacency will he enumerate the several articles of a rich booty, no matter how obtained. How he revels in the idea of a stream that rolls down sands of gold, or an El-Dorado, where it is to be had for picking up, or an oyster-bed, where every oyster contains a pearl of immense price ! He is never contented with small gains, or fond of imagining unsuccessful speculations, but delights in a lucky adventure, and enriching his hero with the proceeds ; to abandon him, indeed, in poverty, seems to him as contrary to all rule as any other novelist would consider it to leave his

principal personage unmarried. But this is a disposition altogether unheroic, and savours so little of romance, the employment and pursuits of his fictitious heroes constitute so completely the business of the class of people from whom they are taken, and the arts and practices they have recourse to are so much in the way of the world, that we never suspect these matter-of-fact personages of being the unsubstantial creatures of mere invention.

“The grand secret of his art, however, if art it can be called, and were not rather an instinct, consists doubtless of the astonishing minuteness of the details, and the circumstantial particularity with which everything is laid before us. It is by this, perhaps, more than anything else, that fictitious narratives are distinguishable from the genuine memoirs of those who have been eye-witnesses of what they relate. The facts in the one case may be as probable as in the other, the descriptions as vivid and striking, the style as natural and unconstrained; still there is an indefinable something which seems to be wanting to the former, though we may not have remarked its presence in the latter. Some unimportant particular, some minute circumstance, which none but he who had seen it with his own eyes would have thought of remarking, will always serve, like the scarcely discernible lines on a genuine note, to distinguish between the true and the counterfeit. The eye of imagination, however strong and piercing, cannot always pervade the whole scene, and see everything distinctly; the more prominent features, indeed, it may develop with the clearness and accuracy of an almost unclouded vision, but all besides is either obscured with mist, or lost in impenetrable shade; and he who paints from the ideal must consequently either leave these parts unfinished, or spread his colours at random. It is the singular merit of De Foe to have overcome this difficulty, and to have communicated to his fictitious narratives every characteristic mark by which we distinguish between real and pretended adventures. The whole scene lay expanded before him in the fulness of light and life, and, down to the minutest particular, everything is delineated with truth and accuracy. It is not necessary that we should have the light fall advantageously, or wink with our eyes, in order to make the delusion complete, by hiding the defects and softening down the harsh lines of the representation; the most penetrating gaze, aided by the strongest light, cannot detect the imposition, or distinguish between the shade and the substance. Writers of fiction may, in general, be said rather to shadow forth than fully to delineate their visions, either because they flit away too early, or are never seen with sufficient distinctness; like the first discoverers of countries, they trace out a few promontories on their chart, and give a faint outline of something indistinctly seen. In the solitude of his closet, De Foe could travel round the world in idea, seeing everything with the distinctness of natural vision, and noting everything with the minuteness of the most accurate observer. His chart presents us not merely with the bold headland, shooting forth into the deep, or the clearly defined mountain that rises into middle air behind; we have the whole coast fully and fairly traced out, with the soundings of every bay, the direction of every current, and the quarter of every wind that blows.

“The possession of this marvellous faculty has enabled him to communicate such an air of truth and reality to his fictions, that we are inclined to doubt whether human life was ever before, or has ever since been, so faithfully represented, and to suspect that every other author has, more or less, exaggerated or distorted, exalted or debased, the nature from which he drew. It may appear to savour somewhat of paradox, but we will venture to affirm that De Foe was not more indebted for this superiority to the possession of the single faculty we have mentioned, than to the want of those other powers by which more highly-gifted authors have been distinguished. These latter have enabled their possessors to excite every emotion in their readers which the human breast is capable of feeling, but at the same time they have unfitted them to be the humble

copyists of nature, and the faithful historians of human life. We mean not to deny that nature formed the ground-work of their fictions, and supplied the elements of their characters, but it was nature wrought up to a higher pitch, and raised far above the level of common life. In their plots, for instance, instead of the ordinary number of events which would naturally arise in the course of any series of years, we find an assemblage of strange and diverting incidents, such as never occur in the experience of one man, or of any given number of men. The imaginary persons who occupy the several scenes of this drama are not only of much larger proportions than ordinary people, but form a collection of curious and eccentric characters, such as were never crowded together in any single stage of real life. Their wit, instead of flowing in the scanty stream in which it really pervades the intercourse of fashionable life, is poured along in a mighty tide, of which the most brilliant society furnishes no example; their dialogue is not the conversation of gentlemen, but the combat of intellectual gladiators. Their humour is a concentration of all the humour of all mankind, and runs through their works in a vein so rich as at every page to excite the laugh that will not be controlled, whereas the dull and serious drama of the world seldom furnishes just occasion for even a smile. The passions, as they are portrayed by these writers, have an energy and terror more than mortal; and grief, in particular,—an uninviting thing enough in the world of real woe,—is clothed with such an air of elegance and refinement, that it becomes a luxury in spite of fact, and is called the joy of grief, the favourite paradox of sickly poets. Then their descriptions of the visible world have a splendour and an illusion inconsistent with the sobriety of reality, and, instead of reminding the reader of earthly scenes, fill his imagination with the wonders of paradise, and the fabled glories of Elysium. Then would they present us, not with a chapter or two of human life, but an epitome of the whole, in which every detail is abridged, and none but the most surprising events fully developed. All that the writer's experience can furnish of the curious and diverting, whether facts or characters, gathered from every scene of life, and from among every class of men, is crowded into the narrative of a few years, and concentrated on a single stage. This quick succession of incidents, in themselves strange and various, together with the strong contrast produced by the opposition of character, eccentric or exaggerated, produces an effect delightful to the imagination, but no more resembling the tenour of real life than a landscape, in which the productions of all climates and seasons should be grouped together, would be like a scene of the true picturesque. To delight and astonish are perhaps the legitimate ends of fiction, and it may be necessary to heighten every colour, and strengthen every shade, in order to produce this effect. We will go still further, and allow that even, for the purposes of instruction, it may be expedient to exaggerate and embellish, in like manner as extreme cases are put to demonstrate truths, which escape our observation in the course of actual experience. But whilst the reader, especially the youthful one, is delighted and astonished, perhaps instructed; yet since the characters with whom he converses in the world of fiction are so humorous and eccentric, their wit so brilliant and redundant, the turns of fortune so strange and unexpected, he is led either to form a very erroneous estimate of real life, or, if his limited experience enable him to correct his judgment, is inspired with a premature and morbid distaste for its comparative languor and insipidity.

“We shall perhaps illustrate our meaning by an actual comparison, in one or two instances, between De Foe and the writers to whom we have alluded. Both he and Smollett have given us successful representations of a sailor's life, but in a very different style, and with very different effect. De Foe's sailor is of the ordinary description of men, one out of a thousand, with nothing very striking or characteristic about him; the sailor in Smollett is altogether an extraordinary being, whose every action is uncouth, and every expression ludicrous. The one has the usual marks of a sailor, but has every-

thing else in common with the rest of mankind ; the other seems to belong to a different species, a creature formed and bred at sea, having a set of ideas, and modes of speaking and acting, perfectly distinct from those possessed by the men who live on shore. The one has merely the technical phrases and vices, the homeliness and simplicity, peculiar to his profession ; the other is not so much an individual character as an abstract of the humour of the whole British navy. The one is an every-day kind of person, whom we have seen an hundred times ; the other is a most amusing but imaginary being, whom we have never met with, but in the inimitable pages of his creator. In like manner, 'Colonel Jack' is a common thief ; one of the multitudes that infest the streets of the metropolis, and every session sees him hung at Tyburn. But 'Jonathan Wild' is a compound of elaborate villany, whom nature never made ; the materials, indeed, she furnished, but the workmanship is Fielding's, and his alone. An acquaintance with one or two of the tribe, a slight study of the 'Newgate Calendar,' or an occasional visit to the office in Bow street, would suffice to enable the inventive genius of De Foe to delineate the features of an ordinary pickpocket ; but the rogue of Fielding is the production of one who had made villany his study, and contemplated it in every possible variety. He is the quintessence of knavery, and the traits which went to the composition of his character were gathered from all the numberless villains that had appeared at the bar of the Westminster Justice. He cannot fail, therefore, of being the most striking figure of the two when he is so much larger than life. But the other is the real thief who picks our pockets, and then dives down an obscure alley to elude pursuit. Our acquaintance, Captain Dalgetty (we beg his pardon for introducing him in such company), is, we will venture to affirm, an infinitely more amusing personage than any cavalier who ever served in Flanders or elsewhere, but it is precisely because he is more amusing that we lose our confidence in his reality. The Ritt-Master is not sufficiently dull and common-place to rank among the genuine productions of nature, and will scarcely, we fear, be cited as historical authority by the grave and the learned of after ages, as is understood to have been the case with the far less striking but more rational cavalier of De Foe. Not to enumerate unnecessary examples, it appears to us that their authors have drawn their characters as the ancient painter did his portrait of Helen—they have not confined themselves to the imitation of any one particular figure, with the ambition of producing merely a living resemblance, but, from materials which their large acquaintance with the various and most striking forms of nature supplied, have created beings of their own much more remarkable than any that move upon earth, and these they have endowed as richly, and exalted as high above the level of common life, as wit, and humour, and imagination enabled them. But in their splendid creations we discern too clearly a style different from that of true nature, to be deluded into a persuasion that these are her productions ; and if we ever work ourselves up to a weak belief of what we read, it is only when reason suffers herself to be hoodwinked, that we may better enjoy the pleasures of the fiction. In this respect De Foe may be said to have been strong in his very weakness, and to have triumphed by the absence of the qualities which constitute the might of those with whom we have compared him. If he has none of the distinguished merits of these authors, neither can he be charged with the errors which grew out of them ; if he enjoyed not the qualities which are requisite to transport and astonish mankind, he was the better fitted to triumph over their discernment, and deceive them more effectually ; for, whilst the possession of one extraordinary power enabled him to delude them into a belief that his fictions were realities, he was not tempted to injure the exactness of the imitation by an effort to improve upon the original. His imagination, if such it can be called, which contemplated nothing but realities or matters of fact, though its visions were wonderfully distinct and accurate, never risks breaking the delusion by taking flight, and soaring beyond the atmosphere of breathing men.

Either the judgment reined it in with so strong a hand, as to compel it to go soberly on foot, or nature had not provided it wings wherewith to fly. He had no treacherous fancy to mislead him by spreading false colours and gay illusions on the objects he was about to represent, and cheat him into a belief that he was drawing from the actual, when he was disclosing only some vision of an ideal world. His was not a melancholy soul, which looked on the dark side of things, nor a merry one, that sought and found occasion for a laugh in every event of life; it was neither gloomy nor gay, but had a sort of cheerful sedateness which prevented him from being too sombre or too brilliant for truth. In short, he beheld nothing but what was, and saw everything just as it was. He could not be more bountiful to the creatures of his invention than nature had been to him, and not being eminently gifted with wit and humour himself, he was safe from the temptation of making his imaginary persons more witty and humorous than would have been consistent with the simplicity and homeliness of their characters. So far was he from colouring his scenes too highly, or flattering his subjects by the force of imagination, that he seems, if anything, to be less careful to heighten her realities than expose her deformities. Neither was he anxious to select such scenes for the purpose of representation as combined the greatest number of picturesque and striking forms, but contented himself with the most ordinary portion of the common field of men and manners. It is to be wished, indeed, that he had been more scrupulous or more ambitious in his choice of subjects, for most commonly his inimitable skill is lavished on objects which hardly seem worth the trouble of representation. But he was a painter after the Flemish fashion, took every line and feature with laborious accuracy, and if he did but produce a staring likeness, seems to have cared very little what the thing represented was. Yet, in one or two instances, the subject is worthy of the artist, and in that, in particular, by which De Foe is popularly known, the design is as well chosen as the conduct of the story is admirable. It was indeed a happy moment in which the idea of that most perfect and delightful of all fictions was conceived; and if the perusal of any work deserves to be accounted an epoch in a man's life, we know of none that is better entitled, from the interest it creates, and the irresistible hold it takes on the imagination, to be considered in the light of one. After the lapse of many years, its scenes and incidents remain imprinted on the mind in colours ever fresh and enduring, like some long-remembered scene of youth; no time can obliterate, and no fresher images banish it from our recollection. *That island*, placed "far amidst the melancholy main," and remote from the track of human wanderings, remains to the last the greenest spot in memory. At whatever distance of time, the scene expands before us as clearly and distinctly as when we first beheld it: we still see its green savannahs and silent woods, which mortal footstep had never disturbed; its birds of strange wing, that had never heard the report of a gun; its goats browsing securely in the vale, or peeping over the heights, in alarm at the first sight of man. We can yet follow its forlorn inhabitant on tiptoe with suspended breath, prying curiously into every recess, glancing fearfully at every shade, starting at every sound, and then look forth with him upon the lone and boisterous ocean with the sickening feelings of an exile cut off for ever from all human intercourse. Our sympathy is more truly engaged by the poor shipwrecked mariner, than by the great, the lovely, and the illustrious of the earth. We find a more effectual wisdom in his homely reflections than is to be derived from the discourses of the learned and the eloquent. The interest with which we converse with him in the retirement of his cave, or go abroad with him on the business of the day, is as various and powerful as the means by which it is kept up are simple and inartificial. So true is every thing to nature, and such reality is there in every particular, that the slightest circumstance creates a sensation, and the print of a man's foot or shoe is the source of more genuine terror than all the strange sights and odd noises in the romances of Mrs Radcliffe."

The writer of the Biographical Preface to Cadell's Edition of 'Robinson Crusoe,' has these remarks :—"The first thing that must strike every one who compares De Foe with any other writer of fictitious narrative, is the unequalled, intense reality which he throws around every part of his fiction. With such exquisite powers of fancy and of wit as he possessed, no one ever had the same command over himself to use those powers, wherever it was fit they should be used, without suffering the pleasure of employing them to lead into unnecessary ornament. He never describes anything merely for the sake of the description; everything is strictly subservient to the main matter in hand; nothing is omitted that can serve the true and main purpose of the story; nothing added only for the sake of displaying the powers of the writer. Above all, in three of his novels, where the chief personage is made to tell his own story, it is wonderful what superiority this part of his skill gives De Foe, even over authors of much higher powers, in one sense of the word, than himself. Others may invent incidents of a more happy nature, but it is the charm of De Foe that, let his incidents be as common-place as may be, we read them at the full stretch of interest; simply because, for the moment, the irresistible belief is upon us that these things really occurred exactly as they are set down in the book before us. Nobody ever skips over a page or two in one of his tales, because he is in a hurry to get on, and suspects that the story will be just as intelligible without what he is passing over as with it. We are bound to the page by the grave character of the history, at the same time that we read it with the delight of happiest fiction. Every thought that passed through the mind of the hero is set down, and we feel that there would be a want of candour in refusing to see what it was; we are gained over to his side, even if he be a villain, by the honesty with which he lets us into the secrets of his inmost heart. The nature that is so communicative cannot be entirely depraved; the charm of frankness and confidence overcomes and subdues us. The reader is made the father confessor of him that addresses him, and it would be a breach of duty to turn a deaf ear to anything he has to say.

"It is no easy matter, however, to decide by what particular art De Foe has continued to make his stories *so much* more real in their aspect than any other novelist; the chief secret, perhaps, is nothing but his delight in giving *all* the details of the action or course of thought he is engaged in. Other writers give us the main points, and please us by the opportunity they afford us of filling up the interstices by the exercise of our own imaginations for ourselves. Such is not the way of De Foe; he must be allowed to tell you all, or he will tell you nothing. He stops in the midst of the darkest horrors of the plague to give a long account of some old woman stealing beaver hats out of a warehouse; a trifling matter surely, and not worthy for itself of being told among the mass of black thoughts and doings to which the moral corruption of the pestilence gave rise. But then how completely this trifling circumstance establishes in our minds the conviction that we are listening to the narrative of a true and authentic eye-witness; not of one that had heard of the horrors of the plague, and is employing his imagination to body forth a picture of which the outline only had been supplied by his memory, but of one that had walked the streets of London during the awful visitation, with all his personal feelings and interests alive in his mind; surveying the dreary, calamity-struck city, with the eyes of a man and a Christian; but still remembering his own concerns, and watching, like a careful brother, over the safety of his absent brother's store-shop. When the author of 'Tom Jones,' or 'Roderick Random,' or 'Gil Blas,' introduces one of his characters, and gives you a full description of his person and attire, it is evidently for the purpose of amusing us; when the author of 'Waverley' and 'Ivanhoe' does so, it is from the delight he feels in communicating the vivacity of his own imagination to us, and bestowing the freshness of things seen on the phantoms of days gone by. When De Foe does the same thing, it is because the nature of the person in whose mouth

he puts the description, is such as to make that an essential part of his communication ; we should rather say of *her* communication, for he commonly takes care to put such details into the mouth of a female. Roxana, the vain, beautiful, high-dressed Roxana, never mentions a beau or a belle, but she must tell us the colour of his breeches or the pattern of her petticoat. The coarser mind of Moll Flanders was never caught by such trifles as these ; but she dwells on the full muscular outline of her Lancashire husband's leg, and fills half a dozen pages with an account of the fat dishes they had at their wedding supper at the inn. Robinson Crusoe enumerates every nail he put into his cabin ; but then whatever Robinson Crusoe had was the work of his own ingenuity, and who can wonder at the pride of his detail ? The only novelist that ever rivalled De Foe in this point of his art was Richardson, but that is not the only particular in which Richardson is the imitator of De Foe.

“ It is not, however, by his circumstantiality and spirit of minute detail alone that De Foe gives this unequalled effect of truth and reality to his fiction. These are the first things that strike the reader's fancy ; but on laying down any one of his works, it is felt irresistibly that the essence of the charm lies in something far deeper than these. All other novelists, compared with him, are more or less painters of the ideal in human life ; we do not mean of the *beau ideal*, for that many of them totally despise as well as he, but of its ideal of excitement. He paints not only the minute items of human life and action exactly as they are, but its whole scope and tenor also is viewed and represented by him, and by him alone, exactly as it is. Others carry their heroes and heroines through all varieties of fortune, but they continue everything in order to make the interest progressive, and the last scene is always *intended* to be the exquisitely interesting catastrophe of a throughout interesting tale. De Foe, on the other hand, always shows himself to be perfectly aware that the prosaic part of existence is far greater than the poetic ; that mountains are ever succeeded and separated by valleys ; that the most romantic avenue often conducts into a dull and level wideness of plain ; and that the most picturesque of rivers expands into the tameness of utility before it melts into the all equalizing sea. Instead, therefore, of labouring to heighten the interest of one scene above that which has gone before, he is contented to make both natural ; and never fears, if they be so, but that both will be sufficiently interesting. His lovers are not always married, nor do his duellists always escape. The same laws by which men and things are governed in the world, govern them in his representations of the world ; an unforeseen storm sinks the fairest vessel into the sea, with her equipment ; absence cools the most ardent lovers ; time consoles the most despairing mourners ; the sonneteer burns his sonnets, and learns to laugh at himself ; and the widow's heart is made to sing aloud for joy. His women are never angels, nor his misers sentimental.

“ The writings of De Foe are valuable on many accounts, but for nothing so much as for the insight they give us into the true character and habits of the English people, as exemplified in walks of life little understood or far less happily represented by the other novelists and painters of manners our island has produced. Without reading and studying the ‘ Religious Courtship ’ in particular, the ‘ Complete English Tradesman,’ and the ‘ Family Instructor,’ no man can hope to understand thoroughly the character and manners of the middle classes of his countrymen. There cannot be a more perfectly national writer than De Foe—every thought of his, every word, every image is intensely English ; there is not one page in his works that does not remind one the author was born in London, and lived in the days of King William and Queen Anne. The homely way in which he looks at everything—the sagacious scorn with which he regards all pretences of the fine and the romantic—his thorough-going, citizen-like, substantial perception of the prudent and the seemly—his broad, buffeting style of sarcasm—his deep, sincere, masculine pathos—everything about him, and his “ round, unvarnished

tales," reminds us that he was an English tradesman, and makes us honour the name of an English tradesman for the sake of Daniel De Foe. When he walks forth into the country (and few of his works are more delightful than his tours through England and Scotland), he carries all the prejudices of the city life along with him, and describes whatever he sees exactly as he might have done by word of mouth to his next door neighbour after returning from an actual trip in the way of business. London, and London alone, he describes with all the warmth and fulness of a lover. It is easy to see that in her was centred his idea of all human grandeur and magnificence; and who shall say that he was mistaken? Whig and Dissenter as he was, no man loved and revered all the old institutions of his country, more fervently than Daniel. He triumphs in describing the superior pomp and dignity with which the majesty of England was surrounded at Whitehall, and half forgets his puritanism beneath the vaults of Westminster Abbey.

"De Foe's love for the sea, and the affairs of the sea, was another strong and prevailing part of his character as an Englishman; and it is traceable more or less in almost all his writings. Trade was his original destination, and he understood it thoroughly in all its branches; his study of the trade of his country had filled him with a magnificent sense of her ocean greatness, and no man could have conceived some of the sublime meditations of Robinson Crusoe but a citizen of the Queen of Isles. It is now more than a hundred years since that book was written, and who shall say how many young hearts have in that time been smitten by its means with their first love for the element of their country's pride? Every English lad that reads 'Robinson Crusoe' has his little canoe and his mimic ship, and so long as the British Jack sweeps the sea, the youngest boy that rocks upon the mast will exhibit there the usefulness of those lessons of resolution and contempt of danger which he owes to 'Robinson Crusoe.' It is here, indeed, that the chief value and the chief merit of this performance are to be found. The happy imagination of the incidents of the mariner's life, and the profound knowledge of man's nature which is exhibited in the workings of his solitary soul,—even these would be comparatively nothing, were it not for the rich moral aim to which they are made subservient. The superiority of man to all external evils, his destination to contend with difficulties, and his duty to sustain them, and his pious humility in overcoming them,—these are the ideas which this, the most moral of all romances, throughout displays and inculcates. How happy that the book, which, as Dr Johnson says, "nobody ever laid down without wishing it longer," is not only the most charming of books, but the most instructive."

The following criticism by Sir Walter Scott will worthily conclude this portion of the work. "The fertility of De Foe was astonishing. He wrote on all occasions and on all subjects, and seemingly had little time for preparation upon the subject in hand, but treated it from the stores which his memory retained of early reading and such hints as he had caught up in society, not one of which seems to have been lost upon him. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that he possessed a powerful memory to furnish him with materials, and a no less copious vein of imagination to weave them up into a web of his own, and supply the rich embroidery which in reality constitutes their chief value. His language is genuine English, often simple even to vulgarity, but always so distinctly impressive that its very vulgarity has an efficacy in giving an air of truth or probability to the facts and sentiments it conveys. Exclusive of politics, De Foe's studies led chiefly to those popular narratives which are the amusement of children and of the lower classes; those accounts of travellers who have visited remote countries; of voyagers who have made discoveries of new lands and strange nations; of pirates and buccaneers who have acquired wealth by their desperate adventures on the ocean. There is reason to believe, from a passage in his 'Review,' that he was acquainted with

Dampier, a mariner, whose scientific skill in his profession and power of literary composition were at that time rarely found in that profession, especially among those rough sons of the ocean who acknowledged no peace beyond the Line, and had as natural an enmity to a South-American Spaniard as a greyhound to a hare, and who, though distinguished by the somewhat milder term of buccaneer, were little better than absolute pirates. The English government, it is well known, were not, however, very active in destroying this class of adventurers, while they confined their depredations to the Dutch and Spaniards, and indeed seldom disturbed them if they returned from their roving life, and sat down to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. The courage of these men, the wonderful risks which they incurred, their hair-breadth escapes, and the romantic countries through which they travelled, seem to have had infinite charms for De Foe. All his works on this topic are entertaining in the highest degree, and remarkable for the accuracy with which he personates the character of a buccaneering adventurer. De Foe's general acquaintance with nautical affairs has not been doubted, as he is said never to misapply the various sea phrases, or show an ignorance unbecoming the character under which he wrote. He appears also to have been familiar with foreign countries, their produce, their manners, and government, and whatever rendered it easy or difficult to enter into trade with them. We may therefore conclude that Purchas's 'Pilgrim,' Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' and the other ancient authorities, had been curiously examined by him, as well as those of his friend Dampier, of Wafer, and others who had been in the South Seas, whether as privateers, or, as it was then called, *upon the account*.

"Shylock observes, there are land thieves and water thieves; and as De Foe was familiar with the latter, so he was not without some knowledge of the practices and devices of the former. We are afraid we must impute to his long imprisonment the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the secrets of thieves and mendicants, their acts of plunder, concealment, and escape. But whatever way he acquired his knowledge of low life, De Foe certainly possessed it in the most extensive sense, and applied it in the composition of several works of fiction in the style termed by the Spaniards *Gusto Pícaresco*, of which no man was ever a greater master. This class of fictitious narrative may be termed the Romance of Roguery, the subjects being the adventures of thieves, rogues, vagabonds, swindlers, viragoes, and courtezans. The strange and blackguard scenes which De Foe describes are fit to be compared to the 'Gipsy Boys' of Murillo, which are so justly admired as being, in truth of conception and spirit of execution, the very *chef d'œuvre* of art, however low and loathsome the originals from which they were taken.

"A third species of composition, to which the author's active and vigorous genius was peculiarly adapted, was the account of great national convulsions, whether by war, or by the pestilence, or the tempest. These were tales which are sure, when even moderately well told, to arrest the attention, and which, narrated with that impression of reality which De Foe knew so well how to convey, make the hair bristle and the skin creep. In this manner he has written the 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' which have been often read and quoted as a real production of a real personage. Born himself almost immediately after the Restoration, De Foe must have known many of those who had been engaged in the civil turmoils of 1642-6, to which the period of these memoirs refers. He must have lived among them at that age when boys, such as we conceive De Foe must necessarily have been, cling to the knees of those who can tell them of the darings and the dangers of their youth, at a period when their own passions and views of pressing forward in life have not begun to operate upon their minds, and while they are still pleased to listen to the adventures which others have encountered on that stage which they themselves have not yet entered upon. The 'Memoirs of a Cavalier' have certainly been enriched with some such anecdotes as were likely to fire De Foe's active and powerful imagination, and

hint to him in what colours the subject ought to be treated. The contrast, for instance, between the soldiers of the celebrated Tilly and those of the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus almost seems too minutely drawn to have been executed from anything short of ocular testimony. But De Foe's genius has shown, in this and other instances, how completely he could assume the character he describes.

“Another species of composition, for which this multifarious author showed a strong predilection, was that upon theurgy, magic, ghost-seeing, witchcraft, and the occult sciences. De Foe dwells on such subjects with so much unction as to leave as little doubt that he was to a certain point a believer in something resembling an immediate communication between the inhabitants of this world and of that which we shall in future inhabit. He is particularly strong on the subject of secret forebodings, mysterious impressions, bodements of good or evil, which arise in our own mind, but which yet seem impressed there by some external agent, and not to arise from the course of our natural reflections. * * * The general charm attached to the romances of De Foe is chiefly to be ascribed to the unequalled dexterity with which he has given an appearance of REALITY to the incidents which he narrates. Even De Foe's deficiencies in style, his homeliness of language, his rusticity of thought, expressive of what is called the *Crassa Minerva*, seem to claim credit for him as one who speaks the truth, the rather that we suppose he wants the skill to conceal or disguise it. It is greatly to be doubted whether De Foe could have changed his colloquial, circuitous, and periphrastic style for any other, whether more coarse or more elegant. We have little doubt it was connected with his nature, and the particular turn of his thoughts and ordinary expressions, and that he did not succeed so much by writing in an assumed manner, as by giving full scope to his own. The air of writing with all the plausibility of truth must, in almost every case, have its own peculiar value ; as we admire the paintings of some Flemish artists, where, though the subjects drawn are mean and disagreeable, and such as in nature we would not wish to study or look close upon, yet the skill with which they are represented by the painter gives an interest to the imitation upon canvass which the original entirely wants. But, on the other hand, when the power of exact and circumstantial delineation is applied to objects which we are anxiously desirous to see in their proper shape and colours, we have a double source of pleasure, both in the art of the painter and in the interest which we take in the subject represented. Thus the style of probability with which De Foe invested his narratives was perhaps ill-bestowed, or rather wasted, upon some of the works which he thought proper to produce ; but, on the other hand, the same talent throws an air of truth about the delightful history of ‘Robinson Crusoe,’ which we never could have believed it possible to have united with so extraordinary a situation as is assigned to the hero. All the usual scaffolding and machinery employed in composing fictitious history are carefully discarded. The early incidents of the tale, which in ordinary works of invention are usually thrown out as pegs to hang the conclusion upon, are in this work only touched upon, and suffered to drop out of sight. Robinson, for example, never hears anything more of his elder brother, who enters Lockhart's Dragoons in the beginning of the work, and who, in any common romance, would certainly have appeared before the conclusion. We lose sight at once and for ever of the interesting Xury ; and the whole earlier adventures of our voyager vanish, not to be recalled to our recollection by the subsequent course of the story. His father—the good old merchant of Hull—all the other persons who have been originally active in the drama, vanish from the scene, and appear not again. This is not the case in the ordinary romance, where the author, however luxuriant his invention, does not willingly quit possession of the creatures of his imagination till they have rendered him some services upon the scene ; whereas in common life it rarely happens that our early acquaintances exercise much influence upon the fortunes of our future life.”

De Foe was twice married ; the name of his first wife was Mary, that of his second Susannah, but their maiden names are not known. In 1706 he appears to have had seven children, but of these one, Martha, died in 1707 at Hackney, and was carried out of the parish to be buried, probably in Bunhill Fields, the common receptacle for Dissenters. The other six children survived their father. The eldest, Daniel, who married early in life, and had several children, emigrated to Carolina between the years 1725 and 1730, and died there at an advanced age. De Foe's second son, Bernard (or, as Mr Chalmers calls him, Benjamin) assumed, for some reason or other with which we are not acquainted, the name of Norton, and followed his father's profession of a writer. He is introduced in the 'Dunciad' as

"Norton, from Daniel and Ostræa sprung,
Bless'd with his father's front and mother's tongue."*

The imputation rests upon no better evidence than this, and may be safely dismissed as nothing more than a random shot of the petulant poet, who spared no man in his anger. This Norton De Foe, however, appears to have been a very inferior scribe. He succeeded Ridpath, who died in 1726, as editor of 'The Flying Post,' and is, besides, author of 'A Compleat English Dictionary, by B. N. De Foe, Gent., 1735 ;' 'Memoirs of the House of Orange ;' and 'The Life of Alderman Barber.'

De Foe's eldest daughter, Maria, married a person of the name of Langley ; Hannah, the second daughter, remained single, and after her father's death, went to reside at Winborne Minster, in Dorsetshire. As she lived upon her own property, which afterwards passed to a nephew, it may be concluded that De Foe's daughters succeeded in recovering their estates out of the hands of their brother. From a document in the hands of Mr Upcott, it seems that Hannah De Foe was possessed of property in the books of the South Sea Company during her father's lifetime. She died 25th April, 1759, and was buried at Winborne.† Henrietta, the third daughter, married Mr John Boston, of Much-Hadham, a man of good family and estate at Boston, in Lincolnshire. He was appointed supervisor of excise at Winborne, and died there. His widow died March 5, 1760, and was buried in the same vault with her husband and sister. Sophia, De Foe's youngest daughter, married Mr Henry Baker, the celebrated natural philosopher, and dying 4th January, 1762, was buried in the churchyard of St Mary-le-Strand. Her husband departed this life 25th November, 1774, in his 77th year. Their son, David Erskine, so named after his godfather, the Earl of Buchan, was the author of 'The Companion to the Playhouse.' A great grandson of De Foe (it is not known from which of our author's sons he was descended) was hanged at Tyburn, Jan. 2, 1771, for a highway robbery, and a brother of his, named Daniel, who was apprenticed to a watchmaker, ran away and went to sea. He afterwards became cook on board the *Savage* sloop of war, and was living in that employment in 1787. The circumstance is thus mentioned by a

* Pope had collected this scandal from Savage, who says, in the preface to his 'Author to be Let'—"Had it not been an honest livelihood for Mr Norton (Daniel De Foe's son of love by a lady who vended oysters) to have dealt in a fish-market, than to be dealing out the dialect of Billingsgate in 'The Flying Post.'"

† The late Mr Duncan, formerly Dissenting minister at Winborne, drew up a history of his church, in which he says—"The celebrated Daniel De Foe was here frequently." He adds—"I am in possession of two manuscript volumes of Daniel De Foe's; one is corrected for the press, with a dedication. He wrote a neat, fair hand. He entitles the book thus: 'Historical Collections; or, Memoirs of Passages collected from several Authors. 1682.' I think it would be well if it were published. I have also some original poems of his in his own handwriting. He was truly a great man, and I much wonder that he is so little known in the world at this day, either by men of letters, politics, or religion; for he certainly had his share of all these, particularly the two latter." Mr Wilson adds, that he had made careful inquiry for these MSS., but without success.

correspondent of 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' Edward Herbert, who, in speaking of De Foe, says :—"His grandson (great grandson) is at this time cook to the gentlemen of the gun-room of the *Savage* sloop of war. Having been lately surgeon of one of his Majesty's ships on the coast of Scotland, and business requiring me on board that vessel, I casually heard a Daniel De Foe mentioned among the seamen. The name being so familiar to me, I inquired, from motives of curiosity, concerning his family. He told me his father was a calico-printer in London, who had failed in business ; that his grandfather had written 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The True-Born Englishman,' &c. I felt myself much affected when I saw the descendant of so ingenious a man in so unworthy a situation, and, making the circumstance known, recommended him to the attention of the gentlemen on board." From this branch descends the present representative of the family of De Foe, a respectable carpenter and packing-case maker, in Bedford street, Covent garden.

THE END.

AN APPEAL
TO
HONOUR AND JUSTICE,

THOUGH IT BE OF HIS WORST ENEMIES,

BY
DANIEL DE FOE;

BEING
A TRUE ACCOUNT OF HIS CONDUCT IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

"Come and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words."

JEREMIAH, xviii, 18.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY

J. BAKER, AT THE BLACK BOY IN PATERNOSTER ROW.

1715.

HONOUR AND JUSTICE.

LONDON:

REPRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL, LITTLE PULTENEY STREET;
AND
PUBLISHED BY J. CLEMENTS, AT 21 AND 22, IN THE SAME STREET.
MDCCCXL.

APPEAL, &c.

I HOPE the time is come at last when the voice of moderate principles may be heard. Hitherto the noise has been so great, and the prejudices and passions of men so strong, that it had been but in vain to offer at any argument, or for any man to talk of giving a reason for his actions; and this alone has been the cause why, when other men, who, I think, have less to say in their own defence, are appealing to the public, and struggling to defend themselves, I alone have been silent under the infinite clamours and reproaches, causeless curses, unusual threatenings, and the most unjust and injurious treatment in the world.

I hear much of people's calling out to punish the guilty, but very few are concerned to clear the innocent. I hope some will be inclined to judge impartially, and have yet reserved so much of the Christian as to believe, and at least to hope, that a rational creature cannot abandon himself so as to act without some reason, and are willing not only to have me defend myself, but to be able to answer for me where they hear me causelessly insulted by others, and, therefore, are willing to have such just arguments put into their mouths as the cause will bear.

As for those who are prepossessed, and according to the modern justice of parties are resolved to be so, let them go; I am not arguing with them, but against them; they act so contrary to justice, to reason, to religion, so contrary to the rules of Christians and of good manners, that they are not to be argued with, but to be exposed, or entirely neglected. I have a receipt against all the uneasiness which it may be supposed to give me, and that is, to contemn slander, and think it not worth the least concern; neither should I think it worth while to give any answer to it, if it were not on some other accounts of which I shall speak as I go on. If any young man ask me why I am in such haste to publish this matter at this time, among many other good reasons which I could give, these are some:—

1. I think I have long enough been made *Fabula Vulgi*, and borne the weight of general slander; and I should be wanting to truth, to my family, and to myself, if I did not give a fair and true state of my conduct, for impartial men

to judge of, when I am no more in being to answer for myself.

2. By the hints of mortality, and by the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think I am not a great way off from, if not very near to, the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage. Wherefore, I think I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no actions (slanders) may lie against my heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's (character) inheritance.

3. I fear—God grant I have not a second sight in it—that this lucid interval of temper and moderation, which shines, though dimly too, upon us at this time, will be but of short continuance, and that some men, who know not how to use the advantage God has put into their hands with moderation, will push, in spite of the best prince in the world, at such extravagant things, and act with such an intemperate forwardness, as will revive the heats and animosities which wise and good men were in hopes should be allayed by the happy accession of the king to the throne.

It is and ever was my opinion, that moderation is the only virtue by which the peace and tranquillity of this nation can be preserved. Even the king himself—I believe his majesty will allow me that freedom—can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown by a moderate administration. If his majesty should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. It cannot be pleasant or agreeable, and I think it cannot be safe, to any just prince, to rule over a divided people, split into incensed and exasperated parties. Though a skilful mariner may have courage to master a tempest, and goes fearless through a storm, yet he can never be said to delight in the danger; a fresh, fair gale, and a quiet sea, is the pleasure of his voyage, and we have a saying worth notice to them that are otherwise minded, "*Qui amat periculum, periebat in illo.*"

To attain at the happy calm, which, as I say, is the safety of Britain, is the question which

should now move us all ; and he would merit to be called the nation's physician that could prescribe the specific for it. I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it ; a balance of parties may. Some are for the former ; they talk high of punishments, letting blood, revenging the treatment they have met with, and the like. If they, not knowing what spirit they are of, think this the course to be taken, let them try their hands ; I shall give them up for lost, and look for their downfall from that time ; for the ruin of all such tempers slumbereth not.

It is many years that I have professed myself an enemy to all precipitations in public administrations ; and often I have attempted to show, that hot councils have ever been destructive to those who have made use of them. Indeed, they have not always been a disadvantage to the nation, as in King James II's reign, when, as I have often said in print, his precipitation was the safety of us all : and if he had proceeded temperately and politically, we had been undone. *Felix quem faciunt.*

But these things have been spoken when your ferment has been too high for anything to be heard ; whether you will hear it now or no, I know not ; and therefore it was that I said, I fear the present cessation of party arms will not hold long. These are some of the reasons why I think this is the proper juncture for me to give some account of myself, and of my past conduct to the world ; and that I may do this as effectually as I can, being perhaps never more to speak from the press, I shall, as concisely as I can, give an abridgment of my own history during the few unhappy years I have employed myself, or been employed, in public in the world.

Misfortunes in business having unhinged me from matters of trade, it was about the year 1694 when I was invited by some merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cadiz, in Spain, and that with offers of very good commissions. But Providence, which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home in proposing ways and means to the government, for raising money to supply the occasions of the war then newly begun. Some time after this I was, without the least application of mine, and being then seventy miles from London, sent for to be accountant to the commissioners of the glass duty, in which service I continued to the determination of their commission.

During this time there came out a vile abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr Tutchin, and called 'The Foreigners,' in which the author—who he was I then knew not—fell personally upon the king himself, and then upon the Dutch nation ; and after having reproached his majesty with crimes that his worst enemy could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER.

This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle, which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptance as it did ; I mean 'The True-born

Englishman.' How this poem was the occasion of my being known to his majesty ; how I was afterwards received by him ; how employed ; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case, and is only mentioned here, as I take all occasions to do, for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master, as well as sovereign ; whose goodness to me I never forgot, neither can forget ; and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so ; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the world. But Heaven for our sins removed him in judgment. How far the treatment he met with from the nation he came to save, and whose deliverance he finished, was admitted by Heaven to be a means of his death, I desire to forget for their sakes who are guilty ; and if this calls any of it to mind, it is mentioned to move them to treat him better who is now, with like principles of goodness and clemency, appointed by God and the constitution to be their sovereign, lest he that protects righteous princes avenge the injuries they receive from an ungrateful people by giving them up to the confusions their madness leads them to.

And in their just acclamations at the happy accession of his present majesty to the throne, I cannot but advise them to look back and call to mind who it was that first guided them to the family of Hanover, and to pass by all the popish branches of Orleans and Savoy ; recognising the just authority of Parliament in the undoubted right of limiting the succession, and establishing that glorious maxim of our settlement, viz., that it is inconsistent with the constitution of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince. I say, let them call to mind who it was that guided their thoughts first to the protestant race of our own kings in the house of Hanover ; and that it is to King William, next to Heaven itself, to whom we owe the enjoying a protestant king at this time. I need not go back to the particulars of his majesty's conduct in that affair ; his journey in person to the country of Hanover and the court of Zell ; his particular management of the affair afterwards at home, perfecting the design by naming the illustrious family to the nation, and bringing about a parliamentary settlement to effect it ; entailing the crown thereby in so effectual a manner as we see has been sufficient to prevent the worst designs of our Jacobite people in behalf of the Pretender ; a settlement, together with the subsequent acts which followed it, and the union with Scotland, which made it unalterable, that gave a complete satisfaction to those who knew and understood it, and removed those terrible apprehensions of the Pretender (which some entertained) from the minds of others, who were yet as zealous against him as it was possible for any to be. Upon this settlement, as I shall show presently, I grounded my opinion, which I often expressed, viz., that I did not see it possible the Jacobites could ever set up their idol here, and I think my opinion abundantly justified in the consequences ; of which by and bye.

This digression, as a debt to the glorious memory of King William, I could not in justice omit; and as the reign of his present majesty is esteemed happy, and looked upon as a blessing from heaven by us, it will most necessarily lead us to bless the memory of King William, to whom we owe so much of it. How easily could his majesty have lead us to other branches, whose relation to the crown might have had large pretences! What prince but would have submitted to have educated a successor of his race in the protestant religion for the sake of such a crown? But the king, who had our happiness in view, and saw as far into it as any human sight could penetrate; who knew we were not to be governed by inexperienced youths; that the protestant religion was not to be established by political converts; and that princes, under French influence, or instructed in French politics, were not proper instruments to preserve the liberties of Britain, fixed his eyes upon the family which now possesses the crown, as not only having an undoubted relation to it by blood, but as being first and principally zealous and powerful assertors of the protestant religion and interest against popery; and, secondly, stored with a visible succession of worthy and promising branches, who appeared equal to the weight of government, qualified to fill a throne and guide a nation, which, without reflection, are not famed to be the most easy to rule in the world.

Whether the consequence has been a credit to King William's judgment I need not say. I am not writing panegyrics here, but doing justice to the memory of the king my master, whom I have had the honour very often to hear express himself with great satisfaction in having brought the settlement of the succession to so good an issue; and, to repeat his majesty's own words, that he knew no prince in Europe so fit to be King of England as the Elector of Hanover. I am persuaded, without any flattery, that if it should not every way answer the expectations his majesty had of it, the fault will be our own. God grant the King may have more comfort of his crown than we suffered King William to have!

The king being dead, and the queen proclaimed, the hot men of that side, as the hot men of all sides do, thinking the game in their own hands, and all other people under their feet, began to run out into those mad extremes, and precipitate themselves into such measures as, according to the fate of all intemperate councils, ended in their own confusion, and threw them at last out of the saddle.

The queen, who, though willing to favour the high-church party, did not thereby design the ruin of those whom she did not employ, was soon alarmed at their wild conduct, and turned them out, adhering to the moderate counsels of those who better understood, or more faithfully pursued, her majesty's and the country's interest. In this turn fell Sir Edward Seymour's party, for so the high men were then called; and to this turn we owe the conversion of several other great men, who became whigs on that occasion, which it is known they were not before; which conversion afterwards begat that unkind distinction of old whig and modern whig, which some

of the former were with very little justice pleased to run up afterwards to an extreme very pernicious to both.

But I am gone too far in this part. I return to my own story.

In the interval of these things, and during the heat of the first fury of high-flying, I fell a sacrifice for writing against the rage and madness of that high party, and in the service of the dissenters. What justice I met with, and, above all, what mercy, is too well known to need repetition.

This introduction is made that it may bring me to what has been the foundation of all my further concern in public affairs, and will produce a sufficient reason for my adhering to those whose obligations upon me were too strong to be resisted, even when many things were done by them which I could not approve; and for this reason it is that I think it necessary to distinguish how far I did or did not adhere to, or join in or with, the persons or conduct of the late government: and those who are willing to judge with impartiality and charity, will see reason to use me the more tenderly in their thoughts, when they weigh the particulars.

I will make no reflections upon the treatment I met with from the people I suffered for, or how I was abandoned even in my sufferings, at the same time that they acknowledged the service I had been to their cause; but I must mention it to let you know that while I lay friendless and distressed in the prison of Newgate, my family ruined, and myself without hope of deliverance, a message was brought me from a person of honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least acquaintance with, or knowledge of, other than by fame, or by sight, as we know men of quality by seeing them on public occasions. I gave no present answer to the person who brought it, having not duly weighed the import of the message. The message was by word of mouth thus:—"Pray, ask that gentleman what I can do for him?" But in return to this kind and generous message, I immediately took my pen and ink and wrote the story of the blind man in the gospel, who followed our Saviour, and to whom our blessed Lord put the question, "What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?" Who, as if he had made it strange that such a question should be asked, or as if he had said that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me? My answer is plain in my misery, "Lord, that I may receive my sight."

I needed not to make the application. And from this time, although I lay four months in prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet from this time, as I learned afterwards, this noble person made it his business to have my case represented to her majesty, and methods taken for my deliverance.

I mention this part, because I am no more to forget the obligation upon me to the queen, than to my first benefactor.

When her majesty came to have the truth of the case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her royal goodness and compassion. And first, her majesty declared, that she left all that matter to a certain person, and did not think he would have used me in such a manner. Probaby these

words may seem imaginary to some, and the speaking them to be of no value, and so they would have been had they not been followed with further and more convincing proofs of what they imported, which were these, that her majesty was pleased particularly to inquire into my circumstances and family, and by my Lord Treasurer Godolphin to send a considerable supply to my wife and family, and to send to me the prison money to pay my fine and the expenses of my discharge. Whether this be a just foundation let my enemies judge. Here is the foundation on which I built my first sense of duty to her majesty's person, and the indelible bond of gratitude to my first benefactor.

Gratitude and fidelity are inseparable from an honest man. But, to be thus obliged by a stranger, by a man of quality and honour, and after that by the sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, let any one put himself in my stead, and examine upon what principles I could ever act against either such a queen, or such a benefactor; and what must my own heart reproach me with, what blushes must have covered my face when I had looked in, and called myself ungrateful to him that saved me thus from distress, or her that fetched me out of the dungeon, and gave my family relief? Let any man who knows what principles are, what engagements of honour and gratitude are, make his case his own, and say what I could have done more or less than I have done.

I must go on a little with the detail of the obligation, and then I shall descend to relate what I have done, and what I have not done, in the case.

Being delivered from the distress I was in, her majesty, who was not satisfied to do me good by a single act of her bounty, had the goodness to think of taking me into her service, and I had the honour to be employed in several honourable, though secret services, by the interposition of my first benefactor, who then appeared as a member in the public administration.

I had the happiness to discharge myself in all these trusts so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger, that my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honoured, was pleased to continue his favour to me, and to do me all good offices with her majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor, the particulars of which may not be improper to relate; and as it is not an injustice to any, so I hope it will not be offensive.

When, upon that fatal breach, the Secretary of State was dismissed from the service, I looked upon myself as lost; it being a general rule in such cases, when a great officer falls, that all who came in by his interest fall with him; and resolving never to abandon the fortunes of the man to whom I owed so much of my own, I quitted the usual applications which I had made to my lord treasurer.

But my generous benefactor, when he understood it, frankly told me that I should by no means do so; "For," said he, in the most engaging terms, "my lord treasurer will employ you in

nothing but what is for the public service, and agreeably to your own sentiments of things; and besides, it is the queen you are serving, who has been very good to you. Pray, apply yourself as you used to do; I shall not take it ill from you in the least."

Upon this, I went to wait on my lord treasurer, who received me with great freedom, and told me smiling he had not seen me a long while. I told his lordship very frankly the occasion—that the unhappy breach that had fallen out had made me doubtful whether I should be acceptable to his lordship. That I knew it was usual when great persons fall, that all who were in their interest fell with them. That his lordship knew the obligations I was under, and that I could not but fear my interest in his lordship was lessened on that account. "Not all, Mr De Foe," replied his lordship; "I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary."

Upon this I attended his lordship as usual; and being resolved to remove all possible ground of suspicion that I kept any secret correspondence, I never visited, or wrote to, or any way corresponded with my principal benefactor for above three years; which he so well knew the reason of, and so well approved that punctual behaviour in me, that he never took it ill from me at all.

In consequence of this reception, my Lord Godolphin had the goodness, not only to introduce me for the second time to her majesty, and to the honour of kissing her hand, but obtained for me the continuance of an appointment which her majesty had been pleased to make me, in consideration of a formal special service I had done, and in which I had run as much risk of my life as a grenadier upon the counterscarp; and which appointment, however, was first obtained for me at the intercession of my said first benefactor, and is all owing to that intercession, and her majesty's bounty. Upon this second introduction, her majesty was pleased to tell me, with a goodness peculiar to herself, that she had such satisfaction in my former services, that she had appointed me for another affair, which was something nice, and that my lord treasurer should tell me the rest; and so I withdrew.

The next day, his lordship having commanded me to attend, told me that he must send me to Scotland, and gave me but three days to prepare myself. Accordingly, I went to Scotland, where neither my business, nor the manner of my discharging it, is material to this tract; nor will it be ever any part of my character, that I reveal what should be concealed. And yet, my errand was such as was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform; and the service I did upon that occasion, as it is not unknown to the greatest man now in the nation under the king and the prince, so, I dare say, his grace was never displeased with the part I had in it, and I hope will not forget it.

These things I mention upon this account, and no other, viz. to state the obligation I have been in all along to her majesty personally, and to my first benefactor principally; by which I say, I think I was at least obliged not to act against them, even in those things which I might not approve. Whether I have acted with them farther than I ought, shall be spoken to by itself.

Having said thus much of the obligations laid on me, and the persons by whom, I have this only to add, that I think no man will say, a subject could be under greater bonds to his prince, or a private person to a minister of state; and I shall ever preserve this principle, that an honest man cannot be ungrateful to his benefactor.

But let no man run away now with the notion, that I am now intending to plead the obligation that was laid upon me from her majesty, or from any other person, to justify my doing anything that is not otherwise to be justified in itself.

Nothing would be more injurious than such a construction; and therefore I capitulate for so much justice as to explain myself by this declaration, viz. that I only speak of those obligations as binding me to a negative conduct, not to fly in the face of, or concern myself in disputes with those to whom I was under such obligations, although I might not, in my judgment, join in many things that were done. No obligation could excuse me in calling evil good, or good evil; but I am of the opinion, that I might justly think myself obliged to defend what I thought was to be defended, and to be silent in anything which I might think was not.

If this is a crime, I must plead guilty, and give in the history of my obligation above mentioned as an extenuation at least, if not a justification of my conduct.

Suppose a man's father was guilty of several things unlawful and unjustifiable; a man may heartily detest the unjustifiable thing, and yet it ought not to be expected that he should expose his father. I think the case on my side exactly the same, nor can the duty to a parent be more strongly obliging than the obligation laid on me; but I must allow the case on the other side not the same.

And this brings me to the affirmative, and inquire what the matters of fact are; what I have done, or have not done, on account of these obligations which I am under.

It is a general suggestion, and is affirmed with such assurance, that they tell me it is in vain to contradict it, that I have been employed by the Earl of Oxford, late lord treasurer, in the late disputes about public affairs, to write for him, or to put it into their own particulars, have written by his direction, taken the materials from him, been dictated to or instructed by him, or by other persons from him, by his order, and the like; and that I have received a pension, or salary, or payment from his lordship for such services as these. It was impossible, since these things have been so confidently affirmed, but that, if I could put it into words that would more fully express the meaning of these people, I profess I would do it. One would think that some evidence might be produced, some facts might appear, some one or other might be found that could speak of certain knowledge. To say things have been carried too closely to be discovered, is saying nothing, for then they must own that it is not discovered; and how then can they affirm it, as they do, with such an assurance as nothing ought to be affirmed by honest men, unless they were able to prove it?

To speak, then, to the fact. Were the reproach upon me only in this particular, I should not mention it. I should not think it a reproach to be directed by a man to whom the queen had at that time entrusted the administration of the government. But, as it is a reproach upon his lordship, justice requires that I do right in this case. The thing is true or false. I would recommend it to those who would be called honest men, to consider but one thing, viz. what if it should not be true? Can they justify the injury done to that person, or to any person concerned? If it cannot be proved, if no vestiges appear to ground it upon, how can they charge men upon rumours and reports, and join to run down men's characters by the stream of clamour?

"Sed quo rapit impetus undæ."

In answer to the charge, I bear witness to posterity, that every part of it is false and forged. And I do solemnly protest, in the fear and presence of him that shall judge us all, both the slanderers and the slandered, that I have not received any instructions, directions, orders, or let them call it what they will of that kind, for the writing any part of what I have written, or any materials for the putting together for the forming any book or pamphlet whatsoever, from the said Earl of Oxford, late lord treasurer, or from any person by his order or direction, since the time that the late Earl of Godolphin was lord treasurer. Neither did I ever show, or cause to be shown to his lordship, for his approbation, correction, alteration, or for any other cause, any book, paper, or pamphlet which I have written and published, before the same was worked off at the press and published.

If any man living can detect me of the least prevarication in this, or in any part of it, I desire him to do it by all means; and I challenge all the world to do it. And if they cannot, then I appeal, as in my title, to the honour and justice of my worst enemies, to know upon what foundation of truth or conscience they can affirm these things, and for what it is that I bear these reproaches.

In all my writing, I ever capitulated for my liberty to speak according to my own judgment of things; I ever had that liberty allowed me, nor was I ever imposed upon to write this way or that against my judgment by any person whatsoever.

I come now historically to the point of time when my Lord Godolphin was dismissed from his employment, and the late unhappy division broke out at court. I waited on my lord the day he was displaced, and humbly asked his lordship's direction what course I should take? His lordship's answer was, "that he had the same goodwill to assist me, but not the same power; that I was the queen's servant, and that all he had done for me was by her majesty's special and particular direction; and that whoever should succeed him, it was not material to me; he supposed I should be employed in nothing relating to the present differences. My business was to wait till I saw things settled, and then apply myself to the ministers of state, to receive her majesty's commands from them."

It occurred to me immediately, as a principle for my conduct, that it was not material to me

what ministers her majesty was pleased to employ; my duty was to go along with every ministry, so far as they did not break in upon the constitution, and the laws and liberties of my country; my part being only the duty of a subject, viz. to submit to all lawful commands, and to enter into no service which was not justifiable by the laws: to all which I have exactly obliged myself.

By this, I was providentially cast back upon my original benefactor, who, according to his wonted goodness, was pleased to lay my case before her majesty; and thereby I preserved my interest in her majesty's favour, but without any engagement of service.

As for consideration, pension, gratification, or reward, I declare to all the world I have had none, except only that old appointment which her majesty was pleased to make me in the days of the ministry of my Lord Godolphin; of which I have spoken already, and which was for services done in a foreign country some years before. Neither have I been employed, directed, or ordered by my lord treasurer aforesaid to do, or not to do, anything in the affairs of the unhappy differences which have so long perplexed us, and for which I have suffered so many, and such unjust reproaches.

I come next to enter into the matters of fact, and what it is I have done, or not done, which may justify the treatment I have met with; and first, for the negative part, what I have not done.

The first thing in the unhappy breaches which have fallen out, is the heaping up scandal upon the persons and conduct of men of honour on one side as well as on the other; those unworthy methods of falling upon one another by personal calumny and reproach. This I have often in print complained of as an unchristian, ungenerous, and unjustifiable practice. Not a word can be found in all I have written reflecting on the persons or conduct of any of the former ministry. I served her majesty under their administration; they acted honourably and justly in every transaction in which I had the honour to be concerned with them, and I never published or said anything dishonourable of any of them in my life; nor can the worst enemy I have produce any such thing against me. I always regretted the change, and looked upon it as a great disaster to the nation in general, I am sure it was so to me in particular; and the divisions and feuds among parties which followed that change were doubtless a disaster to us all.

The next thing that followed the change was the peace: no man can say that ever I once said in my life that I approved of the peace. I wrote a public paper at that time, and there it remains upon record against me. I printed it openly, and that so plainly as others durst not do, that I did not like the peace; neither that which was made, nor that which was before making; that I thought the protestant interest was not taken care of in either; that the peace I was for was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon nor to the house of Austria, but that this bone of contention should have been broken to pieces, that it might not be dangerous to Europe; and that

the protestant powers, viz. Britain and the States, should have so strengthened and fortified their interest by their sharing the commerce and strength of Spain, as should have made them no more afraid either of France or the Emperor: so that the protestant interest should have been superior to all the powers of Europe, and been in no more danger of exorbitant power, whether French or Austrian. This was the peace I always argued for, pursuant to the design of King William in the Treaty of Partition, and pursuant to that article of the grand alliance which was directed by the same glorious hand at the beginning of this last war, viz. that all we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own.

This was with a true design that England and Holland should have turned their naval power, which was eminently superior to that of France, to the conquest of the Spanish West Indies, by which the channel of trade and return of bullion, which now enriches the enemies of both, had been ours; and as the wealth, so the strength of the world had been in protestant hands. Spain, whoever had it, must then have been dependent upon us. The house of Bourbon would have found it so poor without us, as to be scarce worth fighting for: and the people so averse to them, for want of their commerce, as not to make it ever likely that France could keep it.

This was the foundation I ever acted upon with relation to the peace. It is true, that when it was made, and could not be otherwise, I thought our business was to make the best of it, and rather to inquire what improvements were to be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming at those who made it; and where the objection lies against this part, I cannot yet see.

While I spoke of things in this manner, I bore infinite reproaches from clamouring pens, of being in the French interest, being hired and bribed to defend a bad peace, and the like; and most of this was upon a supposition of my writing, or being the author of, abundance of pamphlets which came out every day, and which I had no hand in. And indeed, as I shall observe again by and bye, this was one of the greatest pieces of injustice that could be done me, and which I labour still under without any redress; that whenever any piece comes out which is not liked, I am immediately charged with being the author; and very often the first knowledge I have had of a book being published, has been from seeing myself abused for being the author of it, in some other pamphlet published in answer to it.

Finding myself treated in this manner, I declined writing at all, and for a great part of a year never set pen to paper, except in the public paper called the 'Review.' After this I was long absent in the north of England; and, observing the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated fine things into the heads of the common people of the right and claim of the Pretender, and of the great things he would do for us if he was to come in; of his being to turn a protestant, of his being resolved to maintain our liberties, support our friends, give liberty to dissenters, and the like; and finding that the people began to be deluded, and that the Jacobites gained ground among them by these insinuations, I thought it the best service I could do

the protestant interest, and the best way to open people's eyes of the protestant succession, if I took some course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect, if the Pretender should come to be king. And this made me set pen to paper again.

And this brings me to the affirmative part, or to what really I have done; and in this, I am sorry to say, I have one of the foulest, most unjust, and unchristian clamours to complain of, that any man has suffered, I believe, since the days of the tyranny of King James the Second. The fact is thus:

In order to detect the influence of Jacobite emissaries, as above, the first thing I wrote was a small tract, called 'A Seasonable Caution;' a book sincerely written to open the eyes of the poor, ignorant country people, and to warn them against the subtle insinuations of the emissaries of the Pretender; and that it might be effectual to that purpose, I prevailed with several of my friends to give them away among the poor people, all over England, especially in the north; and several thousands were actually given away, the price being reduced so low, that the bare expense of paper and press was only preserved, that every one might be convinced that nothing of gain was designed, but a sincere endeavour to do a public good, and assist to keep the people entirely in the interest of the protestant succession.

Next to this, and with the same sincere design, I wrote two pamphlets, one entitled, 'What if the Pretender should come?' the other, 'Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover.'

Nothing can be more plain than that the titles of these books were amusements, in order to put the books into the hands of those people whom the Jacobites had deluded, and to bring them to be read by them.

Previous to what I shall farther say of these books, I must observe, that all these books met with so general a reception and approbation among those who were most sincere for the protestant succession, that they sent them all over the kingdom, and recommended them to the people as excellent and useful pieces; insomuch that about seven editions of them were printed, and they were reprinted in other places. And I do protest, had his present majesty, then Elector of Hanover, given me a thousand pounds to have written for the interest of his succession, and to expose and render the interest of the Pretender odious and ridiculous, I could have done nothing more effectual to those purposes than these books were.

And that I may make my worst enemies, to whom this is a fair appeal, judges of this, I must take leave, by and bye, to repeat some of the expressions in these books, which were direct and need no explanation, which I think no man that was in the interest of the Pretender, nay, which no man but one who was entirely in the interest of the Hanover succession, could write.

Nothing can be severer in the fate of a man than to act so between two parties, that both sides should be provoked against him. It is certain, the Jacobites cursed those tracts and the author, and when they came to read them, being

deluded by the titles according to the design they threw them by with the greatest indignation imaginable. Had the Pretender ever come to the throne, I could have expected nothing but death, and all the ignominy and reproach that the most inveterate enemy of his person and claim could be supposed to suffer.

On the other hand, I leave it to any considering man to judge, what a surprise it must be to me to meet with all the public clamour that informers could invent, as being guilty of writing against the Hanover succession, and as having written several pamphlets in favour of the Pretender.

No man in this nation ever had a more rivetted aversion to the Pretender, and to all the family he pretended to come of, than I, a man that had been in arms under the Duke of Monmouth, against the cruelty and arbitrary government of his pretended father; that for twenty years had to my utmost opposed him (King James) and his party after his abdication; and had served King William to his satisfaction, and the friends of the Revolution after his death, at all hazards and upon all occasions; that had suffered and been ruined under the administration of highflyers and Jacobites, of whom some at this day counterfeit whigs. It could not be! The nature of the thing could by no means allow it; it must be monstrous; and that the wonder may cease, I shall take leave to quote some of the expressions out of these books, of which the worst enemy I have in the world is left to judge whether they are in favour of the Pretender or no; but of this in its place. For these books I was prosecuted, taken into custody, and obliged to give eight hundred pounds bail.

I do not in the least object here against, or design to reflect upon the proceedings of the judges which were subsequent to this. I acknowledged then, and now acknowledge again, that upon the information given, there was a sufficient ground for all they did; and my unhappy entering upon my own vindication in print, while the case was before their lordships in a judicial way, was an error which I did not understand, and which I did not foresee; and therefore, although I had great reason to reflect upon the informers, yet I was wrong in making that defence in the manner and time I then made it; and which when I found, I made no scruple afterwards to petition the judges, and acknowledge they had just ground to resent it. Upon which petition and acknowledgment their lordships were pleased, with particular marks of goodness, to release me, and not to take the advantage of an error of ignorance, as if it had been considered and premeditated.

But against the informers I think I have great reason to complain; and against the injustice of those writers who, in many pamphlets, charged me with writing for the Pretender, and the government with pardoning an author who wrote for the Pretender. And, indeed, the justice of these men can be in nothing more clearly stated than in this case of mine; where the charge, in their printed papers and public discourse, was brought; not that they themselves believed me guilty of the crime, but because it was necessary to blacken the man, that a general reproach

might serve for an answer to whatever he should say that was not for their turn. So that it was the person, not the crime, they fell upon; and they may justly be said to persecute for the sake of persecution, as will thus appear.

This matter making some noise, people began to inquire into it, and ask what De Foe was prosecuted for, seeing the books were manifestly written against the Pretender, and for the interest of the House of Hanover. And my friends expostulated freely with some of the men who appeared in it, who answered with more truth than honesty, that they knew this book had nothing in it, and that it was meant another way; but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they were resolved to take the advantage they had, both to punish and expose him. They were no inconsiderable people who said this; and had the case come to a trial, I had provided good evidence to prove the words.

This is the christianity and justice by which I have been treated, and this in justice is the thing I complain of.

Now, as this was the plot of a few men to see if they could brand me in the world for a Jacobite, and persuade rash and ignorant people that I was turned about for the Pretender, I think they might as easily have proved me to be a Mahometan; therefore, I say, this obliges me to state the matter as it really stands, that impartial men may judge whether those books were written for or against the Pretender. And this cannot be better done than by the account of what followed after the information, which, in a few words, was this:—

Upon the several days appointed, I appeared at the Queen's Bench bar to discharge my bail; and at last had an indictment for high crimes and misdemeanors exhibited against me by her majesty's attorney-general, which, as I was informed, contained two hundred sheets of paper.

What was the substance of the indictment I shall not mention here, neither could I enter upon it, having never seen the particulars; but I was told that I should be brought to trial the very next term.

I was not ignorant that in such cases it is easy to make any book a libel, and that the jury must have found the matter of fact in the indictment, viz. that I had written such books, and then what might have followed I knew not. Wherefore, I thought it was my only way to cast myself on the clemency of her majesty, of whose goodness I had so much experience many ways; representing in my petition, that I was far from the least intention to favour the interest of the Pretender, but that the books were all written with a sincere design to promote the interest of the House of Hanover; and humbly laid before her Majesty, as I do now before the rest of the world, the books themselves to plead in my behalf; representing farther, that I was maliciously informed against by those who were willing to put a construction upon the expressions different from my true meaning; and therefore, flying to her majesty's goodness and clemency, I entreated her gracious pardon.

It was not only the native disposition of her majesty to acts of clemency and goodness that obtained me this pardon; but, as I was informed,

her majesty was pleased to express it in the council, "She saw nothing but private pique in the first prosecution." And therefore I think I cannot give a better and clearer vindication of myself, than what is contained in the preamble to the pardon which her majesty was pleased to grant me; and I must be allowed to say to those who are still willing to object, that I think what satisfied her majesty might be sufficient to satisfy them; and I can assure them that this pardon was not granted without her majesty's being specially and particularly acquainted with the things alleged in the petition, the books also being looked into, to find the expressions quoted in the petition. The preamble to the patent for a pardon, as far as relates to the matters of fact, runs thus:

"Whereas, in the term of the Holy Trinity last past, our attorney-general did exhibit an information, in our Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, against Daniel De Foe, late of London, gent., for writing, printing, and publishing, and causing to be written, printed, and published, three libels, the one entitled, 'Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover; with an Enquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the person of the Pretender.' One other, entitled, 'And what if the Pretender should come? or, some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain.' And one other, entitled, 'An Answer to a Question that nobody thinks of, viz. What if the Queen should die?'

"And whereas the said Daniel De Foe hath by his humble petition represented to us, that he, with a sincere design to propagate the interest of the Hanover succession, and to animate the people against the designs of the Pretender, whom he always looked on as an enemy to our sacred person and government, did publish the said pamphlets: in all which books, although the titles seemed to look as if written in favour of the Pretender, and several expressions, as in all ironical writing it must be, may be wrested against the true design of the whole, and turned to a meaning quite different from the intention of the author, yet the petitioner humbly assures us, in the solemnest manner, that his true and only design in all the said books was, by an ironical discourse of recommending the Pretender, in the strongest and most forcible manner to expose his designs, and the ruinous consequences of his succeeding therein; which, as the petitioner humbly represents, will appear to our satisfaction by the books themselves, where the following expressions are very plain: viz. 'That the Pretender is recommended as a person proper to amass the English liberties into his own sovereignty; supply them with the privilege of wearing wooden shoes; easing them of the trouble of choosing parliaments; and the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expense of winter journeys, by governing them in that more righteous method, of his absolute will, and enforcing the laws by a glorious standing army; paying all the nation's debts at once by stopping the funds and shutting up the exchequer; easing and quieting their differences in religion, by bringing them to the union of popery, or leaving them at

liberty to have no religion at all:" that these were some of the very expressions in the said books, which the petitioner sincerely designed to expose and oppose, and as far as in him lies, the interest of the Pretender, and with no other intention; nevertheless, the petitioner, to his great surprise, has been misrepresented, and his said books misconstrued, as if written in favour of the Pretender; and the petitioner is now under prosecution for the same; which prosecution, if further carried on, will be the utter ruin of the petitioner and his family. Wherefore, the petitioner, humbly assuring us of the innocence of his design as aforesaid, flies to our clemency, and most humbly prays our most gracious and free pardon.

"We, taking the premises and the circumstances of the petitioner into our royal consideration, are graciously pleased to extend our royal mercy to the petitioner. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you prepare a bill for our royal signature, to pass our great seal, containing our gracious and free pardon unto him, the said Daniel De Foe, of the offences aforementioned, and of all indictments, convictions, pains, penalties, and forfeitures incurred thereby; and you are to insert therein all such apt beneficial clauses as you shall deem requisite to make this our intended pardon more full, valid, and effectual; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of November, 1713, in the twentieth year of our reign. By her majesty's command. "BOLINGBROKE."

Let any indifferent man judge whether I was not treated with particular malice in this matter; who was, notwithstanding this, reproached in the daily public prints with having written treasonable books in behalf of the Pretender; nay, and in some of those books, as before, the queen herself was reproached with having granted her pardon to an author who writ for the Pretender.

I think I might with much more justice say, I was the first man that ever was obliged to seek a pardon for writing for the Hanover succession, and the first man that these people ever sought to ruin for writing against the Pretender. For, if ever a book was sincerely designed to further and propagate the affection and zeal of the nation against the Pretender, nay, and was made use of, and that with success too, for that purpose, these books were so; and I ask no more favour of the world to determine the opinion of honest men for or against me, than what is drawn constructively from these books. Let one word, either written or spoken by me, either published or not published, be produced, that was in the least disrespectful to the protestant succession, or to any branch of the family of Hanover, or that can be judged to be favourable to the interest or person of the Pretender, and I will be willing to waive her majesty's pardon, and render myself to public justice, to be punished for it, as I should well deserve.

I freely and openly challenge the worst of my enemies to charge me with any discourse, conversation, or behaviour, in my whole life, which had the least word in it injurious to the protestant succession, unbecoming or disrespectful to

any of the persons of the royal family of Hanover, or the least favourable word of the persons, the designs, or friends of the Pretender. If they can do it, let them stand forth and speak; no doubt but that they may be heard; and I, for my part, will relinquish all pleas, pardons, and defences, and cast myself into the hands of justice. Nay, to go further, I defy them to prove that I ever kept company, or had any society, friendship, or conversation, with any Jacobite. So averse have I been to the interest and the people, that I have studiously avoided their company on all occasions.

As nothing in the world has been more my aversion than the society of Jacobites, so nothing can be a greater misfortune to me than to be accused and publicly reproached with what is, of all things in the world, most abhorred by me; and that which has made it the more afflicting is, that this charge arises from those very things which I did with the sincerest design to manifest the contrary.

But such is my present fate, and I am to submit to it; which I do with meekness and calmness, as to a judgment from heaven, and am practising that duty which I have studied long ago, of forgiving my enemies, and praying for them that despitefully use me.

Having given this brief history of the pardon, &c., I hope the impartial part of the world will grant me, that being thus graciously delivered a second time from the cruelty of my implacable enemies, and the ruin of a cruel and unjust persecution, and that by the mere clemency and goodness of the queen, my obligation to her majesty's goodness was far from being made less than it was before.

I have now run through the history of my obligation to her majesty, and to the person of my benefactor aforesaid. I shall state everything that followed this with all the clearness I can, and leave myself liable to as little cavil as I may; for I see myself assaulted by a sort of people who will do me no justice. I hear a great noise made of punishing those that are guilty, but, as I said before, not one word of clearing those that are innocent; and I must say, in this part they treat me, not only as I were no Christian, but as if they themselves were not Christians. They will neither prove the charge nor hear the defence, which is the unjustest thing in the world.

I foresee what will be alleged to the clause of my obligation, &c. to great persons, and I resolve to give my adversaries all the advantage they can desire by acknowledging beforehand, that no obligation to the queen, or to any benefactor, can justify any man's acting against the interest of his country, against his principles, his conscience, and his former profession.

I think this will anticipate all that can be said upon that head, and it will then remain to tell the fact, as I am not chargeable with it; which I shall do as clearly as possible in a few words.

It is none of my work to enter into the conduct of the queen or of the ministry in this case; the question is not what they have done, but what I have done; and though I am very far from thinking of them as some other people think, yet, for the sake of the present argument,

I am to give them all up, and suppose, though not granting, that all which is suggested of them by the worst temper, the most censorious writer, the most scandalous pamphlet or lampoon should be true; and I'll go through some of the particulars, as I meet with them in public.

1st. That they made a scandalous peace, unjustly broke the alliance, betrayed the confederates, and sold us all to the French.

God forbid it should be all truth, in the manner that we see it in print; but that I say is none of my business. *But what hand had I in all this?* I never wrote one word for the peace before it was made, or to justify it after it was made; let them produce it if they can. Nay, in a 'Review' upon that subject while it was making, I printed it in plainer words than other men durst speak it at that time, that I did not like the peace, nor did I like any peace that was making since that of the partition, and that the protestant interest was not taken care of either in that or the treaty of Gertrudenburg before it.

It is true that I did say, that since the peace was made, and we could not help it, that it was our business and our duty to make the best of it, to make the utmost advantage of it by commerce, navigation, and all kind of improvement that we could, and this I say still; and I must think it is more our duty to do so than the exclamations against the thing itself, which it is not in our power to retrieve. This is all that the worst enemy I have can charge me with. After the peace was made, and the Dutch and the emperor stood out, I gave my opinion of what I foresaw would necessarily be the consequence of that difference, viz.—that it would inevitably involve these nations in a war with one or other of them; any one who was master of common sense in the public affairs might see that the standing out of the Dutch could have no other event. For if the confederates had conquered the French, they would certainly have fallen upon us by way of resentment, and there was no doubt but the same councils that led us to make a peace would oblige us to maintain it, by preventing too great impressions upon the French.

On the other hand, I alleged, that should the French prevail against the Dutch, unless he stopped at such limitations of conquest as the treaty obliged him to do, we must have been under the same necessity to renew the war against France; and for this reason, seeing we had made a peace, we were obliged to bring the rest of the confederates into it, and to bring the French to give them all such terms as they ought to be satisfied with.

This way of arguing was either so little understood, or so much maligned, that I suffered innumerable reproaches in print for having written for a war with the Dutch, which was neither in the expression, nor ever in my imagination; but I pass by these injuries as small and trifling compared to others I suffer under.

However, one thing I must say of the peace, let it be good or ill in itself, I cannot but think we have all reason to rejoice in behalf of his present majesty, that at his accession to the crown he found the nation in peace, and had the hands of the King of France tied up by a peace so as

not to be able, without the most infamous breach of articles, to offer the least disturbance to his taking a quiet and leisurely possession, or so much as to countenance those that would.

Not but that I believe, if the war had been at the height, we should have been able to have preserved the crown for his present majesty, its only rightful lord; but I will not say it should have been so easy, so bloodless, so undisputed as now; and all the difference must be acknowledged to the peace, and this is all the good I ever yet said of it.

I come next to the general clamour of the ministry being for the Pretender. I must speak my sentiments solemnly and plainly, as I always did in that matter, viz. that if it was so, I did not see it, nor did I ever see reason to believe it; this I am sure of, that if it was so, I never took one step in that kind of service, nor did I ever hear one word spoken by any one of the ministry that I had the honour to know or converse with, that favoured the Pretender; but have had the honour to hear them all protest that there was no design to oppose the succession of Hanover in the least.

It may be objected to me, that they might be in the interest of the Pretender for all that; it is true they might, but that is nothing to me. I am not vindicating their conduct, but my own; as I never was employed in anything that way, so I do still protest I do not believe it was ever in their design, and I have many reasons to confirm my thoughts in that case, which are not material to the present case. But be that as it will, it is enough to me that I acted nothing in any such interest, neither did I ever sin against the protestant succession of Hanover in thought, word, or deed; and if the ministry did, I did not see it, or so much as suspect them of it.

It was a disaster to the ministry, to be driven to the necessity of taking that set of men by the hand, who nobody can deny, were in that interest: but as the former ministry answered, when they were charged with a design to overthrow the church, because they favoured, joined with, and were united to the dissenters; I say they answered, that they made use of the dissenters, but granted them nothing (which, by the way, was too true): so these gentlemen answer, that it is true they made use of Jacobites, but did nothing for them.

But this by the bye. Necessity is pleaded by both parties for doing things which neither side can justify. I wish both sides would for ever avoid the necessity of doing evil; for certainly it is the worst plea in the world, and generally made use of for the worst things.

I have often lamented the disaster which I saw employing Jacobites was to the late ministry, and certainly it gave the greatest handle to the enemies of the ministry to fix that universal reproach upon them of being in the interest of the Pretender. But there was no medium. The whigs refused to show them a safe retreat, or to give them the least opportunity to take any other measures, but at the risk of their own destruction; and they ventured upon that course in hopes of being able to stand alone at last without help of either the one or the other; in which, no doubt, they were mistaken.

However, in this part, as I was always assured, and have good reason still to believe, that her majesty was steady in the interest of the house of Hanover, and as nothing was ever offered to me, or required of me, to the prejudice of that interest, on what ground can I be reproached with the secret reserved designs of any, if they had such designs, as I still verily believe they had not?

I see there are some men who would fain persuade the world, that every man that was in the interest of the late ministry, or employed by the late government, or that served the late queen, was for the Pretender.

God forbid this should be true; and I think there needs very little to be said in answer to it. I can answer for myself, that it is notoriously false; and I think the easy and uninterrupted accession of his majesty to the crown contradicts it. I see no end which such a suggestion aims at, but to leave an odium upon all that had any duty or regard to her late majesty.

A subject is not always master of his sovereign's measures, nor always to examine what persons or parties the prince he serves employs, so be it that they break not in upon the constitution; that they govern according to law, and that he is employed in no illegal act, or have nothing desired of him inconsistent with the liberties and laws of his country. If this be not right, then a servant of the king's is in a worse case than a servant to any private person.

In all these things I have not erred; neither have I acted or done anything in the whole course of my life, either in the service of her majesty or of her ministry, that any one can say has the least deviation from the strictest regard to the protestant succession, and to the laws and liberties of my country.

I never saw an arbitrary action offered at, a law dispensed with, justice denied, or oppression set up either by queen or ministry, in any branch of the administration, wherein I had the least concern.

If I have sinned against the whigs, it has been all negatively, viz. that I have not joined in the loud exclamations against the queen and against the ministry, and against their measures; and if this be my crime, my plea is two-fold.

1. I did not really see cause for carrying their complaints to that violent degree.

2. Where I did see what, as before, I lamented and was sorry for, and could not join with or approve,—as joining with Jacobites, the peace, &c.,—my obligation is my plea for my silence.

I have all the good thoughts of the person, and good wishes for the prosperity of my benefactor, that charity and that gratitude can inspire me with. I ever believed him to have the true interest of the protestant religion and of his country in his view; and if it should be otherwise, I should be very sorry. And I must repeat it again, that he always left me so entirely to my own judgment, in everything I did, that he never prescribed to me what I should write, or should not write, in my life; neither did he ever concern himself to dictate to or restrain me in any kind; nor did he see any one tract that I ever wrote before it was printed: so that all the notion of my writing by his direction is as much a slander

upon him as it is possible anything of that kind can be; and if I have written anything which is offensive, unjust, or untrue, I must do that justice as to declare, he has no hand in it; the crime is my own.

As the reproach of his directing me to write is a slander upon the person I am speaking of, so that of my receiving pensions and payments from him for writing, is a slander upon me; and I speak it with the greatest sincerity, seriousness, and solemnity that it is possible for a Christian man to speak, that except the appointment I mentioned before, which her majesty was pleased to make me formerly, and which I received during the time of my Lord Godolphin's ministry, I have not received of the late lord treasurer, or of any one else by his order, knowledge, or direction, one farthing, or the value of a farthing, during his whole administration; nor has all the interest I have been supposed to have in his lordship been able to procure me the arrears due to me in the time of the other ministry. So help me God.

I am under no necessity of making this declaration. The services I did, and for which her majesty was pleased to make me a small allowance, are known to the greatest men in the present administration; and some of them were then of the opinion, and I hope are so still, that I was not unworthy of her majesty's favour. The effect of those services, however small, is enjoyed by those great persons and by the whole nation to this day; and I had the honour once to be told, that they should never be forgotten. It is a misfortune that no man can avoid, to forfeit for his deference to the person and services of his queen, to whom he was inexpressibly obliged; and if I am fallen under the displeasure of the present government for anything I ever did in obedience to her majesty in the past, I may say it is my disaster; but I can never say it is my fault.

This brings me again to that other oppression which, as I said, I suffer under, and which, I think, is of a kind that no man ever suffered under so much as myself; and this is to have every libel, every pamphlet, be it ever so foolish, so malicious, so unmannerly, or so dangerous, be laid at my door, and be called publicly by my name. It has been in vain for me to struggle with this injury; it has been in vain for me to protest, to declare solemnly, nay, if I would have sworn that I had no hand in such a book or paper, never saw it, never read it, and the like, it was the same thing.

My name has been hackneyed about the street by the hawkers, and about the coffee-houses by the politicians, at such a rate as no patience could bear. One man will swear to the style; another to this or that expression; another to the way of printing; and all so positive that it is to no purpose to oppose it.

I published once, to stop this way of using me, that I would print nothing but what I set my name to, and I held it for a year or two; but it was all one; I had the same treatment. I now have resolved for some time to write nothing at all, and yet I find it the same thing; two books lately published being called mine, for no other reason that I know of than that, at the request of the printer, I revised two sheets of

them at the press, and that they seemed to be written in favour of a certain person; which person, also, as I have been assured, had no hand in them, or any knowledge of them, till they were published in print.

This is a flail which I have no fence against, but to complain of the injustice of it, and that is but *the shortest way* to be treated with more injustice.

There is a mighty charge against me for being author and publisher of a paper called the 'Mercator.' I'll state the fact first, and then speak to the subject.

It is true, that being desired to give my opinion in the affair of the commerce with France, I did, as I often had done in print many years before, declare that it was my opinion we ought to have an open trade with France, because I did believe we might have the advantage by such a trade; and of this opinion I am still. What part I had in the 'Mercator' is well known; and could men answer with argument, and not with personal abuse, I would at any time defend every part of the 'Mercator' which was of my doing. But to say the 'Mercator' was mine, is false; I neither was the author of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, or the profit by it. I had never any payment or reward for writing any part of it, nor had I the power to put what I would into it. Yet the whole clamour fell upon me, because they knew not who else to load with it. And when they came to answer, the method was, instead of argument, to threaten and reflect upon me, reproach me with private circumstances and misfortunes, and give language which no Christian ought to give, and which no gentleman ought to take.

I thought any Englishman had the liberty to speak his opinion in such things, for this had nothing to do with the public. The press was open to me as well as to others; and how or when I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not; neither how my speaking my opinion without fee or reward, could authorise them to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names.

It was ever my opinion, and is so still, that were our wool kept from France, and our manufactures spread in France upon reasonable duties, all the improvement which the French have made in the woollen manufactures would decay, and in the end be little worth; and consequently, the hurt they could do us by them would be of little moment.

It was my opinion, and is so still, that the ninth article of the treaty of commerce was calculated for the advantage of our trade, let who will make it. *That is nothing to me.* My reasons are because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures at a certain duty of importation there, and left the Parliament of Britain at liberty to shut theirs out by as high duties as they pleased here, there being no limitation upon us as to duties on French goods; but that other nations should pay the same.

While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own fault. This was my opinion, and is so still; and I would venture to maintain it against

any man upon a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But that it was my opinion that we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the 'Review,' above nine years before the 'Mercator' was thought of. It was not thought criminal to say so then; how it comes to be villanous to say so now, God knows; I can give no account of it. I am still of the same opinion, and shall never be brought to say otherwise, unless I see the state of trade so altered as to alter my opinion; and if ever I do I shall be able to give good reasons for it.

The answer to these things, whether mine or no, was all pointed at me, and the arguments were generally in the terms villain, rascal, miscreant, liar, bankrupt, fellow, hireling, turncoat, &c. What the arguments were bettered by these methods I leave others to judge of. Also, most of those things in the 'Mercator,' for which I had such usage, were such as I was not the author of.

I do grant, had all the books which had been called by my name been written by me, I must of necessity have exasperated every side, and perhaps have deserved it; but I have the greatest injustice imaginable in this treatment, as I have in the perverting the design of what I have really written.

To sum up, therefore, my complaint in a few words:—

I was, from my first entering into the knowledge of public matters, and have ever been to this day, a sincere lover of the constitution of my country; zealous for liberty and the Protestant interest; but a constant follower of moderate principles, a vigorous opposer of hot measures in all parties. I never once changed my opinion, my principles, or my party; and let what will be said of changing sides, this I maintain, that I never once deviated from the revolution principles, nor from the doctrine of liberty and property on which it was founded.

I own I could never be convinced of the great danger of the Pretender in the time of the late ministry; nor can I be now convinced of the great danger of the church under this ministry. I believe the cry of the one was politically made use of then to serve other designs, and I plainly see the like use made of the other now. I spoke my mind freely then, and I have done the like now, in a small tract to that purpose not yet made public; and which if I live to publish I will publicly own, as I purpose to do everything I write, that my friends may know when I am abused, and they imposed on.

It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation to be very hot in their turn; and as often as they have been so I have differed with them, and ever must and shall do so. I'll repeat some of the occasions on the whigs' side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes.

The first time I had the misfortune to differ with my friends was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the

Turks taking it; which I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above three-score and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with. And though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it, and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

The next time I differed with my friends was when King James was wheedling the dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. And, as in the first, I used to say, I had rather the popish house of Austria should ruin the protestants in Hungaria, than the infidel house of Ottoman should ruin both protestants and papists by over-running Germany; so, in the other, I told the dissenters I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the papists should fall both upon the church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot.

The next difference I had with good men was about the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said.

And now I have lived to see the dissenters themselves very quiet, if not very well pleased with an act of parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed if they would talk of taking it off again.

Again, I had a breach with honest men for their maltreating King William; of which I say nothing, because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

The fifth difference I had with them was about the treaty of Partition, in which many honest men are mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then that they would at last end the war upon worse terms; and so it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertrudenburg had taken place.

The sixth time I differed with them was when the old whigs fell upon the modern whigs, and when the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin were used by the 'Observer' in a manner worse, I must confess, for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since; nay, though it were by 'Abel' and the 'Examiner;' but the success failed. In this dispute my Lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me, I had served him and his grace also both faithfully and successfully. But his lordship is dead, and I have now no testimony of it but what is to be found in the 'Observer,' where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. What weather-cock can turn with such tempers as these!

I am now on the seventh breach with them, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the same things of the queen and the late treasurer which I could not believe before of my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them; and which, if I had be-

lieved, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it for the reasons aforesaid.

In such turns of tempers and times, a man must be tenfold a vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with everybody. This is my present condition, and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned Jacobite, and what not. God judge between me and these men. Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge my mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither show mercy, nor leave place for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their master, but contrary to his express commands.

It is true, good men have been used thus in former times; and all the comfort I have is, that these men have not the last judgment in their hands: if they had, dreadful would be the case of those who oppose them. But that day will show many men and things also in a different state from what they may now appear in. Some that now appear clear and fair will then be seen to be black and foul, and some that are now thought black and foul will then be approved and accepted; and thither I cheerfully appeal, concluding this part in the words of the prophet—"I heard the defaming of many; fear on every side; report, say they, and we will report it; all my familiars watched for my halting, saying, peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him."—Jer. xx, 10.

Mr Poole's 'Annotations' has the following remarks on these lines; which, I think, are so much to that part of my case which is to follow, that I do not omit them. The words are these:—

"The prophet," says he, "here rendereth a reason why he thought of giving over his work as a prophet; his ears were continually filled with the obloquies and reproaches of such as reproached him; and besides, he was afraid on all hands, there were so many traps laid for him, so many devices devised against him. They did not only take advantage against him, but sought advantages, and invited others to raise stories of him; not only strangers, but those that he might have expected the greatest kindness from; those that pretended most courteously; 'They watch,' says he, 'for opportunities to do me justice, and lay in wait for my halting, desiring nothing more than that I might be enticed to speak, or do something which they might find matter of a colourable accusation, that so they might satisfy their malice upon me.' This hath always been the genius of wicked men. Job and David both made complaints much like this." These are Mr Poole's words.

And this leads me to several particulars, in which my case may, without any arrogance, be likened to that of the sacred prophet, excepting the vast disparity of the persons.

No sooner was the queen dead, and the king, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that the threats and insults I received were such as I am not able to express. If I offered to say a word in favour of the present settlement, it was called fawning, and turning round again; on the other hand, though I have meddled neither one way nor the other, nor written one book since the queen's death, yet a great many things are called by my name, and I bear every day the reproaches which all the answerers of those books cast, as well upon the subjects as the authors. I have not seen or spoken to my Lord of Oxford but once since the king's landing, nor received the least message, order, or writing from his lordship, or any other way corresponded with him, yet he bears the reproach of my writing in his defence, and I the rage of men for doing it. I cannot say it is no affliction to me to be thus used, though my being entirely clear of the facts is a true support to me.

I am unconcerned at the rage and clamour of party men; but I cannot be unconcerned to hear men, who I think are good men and good Christians, prepossessed and mistaken about me. However, I cannot doubt but some time or other it will please God to open such men's eyes. A constant, steady adhering to personal virtue and to public peace, which, I thank God, I can appeal to him has always been my practice, will at last restore me to the opinion of sober and impartial men, and that is all I desire. What it will do with those who are resolutely partial and unjust, I cannot say, neither is that much my concern. But I cannot forbear giving one example of the hard treatment I receive, which has happened

even while I am writing this tract. I have six children; I have educated them as well as my circumstances will permit, and so as I hope shall recommend them to better usage than their father meets with in this world.

I am not indebted one shilling in the world for any part of their education, or for anything else belonging to their bringing up; yet the author of the 'Flying Post' published lately that I never paid for the education of any of my children. If any man in Britain has a shilling to demand of me for any part of their education, or anything belonging to them, let them come for it.

But these men care not what injurious things they write, nor what they say, whether truth or not, if it may but raise a reproach on me, though it were to be my ruin. I may well appeal to the honour and justice of my worst enemies in such cases as this.

Conscia mens recti fama mendacia ridet.

CONCLUSION BY THE PUBLISHER.

WHILE this was at the press, and the copy thus far finished, the author was seized with a violent fit of an apoplexy, whereby he was disabled finishing what he designed in his further defence; and continuing now for above six weeks in a weak and languishing condition, neither able to go on or likely to recover, at least in any short time, his friends thought it not fit to delay the publication of this any longer. If he recovers he may be able to finish what he began; if not, it is the opinion of most that know him that the treatment which he here complains of, and some others that he would have spoken of, have been the apparent cause of his disaster.

CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF

THE WORKS OF DANIEL DE FOE.

1. Speculum Crape-Gownorum; or, a Looking glass for the Young Academicks, new foyl'd. With Reflections on some of the late high-flown Sermons. To which is added, an Essay towards a Sermon of the newest Fashion. By a Guide to the inferiour Clergie. "Ridentem dicere verum quis vetat." London: printed for E. Rydal, 1682. 4to. pp. 34.
2. Speculum Crape-Gownorum, the second Part, or a Continuation of Observations upon the late Sermons of some that would be thought Goliaths for the Church of England. By the same Author. 4to. pp. 40. R. Baldwin, 1682.
3. A Treatise against the Turks. (The exact title not known.) London. 1683.
- 4 & 5. Pamphlets against the Addresses to James II. (The exact titles not known.) 1687.
6. A Tract upon the Dispensing Power. (The exact title not known.) 1687.
7. An Essay upon Projects. London: printed by R. R., for Thomas Cockeril, at the corner of Warwick lane, near Paternoster row. 1697. 8vo. pp. 350.
- T. Cockeril afterwards removed from the corner of Warwick lane to the Poultry, when the following title was printed, apparently as a substitute for the above:—'Several Essays relating to Academies, Banks, Bankrupts, Charity-lotteries, Courts of Engineers, Court Merchants, Friendly Societies, Highways, Pension Office, Seamen, Wagering &c. Now communicated to the world for public good. T. Cockeril, 1700.' This work came to a second edition in 1702; or rather, the bookseller placed a new title-page before the remaining copies of the same impression. It was as follows:—'Essays upon several Subjects; or, effectual Ways for advancing the Interests of the Nation; wherein are plainly laid down the means by which the subjects in general may be eased and enriched, the poor relieved, and trade increased in the most material branches of it, viz. in constituting seamen to theirs and the nation's advantage; for encouragement of merchants and merchandizing; for relief of the poor by friendly societies; for discouraging vice, and encouraging virtue; the usefulness of banks and assurances; to prevent bankrupts, with the surest way to recover bad debts; and many other considerable things profitable and conducing to the great advantage of the nation in general. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1702.
- 8 An Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in Cases of Preferment: with a Preface to the Lord Mayor, occasioned by his carrying the Sword to a Conventicle. London: printed an. dom. 1697. 4to. pp. 28.
This tract was reprinted in 1701, with a Preface to Mr How.
- 9 Some Reflections on a Pamphlet, lately published, entitled 'An Argument, showing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. London: published for E. Whitlock, near Stationers' Hall. 1697. 4to. pp. 28.
- 10 An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. 2 Chronic. ix. 25. London: printed for E. Whitlock, near Stationers' Hall. 1698. 4to. pp. 26.
- 11 The Character of Dr Annesley, by way of Elegy. 1697.
- 12 A new Discovery of an old Intrigue, a Satyr: levelled at Treachery and Ambition. Calculated to the Nativity of the Rapparee Plot, and the Modesty of the Jacobite Clergy: designed by way of Conviction to the CXVII Petitioners, and for the Benefit of those that study the City Mathematics. London. 1697.
- 13 The Poor Man's Plea, in relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been, or shall be made, or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the Nation. London: printed in the year 1698. 4to. pp. 31.
- 14 The Pacificator: a Poem. London: printed and are to be sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1700. Folio.
- 15 The two Great Questions considered:—1. What the French King will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy? 2. What Measures the English ought to take? London: printed by R. T. for R. Baldwin, at the Bedford Arms, in Warwick lane. 1700. 4to. pp. 28.
- 16 The two Great Questions further considered: with some Reply to the Remarks. *Non licet hominem muliebriter rixare.* London. 1700. 4to.
- 17 The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe. London. 1700. 4to.
- 18 Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. London. 1701. 4to.

- 19 The Freeholder's Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. London: printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 27.
- 20 The Villany of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers discovered and considered. London: printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 26.
- 21 The True Born Englishman: a Satyr. 'Statuimus pacem, et securitatem, et concordiam, judicium et justiciam, inter Anglos et Normandos, Francos, et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos Albaniam, similiter inter Francos et Insulares Provincias et Patrias quæ pertinent ad coronam nostram et inter omnes nobis subjectos, firmiter et inviolabiliter observari.' Charta Regis Wilhelmi Conquistoris de pace publicâ. Cap. I. London. 1701. 4to. pp. 60.
- 22 The Succession to the Crown of England considered. London: printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 38.
- 23 A Memorial from the Gentlemen Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Counties of —, in behalf of themselves and many Thousands of the good People of England. London. 1701.

This is the celebrated Legion Letter. The points of charge brought against the Commons by Legion were infused into a ballad, and publicly cried about the streets, as was Legion himself, to the great annoyance of his opponents. To turn the edge of these satires, an anonymous writer thought fit to reprint them, with a Commentary of his own, under the title of 'The Ballad; or some scurrilous Reflections, in verse, on the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons, answered Stanza by Stanza. With the Memorial, alias Legion, replied to, Paragraph by Paragraph. London: printed by D. Edwards. 1701.'

- 24 History of the Kentish Petition. London. 1701. 4to.
- 25 The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England examined and asserted. With a double Dedication to the King, and to the Parliament. London. 1701. Folio.

This tract was reprinted, in 1769, by R. Baldwin in Paternoster row, with a Dedication "To the Lord Mayor (Beckford), the Aldermen and Commons of the City of London;" and again, in 1790, by Mr J. Walker, in his Selection from the writings of De Foe.

- 26 The Present State of Jacobitism considered, in Two Queries:—1. What Measures the French King will take with respect to the Person and Title of the P. P. of Wales? 2. What the Jacobites in England ought to do on the same Account? London. 1701. 4to. pp. 22.
- 27 Reasons against a War with France; or, an Argument, showing that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is no sufficient Ground of a War. London: printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 30.
- 28 A Letter to Mr How, by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters. London. 1701. 4to.
- 29 Legion's New Paper; being a second Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late House of Commons. With Legion's humble Address to his Majesty. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1702. 4to. pp. 20.

- 30 The Mock Mourners; a Satyr, by way of Elegy on King William. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed in the year 1702. 4to.

Reprinted in 'Poems on Affairs of State.'

- 31 The Spanish Descent; a Poem. London. 1702. 4to.
- 32 A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. Printed in the year 1702. 4to.

There is another tract published in 1687, under the same title of 'A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty;' which is often confounded with our author's work.

- 33 An Enquiry into occasional Conformity, showing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it. London. 1702. 4to.
- 34 Reformation of Manners; a Satyr, "Væ vobis hypocritæ." Printed in the year 1702. 4to. pp. 64.
- 35 The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. London: printed in the year 1702. 4to. pp. 29.
- 36 A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entitled 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to.
- 37 A Hymn to the Pillory. London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 24.
- 38 More Reformation, a Satyr upon Himself. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 52.
- 39 The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 26.
- 40 A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' Corrected by Himself. London: printed and are to be sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster. 1703. 8vo. pp. 465.

The following are the abridged titles of the pieces contained in it:—1. The True Born Englishman. 2. The Mock Mourners. 3. Reformation of Manners. 4. Character of Dr. Annesley. 5. The Spanish Descent. 6. Original Power of the People of England. 7. The Freeholders' Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. 8. Reasons against a War with France. 9. An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. 10. The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe. 11. The Villany of Stock-jobbers detected. 12. Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. 13. Poor Man's Plea. 14. Inquiry into occasional Conformity; with a Preface to Mr How. 15. Letter to Mr How. 16. Two Great Questions considered. 17. Two Great Questions further considered. 18. Inquiry into occasional Conformity, showing that the Dissenters are noways concerned in it. 19. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. 20. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters. 21. A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' 22. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union.' A second edition of this volume, with some additions, was printed in 1705.

- 41 King William's Affection to the Church of England, examined. London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 26.
- 42 The Sincerity of the Dissenters vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity; with some considerations on a late book,

- entitled 'Moderation, a Virtue.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 27.
- 48 A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole Nation; with an Inquiry into the Ways and Means of bringing it to pass. London: printed in the year 1703. pp. 24.
- 44 Peace without Union. By way of reply to Sir H. M——'s 'Peace at Home.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to.
- 45 Original Right; or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People. Being an Answer to the first Chapter in Dr Davenant's Essays, entitled, 'Peace at Home and War Abroad.' Printed and sold by R. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick lane. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 30.
- 46 Dissenter's Answer to the High Church Challenge. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 55.
- 47 The Christianity of the High Church considered. Dedicated to a Noble Peer. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 20.
- 48 Royal Religion; being some Inquiry after the Piety of Princes, with remarks on a book, entitled 'A Form of Prayers used by King William.' London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 27.
- 49 Essay upon the Regulation of the Press. London: 1704.
- 50 The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland truly stated. London: printed in the year 1704.
- 51 The Parallel, or Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland. London: 1704.
- 52 A serious Inquiry into this grand Question, whether a Law to prevent the occasional Conformity of Dissenters would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise? London: 1704. 4to.
- 53 More Short Wars with the Dissenters. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 24.
- Advertised in the 'Review' of April 29, as "published yesterday, price 6d."
- 54 The Dissenters Misrepresented and Represented. London: 1704. 4to.
- 55 The Protestant Jesuit Unmasked; in answer to the Two Parts of Cassandra: wherein the author and his libels are laid open, with the true reason why he would have the Dissenters humbled. London: 1704.
- 56 A new Test of the Church of England's Honesty. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 24.
- 57 The Storm; or a Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land. "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."—Nehemiah i. 3. London: printed for S. Sawbridge, in Little Britain, and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1704. 8vo. pp. 272.

Later editions of the work were sent abroad with a new title as follows: 'A Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land, on Friday, November 26th, 1703. To which is added, several very surprising deliverances; the natural causes and origin of winds; of the opinion of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than any other part of the world. With several other curious observations upon the storm. The

whole divided into chapters, under proper heads. The Second Edition. London: printed for Geo. Sawbridge, at the Three Golden Fleur-de-Lis, in Little Britain, and J. Nutt, in the Savoy. Price, bound, 3s. 6d.' The matter in both editions is precisely the same.

- 58 Elegy on the Author of 'The True Born Englishman. With an Essay on the late Storm. By the Author of the 'Hymn to the Pillory.' London: 1704. 4to. pp. 56.
- 59 A Hymn to Victory. London: printed for J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1704. 4to. pp. 52.
- 60 An Inquiry into the Case of Mr Asgill's General Translation; shewing that it is not a nearer Way to Heaven than the Grave. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions."—2 Thess. ii. 11. London: printed and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1704. 8vo. pp. 48.
- 61 Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor, a Grievance to the Nation. Being an Essay upon this great Question, whether Workhouses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for Employing the Poor, as now practised in England, or Parish-stocks, as proposed in a late pamphlet, entitled 'A Bill for the Better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c.,' are not mischievous to the Nation; tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to increase the Number and Misery of the Poor. Addressed to the Parliament of England. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704. 8vo. pp. 28.
- 62 A Review of the Affairs of France, and of all Europe, as influenced by that Nation: being Historical Observations on the Public Transactions of the World, purged from the Errors and Partiality of News-writers and petty Statesmen of all sides. With an entertaining Part in every Sheet, being Advice from the Scandal Club to the curious Enquirers; in Answer to Letters sent them for that purpose. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 456.
- 63 The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed for Benjamin Bragge, in Ave Maria lane, Ludgate street. 1705. 4to.
- 64 Party Tyranny; or, an Occasional Bill in Miniature; as now practised in Carolina. Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 30.
- 65 Advice to all Parties. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed and are to be sold by Benj. Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. Price 6d. 4to. pp. 24.
- 66 Writings of the Author of 'The True Born Englishman' (a second Volume of); some whereof never before published. Corrected and enlarged by the Author. 1705. The following are the Pieces in this Volume:—
1. A New Discovery of an old Intrigue. 2. More Reformation. 3. An Elegy on the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' 4. The Storm, an Essay. 5. A Hymn to the Pillory. 6. A Hymn to Victory. 7. The

Pacificator. 8. The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. 9. The Dissenter's Answer to the High Church Challenge. 10. A Challenge of Peace to the whole Nation. 11. Peace without Union. 12. More Short Ways. 13. A new Test of the Church of England's Honesty. 14. A Serious Inquiry. 15. The Dissenter Misrepresented, and Represented. 16. The Parallel. 17. Giving Alms no Charity. 18. Royal Religion.

A third Edition, or perhaps the remainder of the impressions of the first, was published in 1710, with the addition of a key to many of the names. They were sold by John Morphew, near Stationers' Hall, price 12s.

67 The Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. Translated from the Lunar language by the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. 8vo. pp. 360.

'The Consolidator' gave birth to two half-sheet Tracts: they are entitled 'A Journey to the World in the Moon,' by the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1705. 4to. And the other, 'A Second and more strange Journey to the World in the Moon; containing a comical description of that country, with the characters and humours of the inhabitants, &c.; by the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1705.' 4to. At the end of the first Tract is the following advertisement: "There is now in the press, and will speedily be published, 'A Letter from the Man in the Moon to the Author of the True Born Englishman;' containing a variety of diverting news and comical intrigues relating to the present posture of affairs in Europe." All these were piracies from the author's book, and cried about the streets at a low price, for the benefit of some needy and unprincipled printer.

68 The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters Exemplified. Being the Case of Mr Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister of the Isle of Ely; and a full Account of his being sent for a Soldier, by Mr Fern (an ecclesiastical Justice of the Peace) and other Conspirators. To the eternal Honour of the Temper and Moderation of High Church Principles. Humbly dedicated to the Queen. London: printed and sold by B. Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. 4to. pp. 58.

The remaining copies of this Tract were sent forth in 1707, with the following new title: 'The Modesty and Sincerity of those worthy Gentlemen, commonly called High Churchmen, Exemplified in a Modern Instance.' Most humbly dedicated to her Majesty, and her High Court of Parliament. London: printed and sold by B. Bragge, in Paternoster row. 1707.

69 The Dyet of Poland; a Satyr. Printed at Dantzick in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 60.

70 High Church Legion; or, the Memorial Examined; being a new Test of Moderation, as it is recommended to all that love the Church of England and the Constitution. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 21.

71 A Declaration without Doors. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1705. 4to.

72 An Answer to Lord Haversham's Speech. London. 1705. 4to.

A half sheet, reprinted from the 'Review' for the 24th of November.

73 A Reply to a Pamphlet called 'The Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech,' &c. By the Author of the 'Review.' London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 32.

74 A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs Veal, the next day after her Death, to one Mrs Bargrave at Canterbury, the 8th of September, 1705. Which Apparition recommends the perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fear of Death. London. 1705. 4to.

75 A Review of the Affairs of France; with Observations on Transactions at Home. Vol. II. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 558.

76 Hymn to Peace; occasioned by the Two Houses joining in one Address to the Queen. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' London: printed for John Nutt, near Stationers' Hall. 1706. 4to. pp. 60.

77 Remarks on the Bill to prevent Frauds committed by Bankrupts; with Observations on the Effect it may have upon Trade. London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 29.

78 A Preface to a New Edition of Delaune's Plea for the Nonconformists. London. 1706.

79 A Sermon preached by Mr Daniel De Foe, on the Fitting-up of Dr Burgess's late Meeting House. Taken from his 'Review' of Thursday, 20th of June, 1706. 4to.

80 Jure Divino; a Satyr, in 12 Books. By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' "O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis numina." London: printed in the year 1706. Folio. pp. 346. Preface, 28.

The 8vo. edition of the same date is spurious, and full of blunders of every description. More than a century after the appearance of De Foe's work, it was partially revived by a living political writer in a pamphlet entitled, 'The Right Divine of Kings to govern wrong. Dedicated to the Holy Alliance. By the Author of 'The Political House that Jack built.' London: printed for William Hone, 45 Ludgate street. 1821.'

81 The Advantages of the Act of Security, compared with those of the intended Union; founded on the Revolution Principles. By D. De Foe. London. 1706. 4to.

82 An Essay at Removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland. To be continued during the Treaty here. London and Edinburgh: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 30.

83 _____ Part II.
84 _____ " III.
85 _____ " IV.; with some Reply to Mr H—dges, and some Authors who have printed their Objections against an Union with England. 4to. 1706.

86 _____ Part V. 1706.

87 _____ " VI. 1707.

88 Caledonia; a Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation. In Three Parts. Edinburgh: printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. An. Dom. 1706. Folio. pp. 60.

An 8vo. edition of this work was printed in London in the following year, and another in 1748.

89 The Dissenters in England Vindicated from some Reflections in a late Pamphlet called, 'Lawful Prejudices,' &c. London. 1707.

90 The Dissenters Vindicated; or a Short View of the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now professed in the Episcopal Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in both. In answer to some Reflections in Mr Webster's Two Books published in Scotland. London: printed in the year 1707. 8vo. pp. 48.

91 A Voice from the South; or, an Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England to the Kirk of Scotland. 1707. 4to.

A single sheet, reprinted in the 'Review' for May 10 and 15.

92 Two Great Questions considered with regard to the Union. 1707.

93 The Quaker's Sermon on the Union. Being the only Sermon preached by that sort of People on that Subject. London. 1707.

94 A Review of the State of the English Nation, Vol. III. London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 688.

95 The Union Proverb.

If Skiddaw has a cap,
Scruffel wots full well of that.

Setting forth—1. The Necessity of Uniting. 2. The good Consequences of Uniting. 3. The Happy Union of England and Scotland, in case of a Foreign Invasion. "Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum." 4to. 1708.

Reprinted in the 3rd edition of 'Dyke's English Proverbs.' London.

96 A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. IV. London: printed in the year 1708. 4to. pp. 700.

97 The Scots Narrative examined; or, the Case of the Episcopal Ministers in Scotland stated, and the late Treatment of them in the City of Edinburgh inquired into. With a brief Examination into the Reasonableness of the grievous Complaint of Persecution in Scotland, and a Defence of the Magistrates of Edinburgh in their Proceedings there. Being some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entitled 'A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh,' &c. London: printed in the year 1709. 4to. pp. 41. Postscript, x.

98 The History of the Union of Great Britain. Edinburgh: printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. An. Dom. 1709. Folio. pp. 685. Preface, xxxii.

Reprinted in 1712, and again in 1786.

99 An Answer to a Paper concerning Mr De Foe, against the History of the Union. Edinburgh. 1709. 4to.

A single sheet.

100 A Reproof to Mr Clark, and a brief Vindication of Mr De Foe. Edinburgh. 1709.

A single sheet.

101 A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. V. London: printed in the year 1709. 4to. pp. 632.

102 The New Wonder; or a Trip to St Paul's.

By the Author of 'The True Born Englishman.' Printed in the year 1710. 8vo.

103 A Letter from Captain Tom to the Mob now Raised by Dr Sacheverell. London: J. Baker. 1710.

104 Instructions from Rome, in favour of the Pretender. Inscribed to the most elevated Don Sacheverellio, and his brother Don Higginisco; and which all Perkinites, Non-jurors, High-flyers, Popish desirers, Wooden-shoe admirers, and absolute Non-resistance drivers, are obliged to pursue and maintain, under pain of his Unholiness's Damnation, in order to carry on their intended subversion of a Government fixed upon Revolution Principles. London: J. Baker. Registered in the Stationers' Hall Book. 1710. 8vo.

105 A Review of the British Nation. Vol. VI. London: printed in the year 1710. 4to. pp. 600.

106 An Essay upon Public Credit. Being an Inquiry how the Public Credit came to depend upon the Change of the Ministry, or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so, or no? With an Argument proving that the public credit may be upheld and maintained in this nation, and perhaps brought to a greater height than it ever yet arrived at, though all the changes or dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the world. London. 1710. 8vo.

107 An Essay upon Loans; or an Argument, proving that substantial Funds, settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of Interests, and the Advances of prompt Payment usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the part of the Government supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the 'Essay on Credit.' London. 1710. 8vo. pp. 27.

108 A New Test of the Sense of the Nation. Being a modest Comparison between the Addresses to the late King James and those to her present Majesty, in order to observe how far the Sense of the Nation may be judged of by either of them. London: printed in the year 1710. 8vo. pp. 91.

109 A Word against a New Election; that the People of England may see the happy Difference between English Liberty and French Slavery, and may consider well before they make the Exchange. Printed in the year 1700. 8vo. pp. 23.

110 A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. VII. London: printed in the year 1711. 4to. pp. 620.

111 An Essay on the South Sea Trade; with an Inquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of the present Dislike and Complaint against the Settlement of a South Sea Company. By the Author of the 'Review.' London. 1710. 8vo.

112 Eleven Opinions About Mr H—y; with

- Observations. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 89.
- 113 An Essay at a plain Exposition of that difficult Phrase—'A Good Peace.' Printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 52.
- 114 The Felonious Treaty; or, an Inquiry into the Reasons which moved his late Majesty King William, of glorious Memory, to enter into a Treaty at two several times with the King of France for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy. With an Essay proving that it was always the Sense, both of King William and of all the Confederates, and even of the Grand Alliance itself, that the Spanish Monarchy should never be united in the Person of the Emperor. By the Author of the 'Review.' London: printed and sold by J. Baker. 1711. Price 6d. 8vo. pp. 48.
- 115 An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution in Britain: beginning with a brief Account of the Test Act, and an Historical Inquiry into the Reasons, the Original, and the Consequences of the occasional Conformity of Dissenters; with some Remarks on the several Attempts already made and now making for an Occasional Bill; enquiring how far the same may be esteemed a Preservation to the Church, or an Injury to the Dissenters. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 48.
- 116 The Conduct of Parties in England, more especially of those Whigs who now appear against the new Ministry and a Treaty of Peace. Printed in the year 1712. 8vo. pp. 62.
- 117 The present State of Parties in Great Britain, particularly an Inquiry into the State of the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland; their Religious and Political Interest considered, as it respects their Circumstances before and since the late Acts against Occasional Conformity in England; and for Toleration of Common Prayer in Scotland. 1712. London: printed and sold by J. Baker, in Paternoster row, Price 5s. 8vo. pp. 352.
- 118 A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. VIII. London: printed in the year 1712. 4to. pp. 848.
- 119 A seasonable Caution and Warning against the Insinuations of Papists and Jacobites in favour of the Pretender. London: 1712. 8vo.
- 120 An Answer to the Question that Nobody thinks of, viz. But what if the Queen should die? London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 44.
- 121 Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover, with an Inquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the Person of the Pretender. "Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur." London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 45.
- 122 And what if the Pretender should come? or, some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo.
- 123 A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. IX. London: printed in the year 1713.
- 124 An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France; with necessary Expositions. Prov. xviii. 12. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 44.
- 125 A General History of Trade; and especially considered as it respects the British Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World; with Essays upon the Improvement of our Trade in particular. To be continued monthly. 1st August, 1713. 8vo. Price 6d. J. Baker.
- 126 A General History of Trade; and especially considered as it respects the British Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World: with a Discourse of the Use of Harbours and Roads for Shipping, as it relates particularly to the filling up the Harbour of Dunkirk. This for the month of July. 15th August, 1713. 8vo. Price 6d.
- 127 Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed Principles, proved Whigs; or, each Side in the other mistaken; being a plain Proof that each Party deny that Charge which the others bring against them; and that neither Side will disown those which the others profess; with an earnest Exhortation to all Whigs, as well as Hanoverian Tories, to lay aside those uncharitable Heats among such Protestants, and seriously to consider, and effectually to provide against those Jacobite, Popish, and Conforming Tories, whose principal Ground of Hope to ruin all sincere Protestants, is from those unchristian and violent Feuds among ourselves. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo.
- 128 A Letter to the Dissenters. London: sold by John Morphew, near Stationers' Hall. 1714. Price 6d. 8vo.
- 129 The Remedy worse than the Disease; or, Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism; to which is added, a brief Discourse on Toleration and Persecution, showing their unavoidable effects, good or bad; and proving that neither Diversity of Religion, nor Diversity in the same Religion, are dangerous, much less inconsistent with good Government; in a Letter to a Noble Earl. "Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum:"—Cicero in Orat. pro Balbo. London: printed for J. Baker. 1714. 8vo. pp. 48.
- 130 Advice to the People of Great Britain with respect to Two important Points of their future Conduct. 1. What they ought to expect from the King. 2. How they ought to behave to him. London: printed for J. Baker, in Paternoster row. 1714. Price 6d.
- 131 The Secret History of the White Staff; being an Account of Affairs under the Conduct of several late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened, if her

- Majesty had not died. London: J. Baker. 1714. 8vo. pp. 71.
- 132 The Secret History of the White Staff; being an Account of Affairs under the Conduct of several late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened, if her Majesty had not died. London: J. Baker. Part II. 1714.
- 133 — Part III. 1715.
- 134 A Reply to a traitorous Libel, entitled 'English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain.' London: printed for J. Baker. 1715. 8vo. pp. 40.
- 135 A Hymn to the Mob. London: printed and sold by S. Popping, in Paternoster row. 1715. 8vo. pp. 40.
- 136 Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his worst Enemies; by Daniel De Foe; being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. Jeremiah xvii. 18. London: printed for J. Baker. 1715. 8vo. pp. 58.
- 137 The Family Instructor; in Three Parts; with a Recommendatory Letter by the Rev. S. Wright. London: sold by Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, in Paternoster row; and John Button, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1715. 12mo. pp. 444.
- 138 A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof, from one of the people called Quakers, to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words. London: printed and sold by S. Keimer, at the Printing Press, in Paternoster row. 1715. 8vo. pp. 39.
- 139 A Sharp Rebuke from one of the People called Quakers, to Henry Sacheverell, the High Priest of Andrew's, Holborn. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury. London: S. Keimer. 1715. 8vo. pp. 35.
- 140 A Seasonable Expostulation with, and Friendly Reproof unto, James Butler, who, by the Men of this World, is styled Duke of O——d, relating to the Tumults of the People. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury, the Dealer in many Words, and Henry Sacheverell, the High Priest of Andrew's, Holborn. London: S. Keimer. 1715. 8vo. pp. 31.
- 141 Some Account of the Two Nights' Court at Greenwich; wherein may be seen the Reason, Rise, and Progress of the late unnatural Rebellion against his Sacred Majesty King George, and his Government. London: Printed for J. Baker. 1716. 8vo. pp. 72.
- 142 Thoughts on Trade and a Public Spirit. Considered under the following heads: viz.—1. Companies in Trade. 2. Stock Jobbers. 3. Projectors. 4. Corruptions in the Law and Public Offices. 5. Of a Public Spirit. Humbly dedicated to all Lovers of their Country. London: printed for the Author. 1716.
- 143 Memoirs of the Church of Scotland. In Four Periods. 1. The Church in her Infant State, from the Reformation to the Queen Mary's Abdication. 2. The Church in its growing State, from the Abdication to the Restoration. 3. The Church
- in its Persecuted State, from the Restoration to the Revolution. 4. The Church in its Present State, from the Revolution to the Union. With an Appendix of some Transactions since the Union. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, both in Paternoster row. 1717. 8vo. pp. 438.
- 144 The Family Instructor; in Two Parts. 1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obstructing Religious Duties. 2. To the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the managing and correcting of Children. With a great Variety of Cases relating to setting ill Examples to Children and Servants. Vol. II. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, in Paternoster row. 1718. 12mo. pp. 404.
- 145 Memoirs of the Life and eminent Conduct of that Learned and Reverend Divine Daniel Williams, D.D. With some Account of his Scheme for the vigorous Propagation of Religion, as well in England as in Scotland, and in several other Parts of the World. Addressed to Mr Pierce. London: printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, against St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet street. 1718. Price 2s. 6d. bound. 8vo. pp. 86.
- 146 A Letter to the Dissenters. London: printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick lane. 1719. Price 6d. pp. 27.
- 147 A curious Oration delivered by Father Andrews, concerning the present great Quarrels that divide the Clergy of France. Translated from the French. By D. De F—e. London. 1719. 8vo.
- 148 The Life and strange, surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner; who lived Eight-and-twenty years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the great River Oroonoke, having been cast on shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With an Account how he was at last strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself. London: printed for W. Taylor, at the Ship, in Paternoster row. 1719. 8vo. pp. 364.
- 149 The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the second and last Part of his Life; and the strange, surprising Accounts of his Travels round Three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself. To which is added, a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1719. 8vo. pp. 373.
- 150 The Dumb Philosopher; or, Great Britain's Wonder. Containing,—I. A faithful and very surprising Account of Dickory Cronke, a Tinner's Son, in the County of Cornwall, who was born Dumb, and continued so for fifty-eight years; and how some days before he died he came to his Speech; with Memoirs of his Life and the Manner of his Death. II. A Declaration of his Faith and Principles in Religion, with a Collection of Select Medita-

- tions composed in his Retirement. III. His Prophetical Observations upon the Affairs of Europe, more particularly of Great Britain, from 1720 to 1729. The whole extracted from his original Papers, and confirmed by unquestionable authority. To which is annexed his Elegy, written by a young Cornish Gentleman of Exeter College, in Oxford; with an Epitaph by another hand. "Non quis, sed quid?" London: printed by Thomas Bickerton, at the Crown, in Paternoster row. 1719. Price 1s. 8vo. pp. 64.
- 151 The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton, containing an Account of his being set on Shore in the Island of Madagascar, his Settlement there, with a Description of the Place and Inhabitants; of his Passage from thence in a Paraguay to the Main Land of Africa, with an Account of the Customs and Manners of the People, his great Deliverances from the barbarous Natives and wild Beasts; of his meeting with an Englishman, a Citizen of London, among the Indians; the great Riches he acquired, and his Voyage home to England; as also Captain Singleton's Return to Sea, with an Account of his many Adventures and Pyracies with the famous Captain Avery and others. 8vo. London: printed for J. Brotherton, at the Black Bull in Cornhill; T. Graves, in St James's street; A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple Bar; and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster row. 1720. 8vo. pp. 360.
- 152 Serious Reflections during the Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. With his Vision of the Angelic World. Written by himself. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1722. 8vo. pp. 354.
- 153 The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Duncan Campbell, a Gentleman, who, though Deaf and Dumb, writes down any Stranger's name at first sight, with their future Contingencies of Fortune. Now living in Exeter court, over against the Savoy, in the Strand. London: printed for E. Curll, and sold by W. Meers, &c. 1720. 8vo. pp. 320.
- 154 The Complete Art of Painting a Poem; translated from the French of M. du Fresnoy. By D. F., Gentleman. London: printed for T. Warner. 1720. Price 1s. 8vo. pp. 53.
- 155 Christian Conversation; in Six Dialogues. 1. Between a doubting Christian and one more confirmed, about Assurance. 2. Between the same Persons, about Mortification. 3. Between Eutocus and Fidelius, about Natural Things Spiritualized. 4. Between Simplicius and Conscius, about Union. 5. Between Thlipsius and Melaudius, about Afflictions. 6. Between Athanasius and Bioes, about Death. By a Private Gentleman. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1720. 8vo.
- 156 The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, who was born in Newgate, and during a Life of continued Variety of Three Score Years, besides her Childhood, was Twelve Years a Whore, Five times a Wife (whereof once to her own Brother), Twelve Years a Thief, Eight Years a Transported Felon to Virginia; at last grew rich, lived honest, and died a Penitent. Written from her own Memorandums. London: printed for and sold by W. Chetwood, at Cato's Head, in Russell street, Covent garden; and T. Edlin, at the Prince's Arms, over against Exeter Change, in the Strand. 1722.
- 157 The Memoirs of a Cavalier; or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England from the Year 1632 to the Year 1648. Written above Three Score Years ago by an English Gentleman, who served first in the Army of Gustavus Adolphus, the glorious King of Sweden, till his Death; and after that in the royal Army of King Charles the First, from the beginning of the Rebellion to the end of that War. London: printed for A. Bell, at the Cross Keys in Cornhill; J. Osborn, at the Oxford Arms in Lombard street; W. Taylor, at the Ship and Swan; and T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster row.
- 158 The History of the most remarkable Life and extraordinary Adventures of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque, vulgarly called Colonel Jack, who was born a Gentleman, put Apprentice to a Pick-pocket, flourished Six-and-twenty Years as a Thief, and was then kidnapped to Virginia; came back a Merchant, was Five times married to Four Whores, went into the Wars, behaved bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment; returned again to England, followed the Fortunes of the Chevalier de St George, was taken at the Preston Rebellion; received his Pardon from the late King, is now at the Head of his Regiment, in the Service of the Czarina, fighting against the Turks, completing a Life of Wonders, and resolves to die a General. London: printed for J. Brotherton. 1722.
- 159 A Journal of the Plague Year; being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well Public as Private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London; never made public before. London: printed for E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; J. Roberts, in Warwick lane; A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; and J. Graves, in St James's street. 1722. 8vo. pp. 287.

This first edition of the work is amongst the scarcest of De Foe's pieces, and when brought to market bears a high price. In the subsequent editions the title is altered. The second, published by F. and J. Noble in 1754, is called 'The History of the Great Plague in London in the Year 1665;' containing Observations, &c. To which is added, 'A Journal of the Plague at Marseilles in the Year 1720.' 8vo. The latter piece forms no part of De Foe's publication.

160 Religious Courtship: being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only; as also of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Religion with one another. With an Appendix, of the Necessity of taking none but Religious Servants, and a Proposal for the better managing of Servants. London: printed for E. Matthews, at the Bible, and A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster row; J. Brotherton and W. Meadows, in Cornhill. 1722. 8vo. pp. 358.

161 The Fortunate Mistress; or, A History of the Life and vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle De Belean, afterwards called the Countess De Wintelsheim, in Germany; being the Person known by the name of the Lady Roxana in the time of Charles II. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster row; W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill; W. Pepper, at the Crown in Maiden lane, Covent garden; S. Harding, at the Post House in St Martin's lane; and T. Edlin, at the Prince's Arms against Exeter Change, in the Strand. 1724.

162 A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz: 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry: with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee House, Covent garden; T. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall Mall; R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall; and J. Graves, in St James's street. 1724.

All the subsequent editions vary considerably from the original. This work is frequently confounded with John Macky's 'Journey through England, in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad.' 1722.

163 The Great Law of Subordination Considered; or, the Insolence and unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England, duly inquired into. Illustrated with a great variety of Examples, historical Cases, and remarkable Stories of the Behaviour of some particular Servants, suited to all the several Arguments made use of as they go on. In Ten Familiar Letters; together with a Conclusion, being an earnest and moving Remonstrance to the Housekeepers and Heads of Families in Great Britain, pressing them not to cease using their utmost

Interest (especially at this Juncture) to obtain sufficient Laws for the effectual Regulations of the Manners and Behaviour of their Servants. As also, a Proposal, containing such Heads, or Constitutions, as would effectually answer this great end, and bring Servants of every Class to a just, and yet not a grievous Regulation. London: sold by S. Harding, at the Post House in St Martin's lane, and other Booksellers. 1724. 8vo. pp. 302.

164 A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Observation, viz: 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry: with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. With a Map of England and Wales by Mr Moll. Vol. 2. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee House, Covent garden; S. Chapman and J. Jackson, in Pall Mall; R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall. 1725.

165 Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business; or, Private Abuses public Grievances. Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women-Servants, Footmen, &c. With a Proposal for Amendment of the same, as also, for the clearing the Streets of those Vermin called Shoe Cleaners, and substituting in their stead many Thousands of industrious Poor now ready to starve. With divers other Hints of great Use to the Public. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of our Legislature, and the careful Perusal of all Masters and Mistresses of Families. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, in Cornhill; and sold by T. Warner, Paternoster row; A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; and E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange. 1725. 8vo. pp. 36.

This work gave rise to several curious replies. One of these is entitled 'Every Man mind his own Business; or, private Piques no public Precedents.' Being an Answer to a late scurrilous Pamphlet, entitled 'Everybody's Business Nobody's Business.' Written by an old peevish trading J—ce, whose false Reasoning is here exposed, the Cruelty of Masters and Mistresses exemplified, and the Hardships of Servants set in a clear light. In a letter to A—M—, Esq. By Catherine Comb-Brush, Lady's Woman. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1725. 8vo. Mrs Comb-Brush, who mistakes her author for a Justice of the Peace, is very eloquent in street-abuse. She is angry that "Mr Moreton's Essay is read in every house;" and adds, "His doctrines, like weeds, spread all abroad, and every master and mistress copy this great original." Another of De Foe's antagonists published 'Servitude:' a Poem. To which is prefixed an

Introduction, humbly submitted to the Considerations of all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Ladies who keep many servants. Also, a Postscript, occasioned by a late trifling Pamphlet, entitled 'Everybody's Business Nobody's.' Written by a Footman: in behalf of good Servants, and to excite the bad to their Duty. London: printed for T. Worrall, at the Judge's Head, against St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet street. 8vo. No date. De Foe's Pamphlet was reprinted in 1767.

166 Mere Nature Delineated; or, a Body without a Soul. Being Observations upon 'The Young Forester,' lately brought to town from Germany: with suitable Applications. Also a brief Dissertation upon the Usefulness and Necessity of Fools, whether political or natural. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster row. 1726. Price 1s. 6d. 8vo. pp. 123.

167 A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never sailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants, who afterwards proposed the setting up an East India Company in Flanders. London: printed for and sold by A. Bettsworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster row; and W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar. 1725.

168 An Essay upon Literature; or, An Inquiry into the Antiquity and Origin of Letters; proving that the Two Tables, written by the finger of God in Mount Sinai, was the first writing in the world; and that all other Alphabets derive from the Hebrew. With a short View of the Methods made use of by the Ancients to supply the Want of Letters before, and impose the Use of them after they were known. London: printed for Thomas Bowles, Printseller, next to the Chapter House, St Paul's Church-yard; John Clark, Bookseller, under the Piazza, Royal Exchange; and John Bowles, Printseller, over against the Stocks Market. 1726. 8vo. pp. 127.

169 The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern: in two Parts. Part I. Containing a state of the Devil's Circumstances, and the various turns of his Affairs, from his Expulsion out of Heaven to the Creation of Man; with Remarks on the several Mistakes concerning the Reason and Manner of his Fall. Also, his Proceedings with Mankind ever since Adam, to the first Planting of the Christian Religion in the World. Part II. Containing his more Private Conduct, down to the present Time: his Government, his Appearance, his Manner of Working, and the Tools he works with.

Bad as he is, the devil may be abused,
Be falsely charged and causelessly accused;
When men, unwilling to be blamed alone,
Shift all the crimes on him which are their own.

London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster row. 1726. 8vo. pp. 408.

In the second edition, published in the same year, it is called simply, 'The History of the Devil,' &c. but in the subsequent editions the original title is restored. A third edition was called for in 1734; a fourth in 1739; another in 1770; and since then it has been frequently reprinted both in London and the country.

170 The History of the Principal Discoveries and Improvements in the several Arts and

Sciences; particularly the great branches of Commerce, Navigation, and Plantation, in all parts of the known World. London: printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb; F. Clay, at the Bible; and D. Browne, at the Black Swan, without Temple Bar. 1727.

171 A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Observation, viz: 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry: with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. Vol. 3. Which completes the work, and contains a Tour through Scotland, &c. With a Map of Scotland by Mr Mole. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; and R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall. 1727.

172 A System of Magic; or, A History of the Black Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's most early Dealings with the Devil, and how the Acquaintance on both sides first began.

Our magic now commands the troops of hell,
The devil himself submits to charm and spell,
The conjuror in his orders and his rounds,
Just whistles up his spirits, as men do hounds;
The obsequious devil obeys the sorcerer's skill,
The mill turns round the horse, that first turns round
[the mill.]

London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick lane. 1727. 8vo. pp. 403.

173 An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. Being an Account of what they are, and are not. As also, how we may distinguish between the Apparitions of Good and Evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great Variety of Surprising and Diverting Examples, never published before.

By death transported to th' eternal shore,
Souls so removed revisit us no more;
Engrossed with joys of a superior kind,
They leave the trifling thoughts of life behind.

London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick lane. 1727. 8vo. pp. 395.

This work was issued for the third time, in 1738, with the following title: 'The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed; or, An Universal History of Apparitions, Sacred and Profane, under all Denominations, whether Angelical, Diabolical, or Human Souls departed, showing—1. Their various Returns to this World; with some Rules to know, by their Manner of Appearing, if they are Good or Evil ones. 2. The Differences of the Apparitions of Ancient and Modern Times; and an Inquiry into the Spiritual Doctrine of Spirits. 3. The many Species of Apparitions, their real Existence and Operations by Divine Appointment. 4. The nature of seeing Ghosts before and after Death; and how we should behave towards them. 5. The Effects of Fancy, Vapours, Dreams, Hyppo, and of real and imaginary Appearances. 6. A Collection of the most Authentic

Relations of Apparitions, particularly that surprising one attested by the learned Dr Scott. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick lane.' 8vo. pp. 395. It has since been reprinted in a smaller size.

174 The Protestant Monastery; or, a Complaint against the Brutality of the present Age, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to aged Persons. With a Caution to People in Years, how they give the Staff out of their own Hands, and leave themselves at the Mercy of others; concluding with a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where Persons of Small Fortunes may end their Days in Plenty, Ease, and Credit, without burthening their Relations, or accepting Public Charities. By Andrew Moreton, Esq., Author of 'Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business.' London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill; and other Booksellers. 1727. 8vo. pp. 31.

175 Parochial Tyranny; or, the Housekeeper's Complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial Assessments of Select Vestries, &c., with a plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the Distribution of Public Charities: together with a practicable Proposal for Amendment of the same, which will not only take off great part of the Parish Taxes now subsisting, but ease Parishioners from serving troublesome Offices, or paying exorbitant Fines. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill; and other Booksellers. 8vo.

176 A New Family Instructor. In Familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children, on the most Essential Points of the Christian Religion. In Two Parts. Part I. Containing a Father's Instructions to his Son upon his going to Travel into Popish Countries; and to the rest of his Children on his Son's turning Papist; confirming them in the Protestant Religion, against the Absurdities of Popery. Part II. Instructions against the Three Grand Errors of the Times; viz. 1. Asserting the Divine Authority of the Scripture against the Deists. 2. Proofs that the Messiah is already come, &c.; against the Atheists and Jews. 3. Asserting the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that He was really the same with the Messiah, and that Messiah was to be really God; against our Modern Heretics. With a Poem on the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ; in Blank Verse. By the Author of 'The Family Instructor.' London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster row. 1727. 8vo. pp. 384.

A second edition, with a varying title, was published, in 1732, by C. Rivington and T. Warner. It is there called 'A New Family Instructor: containing a Brief and Clear Defence of the Christian Religion in general, against the Errors of the Atheists, Jews, Deists, and Sceptics: and of the Protestant Religion in particular, against the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children. In Two Parts, &c.

177 A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed; showing, 1. The Nature of Matrimony, its Sacred Original,

and the true Meaning of its Institution. 2. The gross Abuse of Matrimonial Chastity, from the wrong Notions which have possessed the World, degenerating even to Whoredom. 3. The Diabolical Practice of attempting to prevent Child-bearing by Physical Preparations. 4. The fatal Consequence of clandestine or forced Marriages, through the Persuasion, Interest, or Influence of Parents and Relations, to wed the Person they have no Love for, but often an Aversion to. 5. Of unequal Matches as in the Disproportion of Age; and how such many ways occasion a Matrimonial Whoredom. 6. How married Persons may be guilty of Conjugal Lewdness, and that a Man may, in effect, make a Whore of his own Wife. Also many other Particulars of Family concern. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster row. 1727. Price 5s. 8vo. pp. 406.

This work was at first called 'Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom;' but this title being considered offensive to delicacy, the author immediately cancelled it, and substituted the above title.

178 The Complete English Tradesman: in Familiar Letters, directing him in all the several Parts and Professions of Trade; viz. 1. Of acquainting him with Business during his Apprenticeship. 2. Of Writing to Correspondents in a Trading Style. 3. Of Diligence and Application, as the Life of all Business. 4. Cautions against Over-trading. 5. Of the ordinary Occasions of a Tradesman's Ruin; such as expensive Living, too early Marrying, Innocent Diversions, too much Credit, being above Business, Dangerous Partnerships, &c. 6. Directions in several Distresses of a Tradesman, when he comes to fail. 7. Of Tradesmen compounding with other Tradesmen, and why they are so particularly severe upon one another. 8. Of Tradesmen ruining one another by Rumours and Scandal. 9. Of the customary Frauds of Trade, and particularly of Trading Lies. 10. Of Credit, and how it is only to be supported by Honesty. 11. Of Punctual Paying Bills, and thereby Maintaining Credit. 12. Of the Dignity and Honour of Trade in England, more than in other countries. To which is added, a Supplement; containing, 1. A Warning against Tradesmen's borrowing Money upon Interest. 2. A Caution against that destructive Practice of drawing and remitting, as also discounting Promissory Bills, merely for a supply of Cash. 3. Directions for the Tradesman's Accounts, with brief, but plain Examples and Specimens for Book-keeping. 4. Of Keeping a Duplicate or Pocket Ledger, in case of Fire. London: printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, St Paul's Church-yard. 1727. 8vo. pp. 474.

179 The Complete English Tradesman, Voll II. In Two Parts. Part I. Directed chiefly to the more Experienced Tradesman; with Cautions and Advices to them after they

are thriven, and supposed to be grown Rich, viz. 1. Against running out of their Business into needless Projects and dangerous Adventures, no Tradesman being above Disaster. 2. Against Oppressing one another by Engrossing, Underselling, Combinations in Trade, &c. 3. Advices, that when he leaves off Business, he should part Friends with the World; the great Advantages of it; with a Word of the scandalous Character of a Purse-proud Tradesman. 4. Against being Litigious and Vexatious, and apt to go to Law for Trifles; with some Reasons why Tradesmen's Differences should, if possible, be all ended by Arbitration. Part II. Being useful generals in Trade, describing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain; with large Tables of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Consumption at Home, &c., by all which the infinite number of our Tradesmen are Employed, and the general Wealth of the Nation raised and increased. The whole calculated for the Use of all our Inland Tradesmen, as well in the City as in the Country. London: Charles Rivington. 1727. 8vo. pp. 474.

- 180 A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a Complete Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In Three Parts: 1. Containing a View of the present Magnitude of the English Trade as it respects the Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture. 2. The Importation of Merchant Goods from Abroad. 3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home. Part II. Containing an Answer to that great and important Question now depending, whether our Trade, and especially our Manufactures, are in a declining Condition, or no? Part III. Containing several Proposals, entirely new, for Extending and Improving our Trade, and Promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Consideration of King and Parliament. London: printed for Charles Rivington. 1728. 8vo. pp. 368.

To the second edition in 1730 were added 'An Appendix, containing a View of the Increase of Commerce, not only of England, but of all the Trading Nations of Europe since the Peace with Spain.' A third edition in 8vo. was printed by Rivington in 1737; in which it is called, by mistake, the *second*.

- 181 The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton; from the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served to the Conclusion of the Peace at Utrecht, 1713. Illustrating some of the most Remarkable Transactions both by Sea and Land during the Reigns of

King Charles and King James II, hitherto unobserved by all the Writers of those Times. Together with an exact Series of the War in Spain; and a particular Description of the several Places of the Author's Residence in many Cities, Towns, and Countries; their Customs, Manners, &c. Also Observations on the Genius of the Spaniards (among whom he continued some Years a Prisoner); their Monasteries and Nunneries, especially that fine one at Montserrat; and in their Public Diversions, more particularly their famous Bull Feasts. London: printed for E. Symon, over against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill. 1728. 8vo. pp. 352.

The book was reprinted in London in 1743, and again at Edinburgh in 1808.

- 182 Augusta Triumphans; or, the Way to make London the most Flourishing City in the Universe. 1. By Establishing a University, where Gentlemen may have an Academical Education, under the eye of their Friends. 2. To prevent much, &c., by an Hospital for Foundlings. 3. By Suppressing Pretended Mad-Houses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly Confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are locked up for the sake of their Jointures. 4. To save our Children from Destruction, by clearing the Streets of Impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gambling-Tables, and Sunday Debauches. 5. To avoid the expensive Importation of Foreign Musicians, by forming an Academy of our own. 6. To save our Lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and render them useful, by preventing the immoderate Use of Geneva; with a frank Exposure of many other common Abuses, and incontestible Rules for Amendment. Concluding with an effectual Method to prevent Street Robberies; and a Letter to Colonel Robinson, on account of the Orphan's Tax. London: printed for J. Roberts and other Booksellers. 1728. 8vo. pp. 63.

- 183 Second Thoughts are Best; or, a further Improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies. By which our Streets will be so strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noonday, and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the Public Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the Good of his Country, submitted to the Consideration of Parliament, and dedicated to his Sacred Majesty King George II. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill, and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick lane. 1729. Price 6d. 8vo. pp. 24.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO DE FOE.

A Modest Inquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters in England; and who they are that brought the French Fleet into the English Channel, described. London. 1690. 4to.

This tract was probably by John Dunton, as well as a second pamphlet, with a similar title, which followed it.

2 A Voyage to the World of Cartesius. Written originally in French. Translated into English by T. Taylor, M. A., of Magdalen College, Oxford. London: printed for Thomas Bennet, at the Half Moon, in St Paul's Churchyard. 1692. 8vo. pp. 298. Second Edition, 1694.

The Paris edition of this work, whence this translation was made, appeared in 1691, and common report assigned the authorship to Father Daniel, the Jesuit. There does not seem to be any reason for ascribing the above work to any other than the person whose name it bears, and of whom an account is given in Wood Athenæ II, 1023, who mentions his 'Voyage to the World of Cartesius,' and another of his works—'A Comparison of Thucydides and Livy, 1694.' 8vo. His name is to the English translation of 'Malebranche's Search after Truth, 1694,' folio, which Dunton ascribes to Richard Sault. Mr Taylor also translated 'The History of the Jews,' in continuation of Josephus, from the French of M. Basnage, 1708, folio.

3 The Complete Mendicant; or, the Unhappy Beggar. Being the Life of an Unfortunate Gentleman, &c. London. 1699. 8vo.

4 The Free State of Noland; or the Fame and Constitution of that Happy, Noble, Powerful, and Glorious State, &c. London. 1701.

5 Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observer. London. 1702.

6 Lex Talionis; or, the Persecution of Protestants in France. London. 1702.

These two tracts were inserted in the spurious collection of De Foe's works, but he himself expressly denies having written them.

7 Advice to the Ladies. By the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.'

Early in the summer of 1702 a pamphlet so entitled was cried about the streets by the hawkers of news, and eagerly bought up as the work of De Foe; whose name was a passport to popularity, and a constant source of profit to persons of that description. In disavowing the performance, he speaks with becoming indignation against those who practised such a cheat upon the public, and complains that his name was hawked about the street in every ballad; but to publish this abuse to the world as often as it occurred, he tells us, would be to banter himself, and impose upon his friends; "since the similitude between the brats and the fathers will, generally speaking, clear him of the scandal." But, that his friends may be imposed upon as little as possible, he assures them—"That he writes nothing but what he publicly owns, shows his face to, and professes to be his." He says he had never written anything for the hawkers; but whatever of his real works had been cried in the streets was pirated by worthless printers, a sort of pick-pockets, who get money just about as honestly as others do on the highway, and then justify it by law."

8 The Comical History of the Life and Death of Mumper, Generalissimo of King Charles the Second's Dogs. By Heliostrapolis, Secretary to the Emperor of the Moon. London: printed in the year 1704. 8vo.

9 Dictionarium Sacrum seu Religiosum. A Dictionary of all Religions, Ancient and Modern; whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian, or Mahometan. More particularly comprehending—1. The Lives and Doctrines of the Authors and Propagators. 2. The respective Divisions, Sects, and Heresies. 3. Not only the True, but False Objects of Worship, such as Heathen Gods, Tools, &c. 4. The various Ways and Places of Adoration. 5. All Religious Orders and Communities. 6. Sacred Rites, Utensils, and Festivals. 7. Distinct Offices and Functions. 8. Rules, Customs, Ceremonies, &c. London: printed for James Knapton, at the Crown, in St Paul's Churchyard. 1704. 8vo.

This was the first attempt to embody a history of religious opinions in the form of a dictionary. For associating the name of De Foe with this work, there is no other evidence than public report and booksellers' catalogues—both very doubtful authorities.

10 Historical Account of the Principles of the Highflyers. London. 1703.

11 A True State of the Difference between Sir George Rooke, Knt., and William Colepeper, Esq.; together with an Account of the Trial between Mr Nathaniel Denew, Mr Robert Britton, and Mr Merriam, before the Right Honourable Sir John Holt, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of England, on an Indictment for the Designs and Attempts therein mentioned, against the Life of the said William Colepeper, on behalf of the said Sir George Rooke. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704.

This work is ascribed to De Foe by Leslie, in his *Rehearsals*, but without any apparent reason. It is probable that Mr Colepeper himself was the author.

12 The Lay-Man's Sermon upon the late Storm; held forth at an honest Coffee House Conventicle. Not so much a Jest as it is thought to be. 4to. 1704.

13 Coffee House Preachers; or, High Church Divinity Corrected, &c. By William Smithies, junior. London. 1706.

There is no reason to suppose but that this work, though certainly in the manner of De Foe, was written by the person whose name is attached to it.

14 The Fifteen Comforts of a Scotchman. Written by Daniel De Foe, in Scotland. London: printed in the year 1707. 8vo. pp. 8.

The object of it is to point out the advantages which

Scotland would reap from the Union. These are displayed in the true doggrel style, inferior to the worst of De Foe's performances, and it is highly improbable that he had any hand whatever in it. The hawkers, who gained a livelihood by vending such trash, found their account in having the name of a writer who commanded a ready sale for their goods.

- 15 A Discourse concerning Trouble of Mind, arising from sundry Temptations. Exemplified in the Remarkable Life of a Private Gentleman; with Reflections thereon. In Three Parts. Intended to awaken the Presumptuous, convince the Sceptick, and encourage the Despondent. Left under his own Hand, to be communicated to the Publick after his Decease. London: 1708.

A second edition of the work was published, three years afterwards, with the following title, by which it is now generally known: 'An Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of a Private Gentleman; with Reflections thereon.' In Three Parts, &c. Whether De Foe had any share whatever in handing these papers to the world, may be questioned very much. There is nothing but common report to warrant the supposition, for there is no internal evidence of it. A copy of the work, in the possession of Mr Wilson, ascribes it to a Dr Woodcock. The late Dr Hamilton announced it to be the experience of Sir William Hamilton, Physician to Queen Anne.

- 16 Vox Dei, Vox Populi. Being True Maxims of Government, &c. London: 1709.

A second edition was published in the early part of the next year, under the title of 'The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms and Nations,' &c., by which it is now generally known. The authorship of this excellent work has been sometimes assigned to De Foe; it is doubtful, but is now generally given to Lord Somers.

- 17 The High Church Address to Dr Henry Sacheverell, for the Great Service he has done the Established Church and Nation. Wherein is shown the Justice of the Proceedings of those Gentlemen who have encouraged the pulling down and destroying those Nurseries of Schism, the Presbyterian Meeting Houses. Submitted to the Consideration of all good Churchmen and Dissenters. London: J. Baker. 1710. Price One Penny.

This work has been given to De Foe, but he expressly denies having written any penny pamphlets.

- 18 Mars stripped of his Armour: or, the Army displayed in all its true Colours. Containing the Character of the Army in general, and the various Descriptions of Persons of which it is composed. By the Author of the 'Wooden World Dissected.' London: 1709. 8vo.

This work is ascribed to De Foe by a late writer of his life, who speaks of it as the best of his satirical performances. But whatever merit may be assigned to it, Ned Ward has the best claim to both works.

- 19 Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli, at the Hague. Giving a particular Account of his Birth, Education, Slavery, Monastic State, Imprisonment in the Inquisition at Rome, and the different Figures he has since made, as well in Italy as in France and Holland. Done into English from the second edition of the French. London. 1709.

Rozelli was a famous gout doctor of his time, and is alluded to as such in the 'Tatler.' A second volume was added many years afterwards, under the following title: 'A Continuation of the Life and Adventures of Signor

Rozelli, late of the Hague.' A fourth edition of the whole work was published by J. Osborn, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1740.* A cursory glance at these volumes will sufficiently satisfy the reader that they could not have proceeded from the pen of De Foe.

- 20 Faults on both Sides. An Essay upon the original Cause, Progress, and mischievous Consequences of the Factions in the Nation, &c. London: 1710.

This work, which was in answer to Hoodley's 'Thoughts of an Honest Tory,' and in defence of the new ministers, obtained great popularity at the time, and has been ascribed both to Harley and to De Foe; but probably without any just reason in either case.

- 21 Reasons against receiving the Pretender. Together with some Enquiries of the highest Importance to Great Britain. London: 1710.

There seems to be no good reason for ascribing this work to De Foe.

- 22 Character of a Modern Addresser. London. 1710.

A half-sheet, quarto. Advertised in the 'Review,' May 1. Mr Chalmers has inserted it in the List of De Foe's supposed writings. It was reprinted in a small collection of poems, called 'Whig and Tory, or Wit on Both Sides,' 1713, and is rather a satire upon De Foe and his politics; so that unless there were two works at the time with the same title, which is not likely, De Foe can have no claim to it.

- 23 The Secret History of Arlus and Odolphus, Ministers of State to the Empress of Grand-insula; in which are discovered the laboured Artifices formerly used for the Removal of Arlus, and the true Causes of his late Restoration, upon the Dismissal of Odolphus and the Quinquinvirate. Humbly offered to the good People of Grandinsula, who have not yet done wondering why that Princess would change so notable a Ministry. Printed in the year 1710.

De Foe has been made responsible for this publication, but certainly without any just reason.

- 24 The History of Addresses.

This work, so generally attributed to De Foe, of which the first volume appeared in a former year, and the second in 1711, was the work of Oldmixon, who expressly claims it in his 'Memoirs of the Press.'

- 25 Hannibal at our Gates, or the Progress of Jacobitism in the present Danger of the Pretender. J. Baker. 1712.

There does not appear any reason for giving this work to our author.

- 26 A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons to his Friend in the Country, relating to the Bill of Commerce. London. 1713.

The only authority for ascribing this tract to De Foe is that of Oldmixon, who, in reference to our author, is never to be relied upon.

- 27 Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved. Being Considerations on the State of the British Trade; particularly as it respects Holland, France, and the Dutch Barrier; the Trade to and from France; the Trade to Portugal, Spain, and the West Indies, and the

* The title of the French edition is as follows: 'L'Infortune Napolitaine: ou les Aventures du Signeur Rozelli. Qui contiennent l'Histoire de sa naissance, de son esclavage, de son etat monastique, de sa prison dans l'Inquisition, et des differentes figures qu'il a faites tant en Italie, qu'en France, et en Hollande. Enrichie d'un grand nombre de tailles douces, 2 tom. 2nd ed. à Paris, Chez Claude Rapin, Rue Saint Jaques. 1708.'

Fisheries of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, to Great Britain, by the Treaty of Peace and Commerce, lately concluded at Utrecht.

The first number appeared upon the 26th of May, 1713, and it continued to be published three times a week, upon Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. "This paper," says Boyer, "upon its first appearance abroad, was generally fathered upon the chief manager of the Treaty of Commerce, Arthur Moore, supposed to be assisted by the genius of Dr Davenant; but the latter solemnly disowned his having any share in it: and, indeed, it was soon after discovered to be the production of an ambidextrous, mercenary scribbler, Daniel De Foe, employed by the Earl of Oxford, who for this dirty work allowed him a considerable weekly salary, and who laid out all his skill in puzzling the argument by his verbose sophistry*; "all of which is equally false and scurrilous. Boyer's account, however, has been copied by Oldmixon, with increased virulence. This writer observes, "Foe, as well as the Lord-Treasurer, had been a rank Presbyterian, and their genius was so near akin, that Harley could not but take him into his confidence as soon as he got acquainted with him. He was adored and caressed by that mighty statesman, who gave him, as that mercenary said himself, to the value of one thousand pounds in one year. Foe's business," continues Oldmixon, "was only to puzzle the cause by mercantile cant and bold sophistry, which several eminent merchants and others being apprised thereof, they desired Mr Henry Martin, bailiff of Southwark, an ingenious, judicious man, to publish a paper called 'The British Merchant,' which came out twice a week, wherein, with plain reason and uncontested matters of fact, he exposed the fallacies, blunders, inconsistencies, and ignorance of the hireling 'Mercator,' insomuch that at length the thoughts of true Englishmen about commerce, which at first was represented to be the effects of discontent and faction, as was hinted in the Queen's speech, appeared to be the universal sense of all traders."†

Tindal, following the writers above-mentioned, names De Foe at once as the author of 'Mercator.' He says, "The treaty was to be supported at any rate; the persons concerned in making it either could not or would not see their mistake; and the nation was to be convinced that, through their great skill in trade, they had made an excellent treaty of commerce. To these ends, Daniel De Foe was employed; though in a weekly paper, published some years before, called the 'Review,' he had very often condemned the French trade, as detrimental to this kingdom. He undertook, however, the cause now, and published a paper thrice a week, by the title of 'Mercator,' &c. In this paper he undertook to prove that the trade to France, though contrary to all experience, had always been beneficial to this kingdom, and would be so again, upon the foot of the treaty. And, as he had the art of writing very plausibly, and those who employed him and furnished him with materials had the command of all public papers in the Custom-house, he had it in his power to do a great deal of mischief, especially among such as were unskilled in trade, and at the same time very fond of French wines, which it was then a crime to be against.‡

Of the 'British Merchant,' set on foot in opposition to 'Mercator,' Tindal has given the following account: "Several ingenious merchants of long experience, and well skilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impositions of this writer. They knew he had many heads, besides the advantage of public papers to help him, and therefore thought the publication of a joint weekly paper the most feasible way to confute him, and set our trade in a clear light, because they were sensible that it was impossible for any man to be master of so much experience as was required to furnish materials from so many different branches of our trade as would be touched upon in this debate. The paper they published was, in opposition to Daniel De Foe's title, called 'The British Merchant; or Commerce Preserved,' and was published twice a week. The person to whom the public was chiefly obliged for this paper, and who had the greatest hand in it, was Henry Martin, who was afterwards made Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports. He was assisted by Sir Charles Cooke, merchant, afterwards made Commissioner of Trade; Sir Theodore Jansen, Bart., James Milner, Theodore Torriano, Joshua Gee, Christopher Haynes, David Martin, merchants; and Charles King, who afterwards collected and reprinted those papers. Lord Halifax and General Stanhope had likewise a considerable share in the management

of this paper, which had so great an effect, that the thoughts of the Whigs about commerce, which at first were represented as the result of discontent and spirit of party, appeared to be the universal sense of all traders."§

Mr Chalmers, whose judgment will be most approved, gives the true history and character of these papers. "The first 'Mercator,'" says he, "was published on the 26th of May, 1713, the last on the 20th of July, 1714; and they were written by William Brown and his assistants, with great knowledge, great strength, and great sweetness, considering how much party then embittered every composition. The 'British Merchant,' which opposed the 'Mercator,' and which was compiled by Henry Martin and his associates, has fewer facts, less argument, and more factiousness. It began on the 1st of August, 1713, and ended the 27th of July, 1714. I have spoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the present times. De Foe was struck at in the third number of the 'British Merchant,' and plainly mentioned in the fourth. "Mr Daniel De Foe may change his name from 'Review' to 'Mercator,' from 'Mercator' to any other title, yet still his singular genius shall be distinguished by his inimitable way of writing." This personal sarcasm was introduced to supply deficiency of facts, or weakness of reasoning. When Charles King re-published the 'British Merchant' in volumes, among various changes he expunged, with other personalities, the name of De Foe.¶ He, however, persisted in attributing 'Mercator' "to a hireling writer of a weekly paper called the 'Review;' and Anderson, copying from him, goes still further in his 'Chronology of Commerce,' and makes De Foe the "hireling writer" of 'Mercator,' and other papers, in favour of the French treaty of trade. But, as Mr Chalmers observes, "we can now judge with the impartiality of arbitrators. On the one hand, there are the living challenge and the death-bed declaration of De Foe; on the other, the mere surmise and unauthorised assertion of King, Anderson, and others, who detract from their own veracity by their own factiousness or foolery. It is surely time to free ourselves from prejudices of every kind, and to disregard the sound of names as much as the falsehoods of party."¶

28 *Les Soupirs de la Grande Bretagne; or, the Groans of Great Britain.* London. 1713. Price 1s.

29 *Secret History of One Year.* London. 1714.

30 *An Account of the Conduct of Robert Earl of Oxford.* 1715.

31 *Impeachment, or, No Impeachment.* London. 1715.

32 *Folly and Vanity of Impeaching.* London. 1715.

33 *The Triennial Bill impartially stated.* London. 1716.

This work has been attributed to De Foe, but Mr Chalmers is decidedly of opinion that it is not his. Boyer insults our author for it in his 'Political State,' and says that all the arguments against the bill were fully confuted "by the ingenious and judicious Joseph Addison, Esq." Upon this important subject many persons, equally judicious, have thought differently.

34 *Secret Memoirs of a Treasonable Conference at Somerset House.* London. 1717.

35 *A Letter from the Right Hon. Robert Walpole.* 1717.

36 *Some National Grievances represented.* 1717.

37 *What if the Swedes should come? With some Thoughts about keeping the Army on Foot, whether they come or not.* London. 1717.

This work, perhaps more from the likeness of the title to that of one of his former pieces than from any weightier consideration, has been sometimes ascribed to De Foe.

38 *An Argument proving that the Design of Employing and Ennobling Foreigners, is a Treasonable Conspiracy against the Constitution, Dangerous to the Kingdom, an*

* Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 633.

† Oldmixon's England, iii, 519.

‡ Tindal's England, iv, 315.

§ Tindal's England, iv, 316.

¶ Life of De Foe, p. 39.

¶ De Foe's own statement upon the subject will be found in his 'Appeal to Honour and Justice.'

Affront to the Nobility of Scotland in particular, and dishonourable to the Peerage of Great Britain in general. With an Appendix; wherein an Insolent Pamphlet, entitled 'The Anatomy of Great Britain,' is Anatomised; and its design and author detected and exposed. London. 1717. 8vo. pp. 102.

Boyer, in his 'Political State,' ascribes this work also to De Foe, and as such it was replied to by Toland, the author of 'The State Anatomy,' in a second part of that work, in which he frequently points to De Foe by name, and handles him with great severity as his supposed antagonist; but in this he was mistaken, as is fully apparent from the rejoinder of his former adversary, who published 'A Further Argument against Ennobling Foreigners,' in which the writer acquaints Toland, that in seeking for an author to fight with, he had dressed up a man of straw; and "finding it greatly to his purpose, that De Foe, author of 'The True-Born Englishman,' should pass for the author of the 'Argument against Ennobling Foreigners,' he has singled him out, and fallen upon him in a most merciless manner. He has recommended him to the revenge of his foreigners, and to the resentment of the government. He has exposed, ridiculed, bantered, and in a word, as far as in him lies, murdered the man; and yet all this while, this man, as I find, was no more author of this book than the man in the moon. Nay, as I hear, for I have no knowledge of the man, he has been sick in his bed all the while. In carrying on this tragi-comedy, he takes care to summon for evidence all that this De Foe has said upon the same subject, in his pamphlets and poems formerly written, and to confront this with what I have said now. Mr Toland hath taken a wrong aim, and charged a man falsely with writing a book who really has no concern in it, or about it." In another place the writer says, "If Mr Baker, the publisher, were not just at the point of death, while this is at the press, a particular account of that part would be given; but it is none of my business to vindicate De Foe, however injuriously he may be treated." Toland had charged De Foe with being a writer in *Mercurius Politicus*, but without any real foundation.

39 An Account of the Conduct of Lord Viscount Townshend. 1717.

40 The History of the Press-yard; or a brief Account of the Customs and Ceremonies that are put in practice, and to be met with in that ancient Repository of living Bodies, called his Majesty's Gaol of Newgate, in London. London. 1717.

This account of the behaviour of the rebel prisoners during their confinement appears to have been written by one of their own class, who was chamber-fellow with young Bottair in Newgate; so that De Foe can have no pretensions to the authorship.

41 Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsieur Mesnager, at the Court of England, towards the Close of the last Reign, &c. Written by himself, and done out of French. London. 1717.

A second edition of this work, printed for J. Roberts, was published in 1736. There is nothing but traditional authority for ascribing this work to De Foe, and its internal character affords just reason for believing that it has no solid foundation. Although pretending to be a translation from the French, it was composed in England, but not by the French agent named in the title. It contains a curious narrative of the secret intrigues that brought about the peace of Utrecht, bearing upon the face of it every mark of authenticity; and as such it has been appealed to by most of our historians. Savage, in his satire 'On False Historians,' speaks of it as "a book calculated to vilify the administration in the four last years of Queen Anne's reign;" and pronounces it a forgery.

"Some usurp names—an English garreteer
From minutes forged, is Monsieur Mesnager."

Oldmixon, in his reply to Bishop Atterbury, p. 7, expressly says that Mesnager's negotiation was written by De Foe, and that he composed it, "by direction or encouragement of the quondam treasurer, Harley, who could not

but be well acquainted with the subject described." This writer, however, is so often *mistaken* in his representations of things, that no great reliance is to be placed on his testimony. Boyer's *Political State*, Vol. XIII, June 1717, p. 631, contains the following passage:—"As for the forger of Monsieur Mesnager's minutes, whom I have promised to point out, I shall acquaint my readers, that in the general opinion, to which I easily subscribe, he is the same I had not long ago (see *Political State* for February, 1716, and 1717, p. 123) occasion to describe as a scribbler (*Trium Literatum*) famous for writing upon, for, and against all manner of persons, subjects, and parties, a description which perfectly answers his character. This man has formerly put his name to some of his low productions; but having been stigmatised by an ignominious punishment, he has since concealed it with all possible industry, and at the same time prostituted his pen to the vilest purposes. He was thought a fit tool for the designs in hand by those who had the administration of affairs during the four last years of the last reign; who, among other dirty work, put him upon writing a weekly paper, called 'Mercator,' calculated to procure an easy passage to a bill, by which a great branch of the trade of Great Britain was to have been given up. The beneficence of his masters, and in particular of the E— of O—, enabled him to repair and beautify his habitation at Newington, where he had set up his forge of politics and scandal, from which, for these six years past, he supplies monthly, often weekly, the publishers in and about Paternoster row. To this famous writer we are, among other learned lucubrations, indebted for—1. The Secret History of the White Staff, in three parts. 2. A Secret History of One Year. 3. Advice to the People of Great Britain, with respect to two important Questions—I. What they ought to expect from the King. II. How they ought to behave to him. 4. An Account of the Conduct of Robert Earl of Oxford. 5. Impeachment, or no Impeachment. 6. The Folly and Vanity of Impeaching. 7. An Account of the Two Nights' Court at Greenwich. 8. An Account of a Conference at S—t House. 9. A Letter from the Right Honourable Robert Walpole. 10. Some National Grievances represented. 11. An Argument against Employing and Ennobling Foreigners. 12. An Account of the Conduct of Lord Viscount Townsend. 13. *Mercurius Politicus*; or, Monthly Scandal upon the present Government. 14; and lastly, Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsieur Mesnager. That this last doughty piece came from the same forge with the rest, will immediately appear to any one who shall take the pains to consider the loose style and long-winded spinning way of writing, which is the same in all the productions of this celebrated author," &c.

In the following month (July 1717) of 'Boyer's *Political State*,' at the end is the following passage:—"I shall conclude with acquainting my readers, that whereas, in the last journal for the month of June, 1717, page 631, I had said, that in the general opinion, to which I easily subscribed, the forger of Monsieur Mesnager's minutes was a person I had not long before occasion to describe as a scribbler, *Trium Literatum*, &c. One De Foe thinking himself the person meant by me, has lately in print denied himself to be the author of the said forgery, which, therefore, must look out for a father. This is all the answer I shall return to the scurrilities plentifully bestowed on me, upon that idle pretence in a long advertisement lately published; for I shall never descend so low as to enter the Billingsgate lists either with branded De Foe, or any other scribbler of that stamp."

Great political warmth of feeling seems to have existed between Boyer and De Foe, which, to the credit of the former, subsided by the following printed account of the death of the latter in the 'Political State' for April, 1731: "About the end of this month died Mr Daniel De Foe, sen., a person well known for his numerous and various writings; by some of which it appears that he had a good natural genius, and he was generally looked on as a man who thoroughly understood the theory of trade, and the true interest of this nation; but he never had the good fortune to be much taken notice of by any minister of state, so that he got but little by his knowledge."

42 Some Persons Vindicated against the Author of the Defection. London. 1717.

The author was probably R. Walpole.

43 Remarks upon Febrifugium Magnum. 1722.

44 Flagellum; or, a Dry Answer to Dr Hancock. 1723.

45 The Comical Pilgrim; or, Travels of a Cynick Philosopher through the most

Wicked Parts of the World; namely, England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and Holland, &c. London. 1723.

A cursory glance at this work will be sufficient to show that De Foe could not have been the author.

- 46 A Spy upon the Conjuror; or, a Collection of surprising Stories; with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the Name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Merit of his Productions. Written to my Lord —, by a Lady, who, for more than twenty years past, has made it her business to observe all Transactions in the Life and Conversation of Mr Campbell. London: sold by Mr Campbell, at the Green-Hatch, Buckingham Court, Whitehall; and at Burton's Coffee House, Charing Cross. 1724. 8vo. pp. 259.

In all the subsequent editions the name of Mrs Eliza Haywood, the novelist, appears on the title page, and there does not seem any reason for depriving her of the authorship of the work.

- 47 The Dumb Projector. Being a surprising Account of a Trip to Holland, made by Mr Duncan Campbell. With the Manner of his Reception and Behaviour there. As also the various and diverting Occurrences that happened on his Departure. London: printed for W. Ellis and others. 1725. 8vo. pp. 40. Price 6d.

- 48 The Friendly Dæmon; or, the Generous Apparition. Being a true Narrative of a miraculous Cure, newly performed upon that famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, Dr Duncan Campbell, by a familiar Spirit that appeared to him in a White Surplice, like a Cathedral Singing-Boy. London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick lane. 1726.

If, by our senses, spirits we perceive,
Or from the strength of fancy, we believe,
No fault do we commit that merits blame,
If to the public we repeat the same.
For, whether by our eyes, we spectres see
Or by a second sight, we must agree,
Things are to us as they appear to be.

These works would also appear to be the productions of Mrs Haywood.

- 49 Tour through the Austrian Netherlands. 1725.

By Mackay, the author of 'The Journey through England,' already referred to.

- 50 The Four Years' Voyages of Captain Roberts. London. 1726.

This work, of which there was a new edition in 1815, was written, in all probability, by Chetwood, the author of 'The Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle.'

- 51 Dissectio Mentis Humanæ; or, a Satyric Essay on Modern Critics, Stage and Epic Poets, Translators, Drolls, Ill-Repute, Burials, Great Guns and Gunpowder, Physicians, Sleep, Politicians, Patrons, Necessity, Philosophers, Prophets, Conjurors, Witches, Astrologers, Stars, Gypsies, Cunning Men, Physiognomy, Giants, Human Complexions, Fictitious Beings, Elves or Fairies, Apparitions, Men of Business, Wealth, Pride and Avarice, Virtue and Sense, Courage, Honour, Education, Conversation, Travail, a Vicious Taste, a City and Country Life, Flattery, Law, Custom and Reason, Free-Thinking, Religion, Priestcraft, Publick Justice, Learning and Learned Men, Curious Arts, Love and Friendship, Ambition, Truth, Greatness, and Life. London: printed for T. Warner, 1730. 8vo. pp. 100.

- 52 Life of Mrs Christian Davis, otherwise Mother Ross. London. 1740.

The idea that this is the production of De Foe has long since been abandoned by every person at all acquainted with the subject.

LONDON:

REPRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL, LITTLE PULTENEY STREET;
AND

PUBLISHED BY J. CLEMENTS, AT 21 AND 22, IN THE SAME STREET.

MDCCCXL.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

PREFACE
MOST REMARKABLE LIFE AND EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES

OF THE

TRULY HONORABLE COLONEL JACQUE,

VULGARLY CALLED

COLONEL JACK;

WHO WAS BORN A GENTLEMAN,

PUT APPRENTICE TO A PICK-POCKET,

FLOURISHED SIX AND TWENTY YEARS AS A THIEF,

AND WAS THEN KIDNAPPED TO VIRGINIA: CAME BACK A MERCHANT,

WAS FIVE TIMES MARRIED TO FOUR WHORES, WENT INTO THE WARS, BEHAVED BRAVELY,
GOT PREFERMENT, WAS MADE COLONEL OF A REGIMENT; RETURNED AGAIN TO ENGLAND,

FOLLOWED THE FORTUNES OF THE CHEVALIER DE ST GEORGE, WAS TAKEN AT THE PRESTON

REBELLION; RECEIVED HIS PARDON FROM THE LATE KING, IS NOW AT THE HEAD

OF HIS REGIMENT, IN THE SERVICE OF THE CZARINA, FIGHTING AGAINST

THE TURKS, COMPLETING A LIFE OF WONDERS,

AND RESOLVES TO DIE A GENERAL.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. BROTHERTON.

1722.

HISTORY

MOST REMARKABLE LIFE AND EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES

THIRTY HONORABLE COLONEL JACQUE

LONDON:

REPRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL,
LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

MDCCCXI.

PREFACE.

PREFACES are so customary before books of this nature, to introduce them into the world by a display of their excellences, that it might be thought too presuming to send this performance abroad without some such preliminary. And yet I may venture to say it needs this good office as little as any that has ever gone before it. The pleasant and delightful part speaks for itself; the useful and instructive is so large, and has such a tendency to improve the mind and rectify the manners, that it would employ a volume large as itself to particularize the instructions that may be drawn from it.

Here is room for just and copious observations on the blessings and advantages of a sober and well-governed education, and the ruin of so many thousands of all ranks in this nation for want of it; here, also, we may see how much public schools and charities might be improved, to prevent the destruction of so many unhappy children, as, in this town, are every year bred up for the executioner.

The miserable condition of multitudes of youth, many of whose natural tempers are docible, and would lead them to learn the best things rather than the worst, is truly deplorable, and is abundantly seen in the history of this man's childhood; where, though circumstances formed him by necessity to be a thief, surprising rectitude of principles remained with him, and made him early abhor the worst part of his trade, and at length to forsake the whole of it. Had he come into the world with the advantage of a virtuous education, and been instructed how to improve the generous principles he had in him, what a figure might he not have made, either as a man or a Christian.

The various turns of his fortune, in different scenes of life, make a delightful field for the reader to wander in; a garden where he may gather wholesome and medicinal fruits, none noxious or poisonous; where he will see virtue and the ways of wisdom everywhere applauded, honoured, encouraged, and rewarded; vice and extravagance attended with sorrow, and every kind of infelicity; and at last, sin and shame going together, the offender meeting with reproach and contempt, and the crimes with detestation and punishment.

PREFACE.

Every vicious reader will here be encouraged to a change, and it will appear that the best and only good end of an impious, misspent life is repentance; that in this there is comfort, peace, and oftentimes hope that the penitent shall be received like the prodigal, *and his latter end be better than his beginning.*

A book founded on so useful a plan, calculated to answer such valuable purposes as have been specified, can require no apology; nor is it of any concern to the reader whether it be an exact historical relation of real facts, or whether the hero of it intended to present us, at least in part, with a moral romance. On either supposition, it is equally serviceable for the discouragement of vice and the recommendation of virtue.

DANIEL DE FOE.

THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—I AM DESERTED BY MY PARENTS ALMOST AS SOON AS BORN.—NICKNAMED BY MY NURSE, COLONEL JACK.—CHARACTERS OF THE THREE JACKS—COLONEL JACK, CAPTAIN JACK, AND MAJOR JACK.—NURSE DIES, AND WE ARE TURNED LOOSE UPON THE WORLD.—CAPTAIN JACK FLOGGED FOR ROGUERY.—WE PICK POCKETS.

SEEING my life has been such a chequer work of nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer distance than is ordinarily the fate of the clan to which I once belonged, I think my history may find a place in the world, as well as some, which I see are every day read with pleasure, though they have in them nothing so diverting, or instructing, as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as anybody's for aught I know, for my mother kept very good company, but that part belongs to her story more than to mine; all I know of it is by oral tradition. My nurse told me my mother was a gentlewoman, that my father was a man of quality, and she (my nurse) had a good piece of money given her to take me off his hands, and deliver him and my mother from the importunities that usually attend the misfortune of having a child to keep, that should not be seen or heard of.

My father, it seems, gave my nurse something more than was agreed for, at my mother's request, upon her solemn promise that she would use me well, and let me be put to school; and charged her, that if I lived to come to any bigness, capable to understand the meaning of it, she should always take care to bid me remember that I was a gentleman; and this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me; for he did not doubt, he said, but that some time or other, the very hint would inspire me with thoughts suitable to my birth, and that I would certainly act like a gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

But my disasters were not directed to an end as soon as they began. It is very seldom that the unfortunate are so but for a day; as the great rise by degrees of greatness to the pitch of glory in which they shine, so the miserable sink to the depth of their misery by a continued series of disaster, and are long in the tortures and agonies of their distressed circumstances,

before a turn of fortune, if ever such a thing happens to them, gives them a prospect of deliverance.

My nurse was as honest to the engagement she had entered into as could be expected from one of her employment, and particularly as honest as her circumstances would give her leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own son, and with another son of shame like me, who she had taken upon the same terms.

My name was John, as she told me, but neither she or I knew anything of a surname that belonged to me; so I was left to call myself Mr Anything, what I pleased, as fortune and better circumstances should give occasion.

It happened that her own son (for she had a little boy of her own, about one year older than I) was called John too; and about two years after she took another son of shame, as I called it above, to keep as she did me, and his name was John too.

As we were all Johns, we were all Jacks, and soon came to be called so; for at that part of the town where we had our breeding, viz. near Goodman's fields, the Johns are generally called Jack; but my nurse, who may be allowed to distinguish her own son a little from the rest, would have him called captain, because, forsooth, he was the eldest.

I was provoked at having this boy called captain, and I cried, and told my nurse I would be called captain; for she told me I was a gentleman, and I would be a captain, that I would; the good woman, to keep the peace, told me, ay, ay, I was a gentleman, and therefore I should be above a captain, for I should be a colonel, and that was a great deal better than a captain; for, my dear, says she, every tarpawlin, if he gets but to be lieutenant of a press smack, is called captain, but colonels are soldiers, and none but gentlemen are ever made colonels; besides, says she, I have known colonels come to be lords and generals, though they were bastards at first, and therefore you shall be called colonel.

Well, I was hushed indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleased, till a little while after I heard her tell her own boy that I was a gentleman, and therefore he must call me colonel; at which her boy fell a crying, and he would be called colonel. That part pleased me to the life, that he should cry to be called colonel, for then I was satisfied that it was above a cap-

tain; so universally is ambition seated in the minds of men, that not a beggar-boy but has his share of it.

So here was Colonel Jack and Captain Jack: as for the third boy, he was only plain Jack for some years after, till he came to preferment by the merit of his birth, as you shall hear in its place.

We were hopeful boys all three of us, and promised very early, by many repeated circumstances of our lives, that we would all be rogues; and yet I cannot say, if what I have heard of my nurse's character be true, but the honest woman did what she could to prevent it.

Before I tell you much more of our story, it would be very proper to give you something of our several characters, as I have gathered them up in my memory as far back as I can recover things, either of myself, or my brother Jacks, and they shall be brief and impartial.

Captain Jack was the eldest of us all, by a whole year. He was a squat, big, strong-made boy, and promised to be stout when grown up to be a man, but not to be tall. His temper was sly, sullen, reserved, malicious, revengeful; and withal, he was brutish, bloody, and cruel in his disposition; he was as to manners a mere boor, or clown, of a carman-like breed: sharp as a street-bred boy must be, but ignorant and unteachable from a child. He had much the nature of a bull dog, bold and desperate, but not generous at all; all the schoolmistresses we went to could never make him learn, no, not so much as to make him know his letters; and, as if he was born a thief, he would steal everything that came near him, even as soon almost as he could speak; and that, not from his mother only, but from anybody else, and from us too that were his brethren and companions. He was an original rogue, for he would do the foulest and most villanous things, even by his own inclination; he had no taste or sense of being honest, no, not, I say, to his brother rogues, which is what other thieves make a point of honour of; I mean that of being honest to one another.

The other, that is to say the youngest of us Johns, was called Major Jack, by the accident following; the lady that had deposited him with our nurse had owned to her that it was a major of the guards that was the father of the child; but that she was obliged to conceal his name, and that was enough. So he was at first called John the Major, and afterwards the Major, and at last, when we came to rove together, Major Jack, according to the rest, for his name was John, as I have observed already.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious, pleasant boy, had a good share of wit, especially off-hand wit, as they call it; was full of jests and good humour, and, as I often said, had something of a gentleman in him. He had a true manly courage, feared nothing, and could look death in the face without any hesitation; and yet, if he had the advantage, was the most generous and most compassionate creature alive. He had native principles of gallantry in him, without anything of the brutal or terrible part that the captain had; and in a word, he wanted nothing but honesty to have made him an excellent man. He had learned to read, as I had done; and as he talked very well, so he wrote good sense, and very handsome

language, as you will see in the process of his story.

As for your humble servant, Colonel Jack, he was a poor unhappy tractable dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn anything, if he had had any but the devil for his schoolmaster; he set out into the world so early, that when he began to do evil, he understood nothing of the wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it. I remember very well that when I was once carried before a justice for a theft which indeed I was not guilty of, and defended myself by argument, proving the mistakes of my accusers, and how they contradicted themselves, the justice told me it was a pity I had not been better employed, for I was certainly better taught; in which, however, his worship was mistaken, for I had never been taught anything but to be a thief; except, as I said, to read and write, and that was all, before I was ten years old; but I had a natural talent of talking, and could say as much to the purpose as most people that had been taught much more than I.

I passed among my comrades for a bold, resolute boy, and one that durst fight anything; but I had a different opinion of myself, and therefore shunned fighting as much as I could, though sometimes I ventured, too, and came off well, being very strong made, and nimble withal. However, I many times brought myself off with my tongue, where my hands would not be sufficient; and this, as well after I was a man as while I was a boy.

I was wary and dexterous at my trade, and was not so often caught as my fellow rogues, I mean while I was a boy, and never, after I came to be a man, no, not once for twenty-six years, being so old in the trade, and still unchanged, as you shall hear.

As for my person, while I was a dirty glass-bottle-house boy, sleeping in the ashes, and dealing always in the street dirt, it cannot be expected but that I looked like what I was, and so we did all; that is to say, like a black your shoes your honour, a beggar boy, a blackguard boy, or what you please, despicable, and miserable to the last degree; and yet I remember, the people would say of me that boy has a good face, if he was washed and well dressed he would be a good, pretty boy; do but look what eyes he has, what a pleasant smiling countenance; it is a pity! I wonder what the rogue's father and mother were? and the like; then they would call me and ask me my name, and I would tell them my name was Jack. But what's your sirname, sirrah? says they; I don't know, says I. Who is your father and mother? I have none, said I. What, and never had you any? said they; No, says I, not that I know of. Then they would shake their heads, and cry—Poor boy! and 'tis a pity, and the like; and so let me go. But I laid up all these things in my heart.

I was almost ten years old, the captain eleven, and the major about eight, when the good woman, my nurse, died. Her husband was a seaman, and had been drowned a little before in the *Gloucester* frigate, one of the king's ships which was cast away going to Scotland with the Duke of York, in the time of King Charles II; and the honest woman dying very poor, the parish was obliged to bury her; when the three young Jacks attended

her corpse, and I, the colonel (for we all passed for her own children) was chief mourner, the captain, who was the eldest son, going back very sick.

The good woman being dead, we, the three Jacks, were turned loose to the world. As to the parish providing for us, we did not trouble ourselves much about that; we rambled about all three together, and the people in Rosemary lane and Ratcliff, and that way, knowing us pretty well, we got victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

For my particular part, I got some reputation for a mighty civil, honest boy; for if I was sent of an errand I always did it punctually and carefully, and made haste back again; and if I was trusted with anything I never touched it to diminish it, but made it a point of honour to be punctual to whatever was committed to me, though I was as arrant a thief as any of them in all other cases.

In like case, some of the poorer shop-keepers would often leave me at their door to look after their shops while they went up to dinner, or they went over the way to an ale-house, and the like, and I always did it freely and cheerfully, and with the utmost honesty.

Captain Jack, on the contrary, a surly, ill-looking rough boy, had not a word in his mouth that savoured either of good manners or good humour; he would say Yes, and No, just as he was asked a question, and that was all; but nobody got anything from him that was obliging in the least. If he was sent of an errand he would forget half of it, and it may be, go to play, if he met any boys, and never go at all; or, if he went, never come back with an answer; which was such a regardless, disobliging way, that nobody had a good word for him, and everybody said he had the very look of a rogue, and would come to be hanged. In a word, he got nothing of anybody for good will, but was as it were obliged to turn thief, for the mere necessity of bread to eat; for if he begged he did it with so ill a tone, rather like bidding folks give him victuals than entreating them, that one man, of whom he had something given, and knew him, told him one day, Captain Jack, says he, thou art but an awkward, ugly sort of a beggar now thou art a boy; I doubt thou wilt be fitter to ask a man for his purse, than for a penny, when thou comest to be a man.

The major was a merry, thoughtless fellow, always cheerful; whether he had any victuals or no, he never complained; and he recommended himself so well by his good carriage, that the neighbours loved him, and he got victuals enough one where or other. Thus we all made shift, though we were so little, to keep from starving; and as for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watch-houses, and on bulk-heads, and shop-doors, where we were known; as for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes, and nealing arches in the glass-house, called Dallow's Glass-house, in Rosemary lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff highway.

In this manner we lived for some years; and here we failed not to fall among a gang of naked, ragged rogues like ourselves, wicked as the devil could desire to have them be at so early an age, and ripe for all the other parts of mischief that suited them as they advanced in years.

I remember that one cold winter night we were disturbed in our rest with a constable and his watch, crying out for one Wry-neck, who it seems had done some roguery, and required a hue and cry of that kind; and the watch were informed he was to be found among the beggar boys under the nealing-arches in the glass-house.

The alarm being given, we were awakened in the dead of the night with—Come out here, ye crew of young devils, come out and show yourselves; so we were all produced, some came out rubbing their eyes and scratching their heads, and others were dragged out; and I think there was about seventeen of us in all, but Wry-neck, as they called him, was not among them. It seems this was a good big boy that used to be among the inhabitants of that place, and had been concerned in a robbery the night before, in which his comrade, who was taken, in hopes of escaping punishment, had discovered him, and informed where he usually harboured; but he was aware, it seems, and had secured himself, at least for that time. So we were allowed to return to our warm apartment among the coal-ashes, where I slept many a cold winter night; nay, I may say, many a winter—as sound, and as comfortably as ever I did since, though in better lodgings.

In this manner of living we went on a good while, I believe two years, and neither did, or meant, any harm. We generally went all three together, for, in short, the captain, for want of address, and for something disagreeable in him, would have starved if we had not kept him with us. As we were always together we were generally known by the name of the three Jacks; but Colonel Jack had always the preference, upon many accounts. The major, as I have said, was merry and pleasant, but the colonel always held talk with the better sort,—I mean the better sort of those that would converse with a beggar boy. In this way of talk I was always upon the inquiry, asking questions of things done in public as well as in private; particularly, I loved to talk with seamen and soldiers about the war, and about the great sea-fights, or battles on shore, that any of them had been in; and, as I never forgot anything they told me, I could soon, that is to say in a few years, give almost as good an account of the Dutch war, and of the fights at sea, the battles in Flanders, the taking of Maestricht, and the like, as any of those that had been there; and this made those old soldiers and tars love to talk with me too, and to tell me all the stories they could think of, and that not only of the wars then going on, but also of the wars in Oliver's time, the death of King Charles I and the like.

By this means, young as I was, I was a kind of an historian; and though I had read no books, and never had any books to read, yet I could give a tolerable account of what had been done, and of what was then a doing in the world, especially in those things that our own people were concerned in. I knew the names of every ship in the navy, and who commanded them too, and all this before I was 14 years old, or but very soon after.

Captain Jack in this time fell into bad company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard tale or tidings of him, till about half a year I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a gang of kid-

nappers, as they were then called, being a sort of wicked fellows that used to spirit people's children away; that is, snatch them up in the dark, and, stopping their mouths, carry them to houses where they had rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on board of ships bound to Virginia, and sell them.

This was a trade that horrid Jack, for so I called him when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent part; for if a little child got into his clutches he would stop the breath of it, instead of stopping its mouth, and never troubled his head with the child's being almost strangled, so he did but keep it from making a noise. There was, it seems, some villanous thing done by this gang about that time, whether a child was murdered among them, or a child otherwise abused; but it seems it was a child of an eminent citizen, and the parent somehow or other got a scent of the thing, so that they recovered their child, though in a sad condition, and almost killed. I was too young, and it was too long ago for me to remember the whole story, but they were all taken up and sent to Newgate, and Captain Jack among the rest, though he was but young, for he was not then much above thirteen years old.

What punishment was inflicted upon the rogues of that gang I cannot tell now, but the captain, being but a lad, was ordered to be three times soundly whipt at Bridewell; my lord mayor, or the recorder, telling him it was done in pity to him, to keep him from the gallows, not forgetting to tell him that he had a hanging look, and bid him have a care on that very account; so remarkable was the captain's countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many occasions. When he was in Bridewell I heard of his misfortune, and the major and I went to see him, for this was the first news we heard of what became of him.

The very day that we went he was called out to be corrected, as they called it, according to his sentence; and it was ordered to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the sentence; for the alderman, who was the president of Bridewell, and who, I think, they called Sir William Turner, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a youth should come to be hanged, and a great deal more, how he should take warning by it, and how wicked a thing it was that they should steal away poor innocent children, and the like; and all this while the man, with a blue badge on, lashed him most unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir William knocked with a little hammer on the table.

The poor captain stamped and danced, and roared out like a mad boy; and I must confess I was frightened almost to death; for though I could not come near enough, being but a poor boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his back all wealed with the lashes, and in several places bloody, and thought I should have died with the sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor captain when I got leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such whippings before they had done with

him; and indeed they scourged him so severely, that they made him sick of the kidnapping trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that trade lasted, for it ceased in a few years afterwards.

The major and I, though very young, had sensible impressions made upon us for some time by the severe usage of the captain, and it might be very well said, we were corrected as well as he, though not concerned in the crime; but it was within the year that the major, a good conditioned, easy boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young rogues that frequented the glass-house apartments, to take a walk with them, as they were pleased to call it; the gentlemen were very well matched, the major was about twelve years old, and the oldest of the two that led him out was not above fourteen; the business was to go to Bartholomew fair—was, in short, to pick pockets.

The major knew nothing of the trade, and therefore was to do nothing; but they promised him a share for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dexterous young rogues managed it so well, that about eight o'clock at night they came back to our dusty quarters at the glass-house, and sitting them down in a corner, they began to share their spoil by the light of the glass-house fire; the major lugged out the goods, for as fast as they made any purchase they unloaded themselves and gave all to him, that if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a devilish lucky day to them, the devil certainly assisting them to find their prey, that he might draw in a young gamester, and encourage him to the undertaking, who had been made backward before by the misfortune of the captain. The list of their purchase the first night was as follows:—

1. A white handkerchief from a country wench, as she was staring up at a jack-pudding; there was 3s. 6d. and a row of pins tied up in one end of it.

2. A coloured handkerchief, out of a young country fellow's pocket as he was buying a China orange.

3. A ribbon purse with 11s. 3d. and a silver thimble in it, out of a young woman's pocket, just as a fellow offered to pick her up.

N.B. She missed her purse presently, but not seeing the thief, charged the man with it that would have picked her up, and cried out—"A pick-pocket!" and he fell into the hands of the mob, but being known in the street he got off with great difficulty.

4. A knife and fork that a couple of boys had just bought, and were going home with; the young rogue that took it got it within the minute after the boy had put it in his pocket.

5. A little silver box with 7s. in it, all in small silver, 1d. 2d. 3d. 4d. pieces.

N.B. This it seems a maid pulled out of her pocket to pay at her going into the booth to see a show, and the little rogue got his hand in and fetched it off just as she put it up again.

6. Another silk handkerchief out a gentleman's pocket.

7. Another.

8. A jointed baby and a little looking-glass, stolen off a toy-seller's stall in the fair.

All this cargo to be brought home clear in one afternoon, or evening rather, and by only two little rogues so young, was, it must be confessed, extraordinary; and the major was elevated the next day to a strange degree.

He came very early to me, who lay not far from him, and said to me, "Colonel Jack, I want to speak with you." "Well," said I, "what do you say?" "Nay," said he, "it is business of consequence, I cannot talk here;" so we walked out; as soon as we were come out into a narrow lane by the glass-house, look here, says he, and pulls out his little hand almost full of money.

I was surprised at the sight, when he puts it up again, and bringing his hand out, "Here," says he, "you shall have some of it," and gives me a sixpence, and a shilling's-worth of the small silver pieces. This was very welcome to me, who, as much as I was of a gentleman, and as much as I thought of myself upon that account, never had a shilling of money together before in all my life, not that I could call my own.

I was very earnest then to know how he came by this wealth, for he had for his share 7s. 6d. in money, the silver thimble, and a silk handkerchief, which was, in short, an estate to him that never had, as I said of myself, a shilling together in his life.

"And what will you do with it now, Jack?" said I. "I do?" says he; "the first thing I do, I'll go into Rag fair and buy me a pair of shoes and stockings." "That's right," says I, "and so will I too;" so away we went together, and we bought each of us a pair of Rag fair stockings in the first place for 5d.; not 5d. a pair, but 5d. together, and good stockings they were, too, much above our wear, I assure you.

We found it more difficult to fit ourselves with shoes; but at last, having looked a great while before we could find any good enough for us, we found a shop very well stored, and of these we bought two pairs for sixteen-pence.

We put them on immediately to our great comfort, for we had neither of us had any stockings to our legs that had any feet to them for a long time: I found myself so refreshed with having a pair of warm stockings on, and a pair of dry shoes; things, I say, which I had not been acquainted with a great while, that I began to call to my mind my being a gentleman, and now I thought it began to come to pass: when we had thus fitted ourselves, I said, "Hark ye, Major Jack, you and I never had any money in our lives before, and we never had a good dinner in all our lives; what if we should go somewhere and get some victuals? I am very hungry."

"So we will then," says the major, "I am hungry too:" so we went to a boiling cook's in Rosemary lane, where we treated ourselves nobly, and, as I thought with myself, we began to live like gentlemen, for we had three-pennyworth of boiled beef, two pennyworth of pudding, a penny brick (as they call it, or loaf), and a whole pint of strong beer, which was 7d. in all.

N.B. We had each of us a good mess of charming beef-broth into the bargain; and, which cheered my heart wonderfully, all the while we were at dinner the maid and the boy in the house, every time they passed by the open box where we sat at our dinner, would look in, and cry, "Gen-

tleman, do you call?" and "Do ye call, gentlemen?" I say this was as good to me as all my dinner.

Not the best housekeeper in Stepney parish, not my lord mayor of London, no, not the greatest man on earth could be more happy in their own imagination, and with less mixture of grief or reflection, than I was at this new piece of felicity; though mine was but a small part of it, for Major Jack had an estate compared to me, as I had an estate compared to what I had before: in a word, nothing but an utter ignorance of greater felicity, which was my case, could make anybody think himself so exalted as I did, though I had no share of this booty but 18d.

That night the major and I triumphed in our new enjoyment, and slept with an undisturbed repose in the usual place, surrounded with the warmth of the glass-house fires above, which was a full amends for all the ashes and cinders which we rolled in below.

Those who know the position of the glass-houses, and the arches where they Neal the bottles after they are made, know that those places where the ashes are cast, and where the poor boys lie, are cavities in the brick-work, perfectly close, except at the entrance, and consequently warm as the dressing-room of a bagnio, that it is impossible they can feel any cold there, were it in Greenland, or Nova Zembla, and that therefore the boys lie not only safe, but very comfortably, the ashes excepted, which are no grievance at all to them.

The next day the major and his comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any disaster attend them for I know not how many months; and, by frequent imitation and direction, Major Jack became as dexterous a pick-pocket as any of them, and went on through a long variety of fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own story, which at present is the main thing I have to set down.

The major failed not to let me see every day the effects of his new prosperity, and was so bountiful as frequently to throw me a tester, sometimes a shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have clothes on his back, to leave the ash-hole, having gotten a society lodging (of which I may give an explanation by itself on another occasion) and which was more, he took upon him to wear a shirt, which was what neither he nor I had ventured to do for three years before and upward.

But I observed all this while, that though Major Jack was so prosperous, and had thriven so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me money upon many occasions, yet he never invited me to enter myself into the society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he; no, nor did he recommend the employment to me at all.

I was not very well pleased with his being thus reserved to me; I had learned from him in general, that the business was picking of pockets, and I fancied, that though the ingenuity of the trade consisted very much in sleight-of-hand, a good address, and being very nimble, yet that it was not at all difficult to learn; and especially I thought

the opportunities were so many, the country people that come to London so foolish, so gaping, and so engaged in looking about them, that it was a trade with no great hazard annexed to it, and might be easily learned, if I did but know in general the manner of it, and how they went about it.

CHAPTER II.

I GET ACQUAINTED WITH ONE OF THE MOST NOTED PICKPOCKETS IN TOWN—WE STEAL A LETTER CASE FULL OF BILLS—DREADFULLY DISTRESSED HOW TO DISPOSE OF MY SHARE OF THE BOOTY—MY COMRADE PROPOSES I SHALL RETURN THE BILLS AND GET THE REWARD PROMISED—PROCEEDINGS THEREUPON.

THE subtle devil, never absent from his business, but ready at all occasions to encourage his servants, removed all these difficulties, and brought me into an intimacy with one of the most exquisite divers, or pick-pockets, in the town; and this our intimacy was of no less a kind than that, as I had an inclination to be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking care that I should not be disappointed.

He was above the little fellows who went about stealing trifles and baubles in Bartholomew fair, and ran the risque of being mobbed for 3s. or 4s. His aim was at higher things, even at no less than considerable sums of money, and bills for more.

He solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shown me my trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would; that is, as he expressed it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for myself, if I pleased, and he would only wish me good luck.

Accordingly, as Major Jack went with his gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the purchase, and yet come in for a share; so he told me, if he had success, I should have my share as much as if I had been principal; and this he assured me was a custom of the trade, in order to encourage young beginners, and bring them into the trade with courage, for that nothing was to be done if a man had not the heart of the lion.

I hesitated at the matter a great while, objecting the hazard, and telling the story of Captain Jack my elder brother, as I might call him: "Well, colonel," says he, "I find you are faint-hearted, and to be faint-hearted is indeed to be unfit for our trade, for nothing but a bold heart can go through stitch with this work; but, however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no risque for you to run in these things the first time. If I am taken," says he, "you having nothing to do in it, they will let you go free; for it shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done, you had no hand in it."

Upon those persuasions I ventured out with him; but I soon found that my new friend was a thief of quality, and a pick-pocket above the ordinary rank, and that aimed higher abundantly than my brother Jack. He was a bigger boy than I a great deal; for though I was now near fifteen years old, I was not big of my age, and as to the nature of the thing, I was perfectly a stranger to it; I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the thing

as an offence: I looked on picking pockets as a trade, and thought I was to go apprentice to it; it is true, this was when I was young in the society, as well as younger in years, but even now I understood it to be only a thing for which, if we were caught, we ran the risque of being ducked or pumped, which we call soaking, and then all was over; and we made nothing of having our rags wetted a little; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the crime was capital, and that we might be sent to Newgate for it, till a great fellow, almost a man, one of our society, was hanged for it; and then I was terribly frightened, as you shall hear by and by.

Well, upon the persuasions of this lad, I walked out with him; a poor innocent boy, and (as I remember my very thoughts perfectly well) I had no evil in my intentions; I had never stolen any thing in my life; and if a goldsmith had left me in his shop, with heaps of money strewed all round me, and bade me look after it, I should not have touched it, I was so honest; but the subtle tempter baited his hook for me, as I was a child, in a manner suitable to my childishness, for I never took this picking of pockets to be dishonesty, but, as I have said above, I looked on it as a kind of trade that I was to be bred up to, and so I entered upon it, till I became hardened in it beyond the power of retreating; and thus I was made a thief involuntarily, and went on a length that few boys do, without coming to the common period of that kind of life, I mean to the transport-ship, or to the gallows.

The first day I went abroad with my new instructor, he carried me directly into the city, and as we went first to the water-side, he led me into the long-room at the Custom-house; we were but a couple of ragged boys at best, but I was much the worse: my leader had a hat on, a shirt, and a neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoiled my manners so much as to have a hat on my head since my nurse died, which was now some years. His orders to me were to keep always in sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any notice of him at any time till he came to me; and if any hurly burly happened, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have anything to do with him.

I observed my orders to a tittle. While he peered into every corner, and had his eye upon everybody, I kept my eye directly upon him, but went always at a distance, and on the other side of the long-room, looking as it were for pins, and picking them up out of the dust as I could find them, and then sticking them on my sleeve, where I had at last got forty or fifty good pins; but still my eye was upon my comrade, who, I observed, was very busy among the crowds of people that stood at the board, doing business with the officers, who pass the entries, and make the cocquets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a pin close to me, he put something into my hand, and said, "Put that up, and follow me down stairs quickly." He did not run, but shuffled along apace through the crowd, and went down, not the great stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow stair-case at the other end of the long-room; I followed, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one word to me, till

through innumerable narrow passages, alleys, and dark ways, we were got up into Fenchurch street, and through Billiter lane into Leadenhall street, and from thence into Leadenhall market.

It was not a meat-market day, so we had room to sit down upon one of the butchers' stalls, and he bid me lug out. What he had given me was a little leather letter-case, with a French almanack stuck in the inside of it, and a great many papers in it of several kinds.

We looked them over, and found there were several valuable bills in it, such as bills of exchange, and other notes, things I did not understand; but among the rest was a goldsmith's note, as he called it, of one Sir Stephen Evans, for 300*l.*, payable to the bearer, and at demand; besides this, there was another note for 12*l.* 10*s.*, being a goldsmith's bill too, but I forget the name; there was a bill or two also written in French, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were things of value, being called foreign bills accepted.

The rogue, my master, knew what belonged to the goldsmith's bills well enough, and I observed, when he read the bill of Sir Stephen, he said, "This is too big for me to meddle with;" but when he came to the bill 12*l.* 10*s.*, he said to me, "This will do, come hither, Jack;" so away he runs to Lombard street, and I after him, huddling the other papers into the letter-case. As he went along, he inquired the name out immediately, and went directly to the shop, put on a good grave countenance, and had the money paid him without any stop or question asked; I stood on the other side the way looking about the street, as not at all concerned with anybody that way, but observed, that when he presented the bill, he pulled out the letter-case, as if he had been a merchant's boy, acquainted with business, and had other bills about him.

They paid him the money in gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me, and going into Three-King court, on the other side of the way; when we crossed back into Clement's lane, made the best of our way to Cole-harbour at the water-side, and got a sculler for a penny to carry us over the water to St Mary-Over's stairs, where we landed, and were safe enough.

Here he turns to me; "Colonel Jack," says he, "I believe you are a lucky boy; this is a good job; we'll go away to St George's fields and share our booty." Away we went to the fields, and sitting down in the grass, far enough out of the path, he pulled out the money—"Look here, Jack," says he; "did you ever see the like before in your life?"—"No, never," says I; and added very innocently, "must we have it all?"—"We have it!" says he; "who should have it?"—"Why," says I, "must the man have none of it again that lost it?"—"He have it again!" says he; "what d'ye mean by that?"—"Nay, I don't know," says I; "why, you said just now you would let him have the t'other bill again, that you said was too big for you."

He laughed at me. "You are but a little boy," says he, "that's true; but I thought you had not been such a child neither;" so he mighty gravely explained the thing to me thus:—"that the bill of Sir Stephen Evans was a great bill for 300*l.*,

and if I," says he, "that am but a poor lad, should venture to go for the money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it; so they will stop me," says he; "and take it away from me, and it may bring me into trouble for it, too: so," says he, "I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the man have it again, if I could tell how; but for the money, Jack, the money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that; besides," says he, "who ever he be that has lost this letter-case—to be sure, as soon as he missed it, he would run to a goldsmith and give notice—that if anybody came for the money they would be stopped, but I am too old for him there," says he.

"Why," says I, "and what will you do with the bill, will you throw it away? If you do, somebody else will find it," says I; "and they will go and take the money."—"No, no," says he; "then they will be stopped and examined, as I tell you I should be." I did not know well what all this meant, so I talked no more about that; but we fell to handling the money. As for me, I had never seen so much together in all my life, nor did I know what in the world to do with it, and once or twice I was going to bid him keep it for me, which would have been done like a child indeed, for, to be sure, I had never heard a word more of it, though nothing had befallen him.

However, as I happened to hold my tongue as to that part, he shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end he told me that though it was true he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the money, which was 12*l.* 10*s.* into two exact parts, viz.—6*l.* 5*s.* in each part; then he took 1*l.* 5*s.* from my part, and told me I should give him that for hansel. "Well," says I, "take it then, for I think you deserve it all;" so, however, I took up the rest; "and what shall I do with this now," says I, "for I have nowhere to put it?"—"Why, have you no pockets?" says he.—"Yes," says I, "but they are full of holes." I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor, naked, ragged boy, they would presently say I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold all but 14*s.*, and that is to say, it was four guineas, and that 14*s.* was more difficult to carry than the four guineas. At last I sat down and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that; but after I had gone awhile, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again,

and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand ; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard people say, when they have been talking of money that they could not get in, I wish I had it in a foul clout : in truth, I had mine in a foul clout ; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it ; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it ; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes. Oh, the weight of human care ! I, a poor beggar boy, could not sleep, so soon as I had but a little money to keep, who, before that, could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frightened ; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while, then drop and start again. At last a fancy came into my head, that if I fell asleep, I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money ; which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me ; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more ; so I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough, and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

As soon as it was day I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it ; for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it, and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

When my crying was over, the case was the same ; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell : at last it came into my head that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree ; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile end that looked fit for my purpose ; and if there were any that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people, that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me, as it were, and that two men in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

This drove me further off, and I crossed the road at Mile end, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the Blind

Beggar's at Bethnal green. When I came a little way in the lane I found a foot-path over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I thought ; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found, as I thought, a place very fit ; so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it ; but, behold, putting my hand in again, to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not ; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost ; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it : well, I thrust my hand quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity ; I got a stick of the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one ; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such a passion ; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently ; then I began to think I had not so much as a halfpenny of it left for a halfpenny roll, and I was hungry, and then I cried again : then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped ; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also ; and, behold, the tree had a great open place in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have ; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy there lay my money and my linen rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole : for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff, which I had not judgment enough to know was not firm, that had given way when it came to drop out of my hand, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I hollo'd quite out aloud when I saw it ; then I ran to it and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times ; then danced and jumped about, ran from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I ran about, and knew not what I did ; but when that was over I sat down, opened the foul clout the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a crying as violently as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played, in the ecstasy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money, so I break off here: joy is as extravagant as grief; and since I have been a man, I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over, —I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

Well, I came away with my money, and having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile end, and bought a halfpenny roll and a halfpenny-worth of cheese, and sat down at the door after I bought it, and ate it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along Whitechapel I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at the door.

"Well, young gentleman," says a man that stood at the door, "you look wishfully, do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment?" I was affronted at the fellow. "What's that to you," says I, "how ragged I am? if I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking."

While I said this pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out, "What ails you," says she to the man, "to bully away our customers so? a poor boy's money is as good as my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what would become of our business?" and then turning to me, "Come hither, child," says she, "if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hector'd by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you," says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. "Ay," says the other, "so he is, a very-well looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son, for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed: come, my dear," says she, "tell me what is it you would have?" she pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to mind; but when she talk'd of my being not clean, and in rags, then I cried.

She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw there were too big for me. "Come, child," says she, "I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there," says she (tossing it to me), "I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches; I dare say," says she, "they will fit you, and they are very tight and good; and," says she, "if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good

pockets," says she, "and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it."

It struck me with a strange kind of joy, that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree, that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her 2s. for the breeches, and went over into the church-yard and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and buy some other things I wanted, and so I came away.

I was but a boy 'tis true, but I thought myself a man now I had got a pocket to put my money in, and I went directly to find out my companion, by whose means I got it; but I was frighted out of my wits when I heard that he was carried to Bridewell; I made no question but it was for the letter-case, and that I should be carried there too; and then my poor brother Captain Jack's case came into my head, and that I should be whipped there as cruelly as he was, and I was in such a fright that I knew not what to do.

But in the afternoon I met him; he had been carried to Bridewell, it seems, upon that very affair, but was got out again; the case was thus: having had such good luck at the Custom-house the day before, he takes his walk thither again, and as he was in the long-room, gaping and staring about him, a fellow lays hold of him, and calls to one of the clerks that sat behind, "Here," says he, "is the same young rogue that I told you I saw loitering about t'other day, when the gentleman lost his letter-case and his goldsmith's bills; I dare say it was he that stole them." Immediately the whole crowd of people gathered about the boy, and charged him point blank; but he was too well used to such things to be frighted into a confession of what he knew they could not prove, for he had nothing about him belonging to it, nor had any money, but sixpence and a few dirty farthings.

They threatened him, and pulled, and hauled him, till they almost pulled the clothes off his back, and the commissioners examined him; but all was one, he would own nothing, but said he walked up through the room only to see the place, both then and the time before, for he had owned he was there before; so as there was no proof against him of any fact, no, nor of any circumstances relating to the letter-case, they were forced at last to let him go; however, they made a show of carrying him to Bridewell, and they did carry him to the gate to see if they could make him confess anything; but he would confess nothing, and they had no *mittimus*; so they durst not carry him into the house, nor would the people have received him, I suppose, if they had, they having no warrant for putting him in prison.

Well, when they could get nothing out of him, they carried him into an alehouse, and there they told him that the letter-case had bills in it of a very great value, that they would be of no use to

the rogue that had them, but they would be of infinite damage to the gentleman that had lost them; and that he had left word with the clerk, whom the man that stopped this boy had called to, and who was there with him, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that would bring them again, and give all the security that could be desired, that he would give them no trouble, whoever it was.

He was just come from out of their hands when I met with him, and so he told me all the story; "But," says he, "I would confess nothing, and so I got off, and am come away clear." "Well," says I, "and what will you do with the letter-case and the bills, will not you let the poor man have his bills again?" "No, not I," says he, "I won't trust them; what care I for their bills?" It came into my head, as young as I was, that it was a sad thing indeed to take a man's bills away for so much money, and not have any advantage by it either; for I concluded that the gentleman who owned the bills must lose all the money, and it was strange he should keep the bills and make a gentleman lose so much money for nothing. I remember that I ruminated very much about it, and, though I did not understand it very well, yet it lay upon my mind, and I said every now and then to him, "Do let the gentleman have his bills again, do, pray do;" and so I teased him with do, and pray do, till at last I cried about them; he said, "What, would you have me be found out and sent to Bridewell, and be whipped, as your brother Captain Jack was?" I said, "No, I would not have you whipped, but I would have the man have his bills, for they will do you no good, but the gentleman will be undone it may be; and then," I added again, "Do let him have them;" he snapped me short, "Why," says he, "how shall I get them to him? Who dare carry them? I dare not, to be sure, for they will stop me, and bring the goldsmith to see if he does not know me, and that I received the money, and so they will prove the robbery, and I shall be hanged; would you have me be hanged, Jack?"

I was silenced a good while with that, for when he said, "would you have me be hanged, Jack?" I had no more to say; but one day after this, he called to me, "Colonel Jack," says he, "I have thought of a way how the gentleman shall have his bills again; and you and I shall get a good deal of money by it, if you will be honest to me, as I was to you."—"Indeed," says I, "Robin," that was his name, "I will be very honest; let me know how it is, for I would fain have him have his bills."

"Why," says he, "they told me, that he had left word at the clerk's place in the long-room, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that had the bills, and would restore them, and would ask no questions. Now, if you will go, like a poor innocent boy, as you are, into the long-room, and speak to the clerk, it may do: tell him, if the gentleman will do as he promised, you believe you can tell him who has it; and if they are civil to you, and willing to be as good as their words, you shall have the letter-case, and give it them."

I told him, "Ay, I would go with all my heart."—"But, Colonel Jack," says he, "what if they should take hold of you, and threaten to have you whipped, won't you discover me to them?"—"No," says I, "if they would whip me

to death I won't."—"Well, then," says he, "there's the letter-case, do you go." So he gave me directions how to act, and what to say; but I would not take the letter-case with me, least they should prove false, and take hold of me, thinking to find it upon me, and so charge me with the fact; so I left it with him, and the next morning I went to the Custom-house, as was agreed; what my directions were, will, to avoid repetition, appear in what happened; it was an errand of too much consequence indeed to be entrusted to a boy, not only so young as I was, but so little of a rogue as I was yet arrived to the degree of.

Two things I was particularly armed with, which I resolved upon:—1. That the man should have his bills again; for it seemed a horrible thing to me that he should be made to lose his money, which I supposed he must, purely because we would not carry the letter-case home.—2. That whatever happened to me I was never to tell the name of my comrade, Robin, who had been the principal; with these two pieces of honesty, for such they were both in themselves, and with a manly heart, though a boy's head, I went up into the long-room in the Custom-house the next day.

As soon as I came to the place where the thing was done, I saw the man sit just where he had sat before, and it run in my head that he had sat there ever since; but I knew no better; so I went up and stood just at that side of the writing board that goes upon that side of the room, and which I was but just tall enough to lay my arms upon.

While I stood there one thrust me this way, and another thrust me that way, and the man that sat behind began to look at me; at last he called out to me—"What does that boy do there? get you gone, sirrah; are you one of the rogues that stole the gentleman's letter-case on Monday last?" Then he turns his tale to a gentleman that was doing business with him, and goes on thus:—"Here was Mr — had a very unlucky chance on Monday last, did not you hear of it?"—"No, not I," says the gentleman.—"Why, standing just there, where you do," says he, "making his entries, he pulled out his letter-case, and laid it down, as he says, but just at his hand, while he reached over to the standish there for a penful of ink, and somebody stole away his letter-case."

"His letter-case!" says t'other; "what—and was there any bills in it?"

"Ay," says he; "there was Sir Stephen Evans's note in it for 300*l.*, and another goldsmith's bill for about 12*l.*; and, which is still worse for the gentleman, he had two foreign accepted bills in it for a great sum, I know not how much, I think one was a French bill for 1,200 crowns."

"And who could it be?" says the gentleman.

"Nobody knows," says he; "but one of our room-keepers says he saw a couple of young rogues like that," pointing at me, "hanging about here, and that on a sudden they were both gone."

"Villains!" says he again; "why, what can they do with them, they will be of no use to them? I suppose he went immediately and gave notice to prevent the payment."

"Yes," says the clerk, "he did; but the rogues

were too nimble for him with the little bill of 12*l*. odd money; they went and got the money for that, but all the rest are stopped; however, 'tis an unspeakable damage to him for want of his money."

"Why, he should publish a reward for the encouragement of those that have them to bring them again; they would be glad to bring them, I warrant you."

"He has posted it up at the door that he will give 30*l*. for them."

"Ay, but he should add that he will promise not to stop, or give any trouble to the person that brings them."

"He has done that too," says he; "but I fear they won't trust themselves to be honest, for fear he should break his word."

"Why, it is true, he may break his word in that case, but no man should do so; for then no rogue will venture to bring home anything that is stolen, and so he would do an injury to others after him."

"I durst pawn my life for him he would scorn it."

CHAPTER III.

I AM EXAMINED BY THE GENTLEMAN TOUCHING THE BILLS AND LETTER-CASE, AND OBTAIN THE REWARD OF 30*l*.—ONE OF THEM KINDLY TAKES CHARGE OF THE MONEY FOR ME—WE COMMIT MORE THEFTS—MY COMRADE PURCHASES BETTER CLOTHES FOR ME—I ROB A JEW OF HIS POCKET-BOOK FULL OF BILLS AND DIAMONDS—WILL AGREES FOR A REWARD TO GIVE UP THE PROPERTY.

Thus far they discoursed of it, and then went off to something else; I heard it all, but did not know what to do a great while; but at last, watching the gentleman that went away, when he was gone, I run after him to have spoken to him, intending to have broke it to him, but he went hastily into a room or two, full of people, at the other end of the long room, and when I went to follow, the door-keepers turned me back, and told me I must not go in there; so I went back and loitered about near the man that sat behind the board, and hung about there till I found the clock struck twelve, and the room began to be thin of people; and at last he sat there writing, but nobody stood at the board before him, as there had all the rest of the morning; then I came a little nearer and stood close to the board as I did before; when, looking up from his paper, and seeing me, says he to me—"You have been up and down there all this morning, sirrah, what do you want? you have some business that is not very good, I doubt."

"No, I han't," said I.

"No? it is well if you han't," says he; "pray what business can you have in the long-room, sir; you are no merchant?"

"I would speak with you," said I.

"With me," says he, "what have you to say to me?"

"I have something to say," said I, "if you will do me no harm for it."

"I do thee harm, child; what harm should I do thee?" and spoke very kindly.

"Won't you indeed, sir?" said I.

"No, not I, child; I'll do thee no harm; what is it? do you know anything of the gentleman's letter-case?"

I answered, but spoke softly, that he could not hear me; so he gets over presently into the seat next him, and opens a place that was made to come out, and bade me come in to him; and I did.

Then he asked me again, if I knew anything of the letter-case.

I spoke softly again, and said, folks would hear him.

Then he whispered softly, and asked me again.

I told him, I believed I did; but that, indeed, I had it not, nor had no hand in stealing it, but it was gotten into the hands of a boy that would have burnt it, if it had not been for me; and that I heard him say, that the gentleman would be glad to have them again, and give a good deal of money for them.

"I did say so, child," said he, "and if you can get them for him, he shall give you a good reward, no less than 30*l*. as he has promised."

"But you said too, sir, to the gentleman just now," said I, "that you was sure he would not bring them into any harm that should bring them."

"No, you shall come to no harm; I will pass my word for it."

BOY.—"Nor shan't they make me bring other people into trouble?"

GENT.—"No, you shall not be asked the name of anybody, nor to tell who they are."

BOY.—"I am but a poor boy, and I would fain have the gentleman have his bills, and indeed I did not take them away, nor I han't got them."

GENT.—"But can you tell how the gentleman shall have them?"

BOY.—"If I can get them, I will bring them to you to-morrow morning."

GENT.—"Can you not do it to-night?"

BOY.—"I believe I may, if I knew where to come."

GENT.—"Come to my house, child."

BOY.—"I don't know where you live."

GENT.—"Go along with me now, and you shall see." So he carried me up into Tower street, and showed me his house, and ordered me to come there at five o'clock at night; which accordingly I did, and carried the letter-case with me.

When I came the gentleman asked me, if I had brought the book, as he called it.

"It is not a book," said I.

"No, the letter-case, that's all one," says he.

"You promised me," said I, "you would not hurt me," and cried.

"Don't be afraid, child," says he, "I will not hurt thee, poor boy; nobody shall hurt thee."

"Here it is," said I, and pulled it out.

He then brought in another gentleman, who it seems owned the letter-case, and asked him, "If that was it?" and he said, "Yes."

Then he asked me if all the bills were in it?

I told him I heard him say there was one gone, but I believed there was all the rest.

"Why do you believe so?" says he.

"Because I heard the boy, that I believe stole

them, say they were too big for him to meddle with."

The gentleman then, that owned them, said, "Where is the boy?"

Then the other gentleman put in, and said, "No, you must not ask him that; I passed my word that you should not, and that he should not be obliged to tell it to anybody."

"Well, child," says he, "you will let us see the letter-case opened, and whether the bills are in it?"

"Yes," says I.

Then the first gentleman said, "How many bills were there in it?"

"Only three," says he, "besides the bill of 12*l.* 10*s.*; there was Sir Stephen Evans's note for 300*l.* and two foreign bills."

"Well, then, if they are in the letter-case, the boy shall have 30*l.* shall he not?"—"Yes," says the gentleman, "he shall have it freely."

"Come, then, child," says he, "let me open it."

So I gave it him, and he opened it, and there were all three bills, and several other papers, fair and safe, nothing defaced or diminished, and the gentleman said, "All is right."

Then said the first man, "Then I am security to the poor boy for the money:"—"Well, but," says the gentleman, "the rogues have got the 12*l.* 10*s.*; they ought to reckon that as part of the 30*l.*" Had he asked me I should have consented to it at first word; but the first man stood my friend. "Nay," says he, "it was since you knew that the 12*l.* 10*s.* was received that you offered 30*l.* for the other bills, and published it by the crier, and posted it up at the Custom-house door, and I promised him the 30*l.* this morning." They argued long, and I thought would have quarrelled about it.

However, at last they both yielded a little, and the gentleman gave me 25*l.* in good guineas. When he gave it me he bade me hold out my hand, and he told the money into my hand; and when he had done, he asked me if it was right? I said I did not know, but I believed it was: "Why," says he, "can't you tell it?" I told him "no; I never saw so much money in my life, nor I did not know how to tell money."—"Why," says he, "don't you know that they are guineas?" "No," I told him, "I did not know how much a guinea was."

"Why, then," says he, "did you tell me you believed it was right?"—I told him, "Because I believed he would not give it me wrong."

"Poor child," says he, "thou knowest little of the world, indeed; what art thou?"

"I am a poor boy," says I, and cried.

"What is your name," says he,—"but hold, I forgot," said he; "I promised I would not ask your name, so you need not tell me."

"My name is Jack," said I.

"Why, have you no surname?" said he.

"What is that?" said I.

"You have some other name besides Jack," says he, "han't you?"

"Yes," says I, "they call me Colonel Jack."

"But have you no other name?"

"No," said I.

"How came you to be called Colonel Jack, pray?"

"They say," said I, "my father's name was Colonel."

"Is your father or mother alive?" said he.

"No," said I, "my father is dead."

"Where is your mother then?" said he.

"I never had e'er a mother," said I.

This made him laugh. "What," said he, "had you never a mother, what then?"

"I had a nurse," said I, "but she was not my mother."

"Well," says he to the gentleman, "I dare say this boy was not the thief that stole your bills."

"Indeed, sir, I did not steal them," said I, and cried again.

"No, no, child," said he; "we don't believe you did. This is a very clever boy," says he, to the other gentleman, "and yet very ignorant and honest; 'tis pity some care should not be taken of him, and something done for him; let us talk a little more with him." So they sat down and drank wine, and gave me some, and then the first gentleman talked to me again.

"Well," says he; "what wilt thou do with this money now thou hast it?"

"I don't know," said I.

"Where will you put it?" said he.

"In my pocket," said I.

"In your pocket," said he; "is your pocket whole? shan't you lose it?"

"Yes," said I, "my pocket is whole."

"And where will you put it when you get home?"

"I have no home," said I; and cried again.

"Poor child!" said he; "then what dost thou do for thy living?"

"I go of errands," said I, "for the folks in Rosemary lane."

"And what dost thou do for a lodging at night?"

"I lie at the glass-house," said I, "at night."

"How, lie at the glass-house! have they any beds there?" says he.

"I never lay in a bed in my life," said I, "as I remember."

"Why," says he; "what do you lie on at the glass-house?"

"The ground," says I; "and sometimes a little straw, or upon the warm ashes."

Here the gentleman that lost the bills said, "This poor child is enough to make a man weep for the miseries of human nature, and be thankful for himself—he puts tears into my eyes;" "and into mine too," says the other.

"Well, but hark ye, Jack," says the first gentleman; "do they give you no money when they send you of errands?"

"They give me victuals," said I; "and that's better."

"But what," says he, "do you do for clothes?"

"They give me sometimes old things," said I; "such as they have to spare."

"Why, you have never a shirt on, I believe," said he; "have you?"

"No, I never had a shirt," said I, "since my nurse died."

"How long ago is that?" said he.

"Six winters, when this is out," said I.

"Why, how old are you?" said he.

"I can't tell," said I.

"Well," says the gentleman; "now you have this money, won't you buy some clothes, and a shirt with some of it?"

"Yes," said I; "I would buy some clothes."

"And what will you do with the rest?"

"I can't tell," said I; and cried.

"What do'st cry for, Jack?" said he.

"I am afraid," said I; and cried still.

"What art afraid of?"

"They will know I have money."

"Well, and what then?"

"Then I must sleep no more in the warm glass-house, and I shall be starved with cold. They will take away my money."

"But why must you sleep there no more?"

Here the gentlemen observed to one another, how naturally anxiety and perplexity attend those that have money. "I warrant you," says the clerk, "when this poor boy had no money, he slept all night in the straw, or on the warm ashes in the glass-house as soundly and as void of care as it would be possible for any creature to do; but now, as soon as he has gotten money, the care of preserving it brings tears into his eyes, and fear into his heart."

They asked me a great many questions more; to which I answered in my childish way as well as I could, but so as pleased them well enough; at last I was going away with a heavy pocket, and I assure you not a light heart, for I was so frightened with having so much money, that I knew not what in the earth to do with myself; I went away, however, and walked a little way, but I could not tell what to do; so, after rambling two hours or thereabout, I went back again, and sat down at the gentleman's door, and there I cried as long as I had any moisture in my head to make tears of, but never knocked at the door.

I had not sat long, I suppose, but somebody belonging to the family got knowledge of it, and a maid came and talked to me, but I said little to her, only cried still; at length it came to the gentleman's ears. As for the merchant he was gone. When the gentleman heard of me, he called me in, and began to talk with me again, and asked me what I staid for?

I told him I had not staid there all that while, for I had been gone a great while, and was come again.

"Well," says he, "but what did you come again for?"

"I can't tell," says I.

"And what do you cry so for," said he; "I hope you have not lost your money, have you?"

"No," I told him, "I had not lost it yet, but I was afraid I should."

"And does that make you cry?" says he.

I told him Yes, for I knew I should not be able to keep it, but they would cheat me of it, or they would kill me, and take it away from me too.

"They," says he, "who? what sort of gangs of people art thou with?"

I told him they were all boys, but very wicked boys; "thieves and pick pockets," said I, "such as stole this letter-case, a sad pack, I can't abide them."

"Well, Jack," said he, "what shall be done for thee? Will you leave it with me, shall I keep it for you?"

"Yes," said I, "with all my heart, if you please."

"Come then," says he, "give it me; and that you may be sure that I have it, and you shall

have it honestly again, I'll give you a bill for it, and for the interest of it, and that you may keep safe enough. Nay," added he, "and if you lose it, or anybody takes it from you, none shall receive the money but yourself, or any part of it."

I presently pulled out all the money, and gave it to him, only keeping about 15s. for myself to buy some clothes; and thus ended the conference between us on the first occasion, at least for the first time. Having thus secured my money to my full satisfaction, I was then perfectly easy, and accordingly the sad thoughts that afflicted my mind before began to vanish away.

This was enough to let any one see how all the sorrows and anxieties of men's lives come about; how they rise from their restless pushing at getting of money, and the restless cares of keeping it when they have got it. I that had nothing, and had not known what it was to have had any thing, knew nothing of the care, either of getting or of keeping it; I wanted nothing, who wanted everything; I had no care, no concern about where I should get my victuals, or how I should lodge; I knew not what money was, or what to do with it; and never knew what it was not to sleep till I had money to keep, and was afraid of losing it.

I had, without doubt, an opportunity at this time, if I had not been too foolish, and too much a child to speak for myself; I had an opportunity, I say, to have got into his service, or perhaps to be under some of the care and concern of these gentlemen; for they seemed to be very fond of doing something for me, and were surprised at the innocence of my talk to them, as well as at the misery (as they thought it) of my condition.

But I acted, indeed, like a child, and leaving my money, as I have said, I never went near them for several years after. What course I took, and what befel me in that interval, has so much variety in it, and carries so much instruction in it, that it requires an account of it by itself.

The first happy chance that offered itself to me in the world was now over; I had got money, but I neither knew the value of it, nor the use of it; the way of living I had begun was so natural to me, I had no notion of bettering it; I had not so much as any desire of buying me any clothes, no, not so much as a shirt, and much less had I any thought of getting any other lodging than that in the glass-house, and loitering about the streets, as I had done: for I knew no good, and had tasted no evil: that is to say, the life I had led being not evil in my account.

In this state of innocence I returned to my really miserable life, so it was in itself, and was only not so to me, because I did not understand how to judge of it, and had known no better.

My comrade that gave me back the bills, and who, if I had not pressed him, designed never to have restored them, never asked me what I had given me, but told me if they gave me anything it should be my own; for, as he said, he would not run the venture of being seen in the restoring them, I deserved the reward if there was any; neither did he trouble his head with inquiring what I had, or whether I had anything or no; so my title to what I had got was clear.

I went now up and down just as I did before; I had money indeed in my pocket, but I let no-

body know it; I went of errands cheerfully as before, and accepted of what anybody gave me, with as much thankfulness as ever; the only difference that I made with myself was, that if I was hungry, and nobody employed me or gave me anything to eat, I did not beg from door to door, as I did at first, but went to a boiling house, as I said once before, and got a mess of broth and a piece of bread, price a halfpenny; very seldom any meat, or if I treated myself, it was a halfpenny-worth of cheese; all which expense did not amount to above 2d. or 3d. a-week; for, contrary to the usage of the rest of the tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not disposed of any of the guineas which I had at first, neither, as I said to the Custom-house gentleman, could I tell what a guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

After I had been a month thus, and had done nothing, my comrade, as I called him, came to me one morning, "Colonel Jack," says he, "when shall you and I take a walk again?" "When you will," said I. "Have you got no business yet?" says he. "No," says I;—and so one thing bringing in another, he told me I was a fortunate wretch, and he believed I would be so again; but that he must make a new bargain with me now; for, says he, "Colonel, the first time we always let a raw brother come in for full share to encourage him, but afterwards, except it be when he puts himself forward well, and runs equal hazard, he stands to courtesy; but as we are gentlemen, we always do very honourable by one another; and if you are willing to trust it, or leave it to me, I shall do handsomely by you, that you may depend upon." I told him I was not able to do anything, that was certain, for I did not understand it, and therefore I could not expect to get anything, but I would do as he bade me; so we walked abroad together.

We went no more to the Custom-house, it was too bold a venture; besides I did not care to show myself again, especially with him in company; but we went directly to the Exchange, and we hankered about in Castle alley, and in Swithin's alley, and at the coffee-house doors. It was a very unlucky day, for we got nothing all day but two or three handkerchiefs, and came home to the old lodgings at the glass-house; nor had I anything to eat or drink all day but a piece of bread which he gave me, and some water at the conduit at the Exchange gate. So when he was gone from me, for he did not lie in the glass-house as I did, I went to my old broth-house for my usual bait, and refreshed myself, and the next day early went to meet him again, as he appointed me.

Being early in the morning, he took his walk to Billingsgate, where it seems two sorts of people make a great crowd as soon as it is light, and at that time a-year rather before day-light; that is to say, crimps and the masters of coal ships, who they call collier-masters; and secondly, fishmongers, fish-sellers, and buyers of fish.

It was the first of these people that he had his eye upon. So he gives me my orders, which was thus: "Go you," says he, "into all the ale-houses, as we go along, and observe where any people are telling of money; and when you find any, come and tell me. So he stood at the door, and

I went into the houses. As the collier-masters generally sell their coals at the gate, as they call it, so they generally receive their money in those ale-houses; and it was not long before I brought him word of several. Upon this he went in, and made his observations, but found nothing to his purpose; at length I brought him word that there was a man in such a house who had received a great deal of money of somebody, I believed of several people, and that it lay all upon the table in heaps, and he was very busy writing down the sums, and putting it up in several bags.

"Is he?" says he, "I'll warrant him I will have some of it;" and in he goes. He walks up and down the house, which had several open tables and boxes in it, and he listened to hear, if he could, what the man's name was, and he heard somebody call him Cullum, or some such name. Then he watches his opportunity, and steps up to him, and tells him a long story that there were two gentlemen at the Gun-tavern, sent him to inquire for him, and to tell him they desired to speak with him.

The collier-master had his money lying before him, just as I had told him, and had two or three small payments of money, which he had put up in little black dirty bags, and lay by themselves; and as it was hardly broad day, he found means, in delivering his message, to lay his hand upon one of those bags, and carry it off perfectly undiscovered.

When he had got it, he came out to me, who stood but at the door, and pulling me by the sleeve, "Run, Jack," says he, "for our lives:" and away he scours and I after him, never resting, or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into Fenchurch street, through Lime street, into Leadenhall street, down St Mary axe, to London wall, then through Bishopsgate street, and down Old Bedlam into Moorfields. By this time we were neither of us able to run very fast, nor need we have gone so far, for I never found that anybody pursued us. When we got into Moorfields, and began to take breath, I asked him, what it was frightened him so? "Fright me, you fool," says he, "I have got a devilish great bag of money." "A bag!" said I, "Ay, ay," said he, "let us get out into the fields where nobody can see us, and I'll show it you." So away he had me through Long alley, and cross Hog lane, and Holloway lane, into the middle of the great field, which, since that, has been called the Farthing Pye-house fields. There we would have sat down, but it was all full of water; so we went on, crossed the road at Anniseed Cleer, and went into the field where now the great hospital stands; and finding a bye place, we sat down, and he pulls out the bag. "Thou art a lucky boy, Jack," says he, "thou deservedst a good share of this job truly, for it is all along of thy lucky news." So he pours it all out into my hat, for, as I told you, I now wore a hat.

How he did to whip away such a bag of money from any man that was awake and in his senses, I cannot tell; but there was a great deal in it, and among it a paper full by itself. When the paper dropt out of the bag, "Hold," says he, "that is gold!" and began to crow and hollow like a mad boy. But there he was baulked, for it was a paper of old thirteenpence halfpenny

pieces, half and quarter pieces, with ninepences, and fourpence halfpennies, all old crooked money, Scotch and Irish coin; so he was disappointed in that: but, as it was, there was about 17*l.* or 18*l.* in the bag, as I understood by him; for I could not tell money, not I.

Well, he parted this money into three; that is to say, into three shares, two for himself, and one for me, and asked if I was content? I told him yes, I had reason to be contented; besides, it was so much money added to that I had left of his former adventure, that I knew not what to do with it, or with myself, while I had so much about me.

This was a most exquisite fellow for a thief; for he had the greatest dexterity at conveying anything away, that he scarce ever pitched upon anything in his eye, but he carried it off with his hands, and never, that I know of, missed his aim, or was caught in the fact.

He was an eminent pick-pocket, and very dexterous at ladies' gold watches; but he generally pushed higher, at such desperate things as these; and he came off the cleanest, and with the greatest success imaginable; and it was in these kinds of the wicked art of thieving that I became his scholar.

As we were now so rich, he would not let me lie any longer in the glass-house, or go naked and ragged, as I had done; but obliged me to buy two shirts, a waistcoat, and a great coat; for a great coat was more for our purpose in the business we were upon than any other. So I clothed myself as he directed, and he took me a lodging in the same house with him, and we lodged together in a little garret fit for our quality.

Soon after this we walked out again, and then we tried our fortune in the places by the Exchange a second time. Here we began to act separately, and I undertook to walk by myself; and the first thing I did accurately, was a trick I played that required some skill for a new beginner, for I had never seen any business of that kind done before. I saw two gentlemen mighty eager in talk, and one pulled out a pocket-book two or three times, and then slipt it into his coat-pocket again, and then out it came again, and papers were taken out, and others were put in; and then in it went again, and so several times; the man being still warmly engaged with another man, and two or three others standing hard by them. The last time he put his pocket-book into his pocket, he might be said to throw it in, rather than put it in with his hand, and the book lay end-way, resting upon some other book, or something else in his pocket; so that it did not go quite down, but one corner of it was seen above his pocket.

This careless way of men putting their pocket-books into a coat-pocket, which is so easily dived into by the least boy that has been used to the trade, can never be too much blamed; the gentlemen are in great hurries, their heads and thoughts entirely taken up, and it is impossible they should be guarded enough against such little hawk's-eyed creatures as we were; and, therefore, they ought either never to put their pocket-books up at all, or to put them up more secure, or to put nothing of value into them. I happened to be just opposite to this gentleman in that they call Swithin's alley; or that alley rather which

is between Swithin's alley and the Exchange, just by a passage that goes out of the alley into the Exchange; when seeing the book pass and repass into the pocket, and out of the pocket as above, it came immediately into my head, certainly I might get that pocket-book out if I were nimble, and I warrant Will would have it, if he saw it go and come to and again as I did; but when I saw it hang by the way, as I have said; now it is mine, said I to myself, and crossing the alley, I brushed smoothly, but closely by the man, with my hand down flat to my own side, and taking hold of it by the corner that appeared, the book came so light into my hand, it was impossible the gentleman should feel the least motion, or anybody else see me take it away. I went directly forward into the broad place on the north side of the Exchange, then scoured down Bartholomew lane, so into Tokenhouse yard, into the alleys which pass through from thence to London wall, so through Moorgate, and sat down on the grass in the second of the quarters of Moorfields, towards the middle field; which was the place that Will and I had appointed to meet at if either of us got any booty. When I came thither, Will was not come, but I saw him a-coming in about half an hour.

As soon as Will came to me, I asked him what booty he had gotten? He looked pale, and, as I thought, frightened; but he returned, "I have got nothing, not I; but you lucky young dog," says he, "what have you got? Have not you got the gentleman's pocket-book in Swithin's alley?" "Yes," says I, and laughed at him; "why, how did you know it?" "Know it!" says he, "why, the gentleman is raving and half distracted; he stamps and cries, and tears his very clothes; he says he is utterly undone and ruined, and the folks in the alley say there is I know not how many thousand pounds in it; what can be in it?" says Will; "come, let us see."

Well, we lay close in the grass in the middle of the quarter, so that nobody minded us; and so we opened the pocket-book, and there was a great many bills and notes under men's hands; some goldsmiths', and some belonging to insurance offices, as they call them, and the like; but that which was, it seems, worth all the rest, was, that in one of the folds of the cover of the book, where there was a case with several partitions, there was a paper full of loose diamonds. The man, as we understood afterward, was a Jew, who dealt in such goods, and who indeed ought to have taken more care of the keeping of them.

Now was this booty too great even for Will himself to manage; for though by this time I was come to understand things better than I did formerly, when I knew not what belonged to money, yet Will was better skilled by far in those things than I. But this puzzled him too, as well as me. Now were we something like the cock in the fable; for all these bills, and I think there was one bill of Sir Henry Furness's for 1200*l.*, and all these diamonds, which were worth about 150*l.* as they said; I say, all these things were of no value to us, one little purse of gold would have been better to us than all of it. "But come," says Will, "let us look over the bills for a little one."

We looked over all the bills, and, among them,

we found a bill under a man's hand for 32*l.*; "Come," says Will, "let us go and inquire where this man lives." So we went into the city again, and Will went to the post-house, and asked there; they told him he lived at Temple bar: "Well," says Will, "I will venture; I'll go and receive the money; it may be he has not remembered to send to stop the payment there."

But it came into his thoughts to take another course; "Come," says Will, "I'll go back to the alley, and see if I can hear anything of what has happened, for I believe the hurry is not over yet." It seems the man who lost the book was carried into the King's Head tavern, at the end of that alley, and a great crowd was about the door.

Away goes Will, and watches and waits about the place; and then, seeing several people together, for they were not all dispersed, he asks one or two what was the matter; they tell him a long story of a gentleman who had lost his pocket-book, with a great bag of diamonds in it, and bills for a great many thousand pounds, and I know not what; and that they had been just crying it, and had offered 100*l.* reward to any one who would discover and restore it.

"I wish," said he, to one of them that parleyed with him, "I did but know who has it, I don't doubt but I could help him to it again; does he remember nothing of anybody, boy, or fellow, that was near him? if he could but describe him, it might do." Somebody that overheard him was so forward to assist the poor gentleman, that they went up and let him know what a young fellow, meaning Will, had been talking at the door; and down comes another gentleman from him, and, taking Will aside, asked him what he had said about it? Will was a grave sort of a young man, that, though he was an old soldier at the trade, had yet nothing of it in his countenance; and he answered, that he was concerned in business where a great many of the gangs of little pick-pockets haunted, and if he had but the least description of the person they suspected, he durst say he could find him out, and might perhaps get the things again for him. Upon this, he desired him to go up with him to the gentleman, which he did accordingly; and there, he said, he sat leaning his head back to the chair, pale as a cloth; disconsolate to a strange degree, and, as Will described him, just like one under a sentence.

When they came to ask him whether he had seen no boy, or shabby fellow, lurking near where he stood, or passing, or repassing, and the like, he answered, "No, not any; neither could he remember that anybody had come near him." "Then," said Will, "it will be very hard, if not impossible, to find them out. However," said Will, "if you think it worth while, I will put myself among those rogues, though," says he, "I care not for being seen among them; but I will put in among them, and if it be in any of those gangs, it is ten to one but I shall hear something of it."

They asked him then, if he had heard what terms the gentleman had offered to have it restored; he answered, "No," (though he had been told at the door); they answered, he had offered 100*l.* "That is too much," says Will, "but if you please to leave it to me, I shall either get it for you for less than that, or not be able to get it

for you at all." Then the losing gentleman said to one of the other, "Tell him, that if he can get it lower, the overplus shall be to himself." William said he would be very glad to do the gentleman such a service, and would leave the reward to himself. "Well, young man," says one of the gentlemen, "whatever you appoint to the young artist that has done this roguery, (for I warrant he is an artist, let it be who it will), he shall be paid, if it be within the 100*l.*, and the gentleman is willing to give you 50*l.* besides for your pains."

"Truly, sir," says Will, very gravely, "it was by mere chance, that coming by the door and seeing the crowd, I asked what the matter was; but if I should be instrumental to get the unfortunate gentleman his pocket-book, and the things in it again, I shall be very glad; nor am I so rich neither, sir, but 50*l.* is very well worth my while too." Then he took directions who to come to, and who to give his account to, if he learned anything, and the like.

CHAPTER IV.

WILL RETURNS THE POCKET-BOOK AND OBTAINS THE REWARD—WE ROB AN OLD KNIGHT IN SMITH-FIELD OF A BAG OF MONEY—OTHER ADVENTURES, IN ALL OF WHICH WE ARE SUCCESSFUL—THE NOTION OF MY BEING A GENTLEMAN, WHICH I ALWAYS ENTERTAIN, KEEPS ME FROM SWEARING, DRINKING, AND SUCH LIKE VICES—WILL SEDUCES ME TO BECOME HIGHWAYMAN—ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD.

WILL stayed so long, that, as he and I agreed, I went home, and he did not come to me till night; for we had considered before, that it would not be proper to come from them directly to me, lest they should follow him and apprehend me. If he had made no advances towards a treaty, he would have come back in half an hour, as we agreed; but staying late, we met at our night rendezvous, which was in Rosemary lane.

When he came, he gave an account of all the discourse, and particularly what a consternation the gentleman was in who lost the pocket-book, and that he did not doubt but we should get a good round sum for the recovery of it.

We consulted all the evening about it, and concluded he should let them hear nothing of them the next day at all, and that the third day he should go, but should make no discovery, only that he had got a scent of it, and that he believed he should have it, and make it appear as difficult as possible, and to start as many objections as he could. Accordingly, the third day after he met with the gentleman, who he found had been uneasy at his long stay, and told him, they were afraid that he only flattered them to get free from them, and that they had been too easy in letting him go without a further examination.

He took upon him to be very grave with them, and told them, that if that was what he was like to have for being so free, as to tell them he thought he might serve them, they might see that they had wronged him, and were mistaken by his coming again to them; that if they thought they could do any thing by examining him, they might go about it, if they pleased, now; that all he had to say to them was, that he knew where some of the young rogues haunted, who were famous for such

things, and that by some inquiries, offering them money, and the like, he believed they would be brought to betray one another, and that so he might pick it out for them; and this he would say before a justice of peace, if they thought fit: and then all that he had to say farther to them was, to tell them, he had lost a day or two in their service, and had got nothing, but to be suspected for his pains; and that after that he had done, and they might seek their goods where they could find them.

They began to listen a little upon that, and asked him if he could give them any hopes of recovering their loss; he told them that he was not afraid to tell them that he believed he had heard some news of them, and that what he had done, had prevented all the bills being burnt, book and all; but that now he ought not to be asked any more questions till they should be pleased to answer him a question or two. They told him they would give him any satisfaction they could, and bid him tell what he desired.

"Why, sir," says he, "how can you expect any thief that had robbed you to such a considerable value as this, would come and put himself into your hands, confess he had your goods, and restore them to you, if you did not give them assurance that you will not only give them the reward you agreed to, but also give assurance that they shall not be stopped, questioned, or called to account before a magistrate?"

They said they would give all possible assurance of it; "Nay," says he, "I do not know what assurance you are able to give; for when a poor fellow is in your clutches, and has shown you your goods, you may seize upon him for a thief, and it is plain he must be so; then you go, take away your goods, send him to prison, and what amends can he have of you afterward?"

They were entirely confounded with the difficulty; they asked him to try if he could get the things into his hands, and they would pay him the money before he let them go out of his hand, and he should go away half an hour before they went out of the room.

"No, gentlemen," says he, "that won't do now. If you had talked so before you had talked of apprehending me for nothing, I should have taken your words; but now it is plain you have had such a thought in your heads, and how can I, or any one else, be assured of safety?"

Well, they thought of a great many particulars, but nothing would do; at length the other people who were present put in, that they should give security to him, by a bond of 1000*l.*, that they would not give the person any trouble whatsoever. He pretended they could not be bound, nor could their obligation be of any value, and that their own goods being once seen, they might seize them; and what would it signify, said he, to put a poor pickpocket to sue for his reward? They could not tell what to say; but told him, that he should take the things of the boy, if it was a boy; and they would be bound to pay him the money promised. He laughed at them, and said, "No, gentlemen, as I am not the thief, so I shall be very loth to put myself in the thief's stead, and lie at your mercy."

They told him they knew not what to do then, and that it would be very hard he would not trust

them at all. He said, he was very willing to trust them, and to serve them; but that it would be very hard to be ruined and charged with the theft, for endeavouring to serve them.

They then offered to give it him under their hands, that they did not in the least suspect him; that they would never charge him with anything about it; that they acknowledged he went about to inquire after the goods at their request; and that if he produced them, they would pay him so much money, at or before the delivery of them, without obliging him to name or produce that person he had them from.

Upon this writing, signed by three gentlemen who were present, and by the person in particular who lost the things, the young gentleman told them, he would go and do his utmost to get the pocket-book, and all that was in it.

Then he desired that they would in writing, beforehand, give him a particular of all the several things that were in the book; that he might not have it said, when he produced it, that there was not all; and he would have the said writing sealed up, and he would make the book be sealed up when it was given to him. This they agreed to; and the gentleman accordingly drew up a particular of all the bills that he remembered, as he said, was in the book; and also of the diamonds, as follows:

One bill under Sir Henry Furness's hand for 1,200*l.*

One bill under Sir Charles Duncomb's hand for 800*l.*; 250*l.* indorsed off.—550*l.*

One bill under the hand of J. Tassell, goldsmith, 165*l.*

One bill of Sir Francis Child, 39*l.*

One bill of one Stewart, that kept a wager-office and insurance, 350*l.*

A paper containing thirty-seven loose diamonds, value about 250*l.*

A little paper, containing three large rough diamonds, and one large one polished and cut, value 185*l.*

For all these things they promised, first, to give him whatever he agreed with the thief to give him, not exceeding 50*l.*, and to give him 50*l.* more for himself for procuring them.

Now he had his cue, and now he came to me, and told me honestly the whole story as above: so I delivered him the book, and he told me that he thought it was reasonable we should take the full sum; because he would seem to have done them some service, and so make them the easier. All this I agreed to; so he went the next day to the place, and the gentlemen met him very punctually.

He told them at the first word, he had done their work, and, as he hoped, to their minds; and told them if it had not been for the diamonds, he could have got all for 10*l.*, but that the diamonds had shone so bright in the boy's imagination, that he talked of running away to France or Holland, and living there all his days like a gentleman; at which they laughed. "However, gentlemen," said he, "here is the book;" and so pulled it out, wrapt up in a dirty piece of a coloured handkerchief, as black as the street could make it, and sealed with a piece of sorry wax, and the impression of a farthing for a seal.

Upon this the note being also unsealed, at the

same time he pulled open the dirty rag, and showed the gentleman his pocket-book ; at which he was so over-surprised with joy, notwithstanding all the preparatory discourse, that he was fain to call for a glass of wine or brandy to drink, to keep him from fainting.

The book being opened, the paper of diamonds was first taken out, and there they were every one, only the little paper was by itself, and the rough diamonds that were in it were loose among the rest ; but he owned they were all there safe.

Then the bills were called over, one by one, and they found one bill for 80*l.* more than the account mentioned ; besides several papers which were not for money, though of consequence to the gentleman, and he acknowledged that all was very honestly returned : " And now, young man," said they, " you shall see we will deal as honestly by you ;" and so, in the first place, they gave him 50*l.* for himself, and then they told out the 50*l.* for me.

He took the 50*l.* for himself and put it up in his pocket, wrapping it in paper, it being all in gold : then he began to tell over the other 50*l.* ; but when he told out 30*l.*, " Hold, gentlemen," says he, " as I have acted fairly for you, so you shall have no reason to say I do not do so to the end. I have taken 30*l.*, and for so much I agreed with the boy ; and so there is 20*l.* of your money again."

They stood looking one at another a good while, as surprised at the honesty of it ; for till that time they were not quite without a secret suspicion that he was the thief, but that piece of policy cleared up his reputation to them. The gentleman that had got his bills, said softly to one of them, " Give it him all ;" but the other said, (softly too,) " No, no ; as long as he has got it abated, and is satisfied with the 50*l.* you have given him, 'tis very well ; let it go as it is." This was not spoke so softly but he heard it, and said, " No," too ; " I am very well satisfied ; I am glad I have got them for you ;" and so they began to part.

But just before they were going away, one of the gentlemen said to him, " Young man, come, you see we are just to you, and have done fairly, as you have also, and we will not desire you to tell us who this cunning fellow is that got such a prize from this gentleman ; but as you have talked with him, pr'ythee, can you tell us nothing of how he did it, that we may beware of such sparks again ?"

" Sir," says Will, " when I shall tell you what they say, and how the particular case stood, the gentleman would blame himself more than anybody else, or as much at least. The young rogue that caught this prize was out, it seems, with a comrade, who is a nimble experienced pickpocket as most in London, but at that time the artist was somewhere at a distance, and this boy never had picked a pocket in his life before ; but, he says, he stood over against the passage into the Exchange, on the east side, and the gentleman stood just by the passage ; that he was very earnest in talking with some other gentlemen, and often pulled out this book and opened it, and took papers out, and put others in, and returned it into his coat-pocket ; that the last time it hitched at the pocket-hole, or stopt at something that

was in the pocket, and hung a little out, which the boy, who had watched it a good while, perceiving, he passes by close to the gentleman, and carried it smoothly off, without the gentleman's perceiving it at all."

He went on, and said, "'Tis very strange gentlemen should put pocket-books which have such things in them into those loose pockets, and in so careless a manner." " That's very true," says the gentleman ; and so, with some other discourse of no great signification, he came away to me.

We were now so rich that we scarce knew what to do with our money ; at least I did not, for I had no relations, no friend, nowhere to put any thing I had but in my pocket ; as for Will, he had a poor mother, but wicked as himself, and he made her rich, and glad with his good success.

We divided this booty equally ; for, though the gaining it was mine, yet the improving of it was his, and his management brought the money ; for neither he nor I could have made anything proportionable of the thing any other way. As for the bills, there was no room to doubt, but unless they had been carried that minute to the goldsmith's for the money, he would have come with notice to stop the payment, and perhaps have come while the money was receiving, and have taken hold of the person. And then as to the diamonds, there had been no offering them to sale by us poor boys to anybody, but those who were our known receivers, and they would have given us nothing for them compared to what they were worth ; for, as I understood afterwards, those who made a trade of buying stolen goods, took care to have false weights, and cheat the poor devil that stole them, at least one ounce in three.

Upon the whole, we made the best of it many ways besides. I had a strange kind of uninstructed conscience at that time ; for, though I made no scruple of getting anything in this manner from anybody, yet I could not bear destroying their bills and papers, which were things that would do them a great deal of hurt, and do me no good ; and I was so tormented about it that I could not rest night or day till I made the people easy from whom the things were taken.

I was now rich, so that I knew not what to do with my money, or with myself. I had lived so near and so close, that although, as I said, I did now and then lay out 2*d.* or 3*d.* for mere hunger, yet I had so many people, who, as I said, employed me, and who gave me victuals, and sometimes clothes, that in a whole year I had not quite spent the 15*s.* which I had saved of the custom-house gentleman's money ; and I had the four guineas, which was of the first booty before that, still in my pocket—I mean the money that I let fall into the tree.

But now I began to look higher ; and though Will and I went abroad several times together, yet, when small things offered, as handkerchiefs and such trifles, we would not meddle with them, not caring to run the risk for small matters. It fell out one day that, as we were strolling about in West Smithfield on a Friday, there happened to be an ancient country gentleman in the market selling some very large bullocks ; it seems they came out of Sussex. His worship, for so they called him, had received the money for these bullocks at a tavern, whose sign I forget now, and

having some of it in a bag, and the bag in his hand, he was taken with a sudden fit of coughing, and stands to cough, resting his hand with the bag of money in it upon the bulk-head of a shop just by the Cloyster gate in Smithfield, that is to say, within three or four doors of it; we were both just behind him. Says Will to me, "Stand ready;" upon this he makes an artificial stumble, and falls with his head just against the old gentleman in the very moment when he was coughing, ready to be strangled, and quite spent for want of breath.

The violence of the blow beat the old gentleman quite down; the bag of money did not immediately fly out of his hand, but I ran to get hold of it, and gave it a quick snatch, pulled it clean away, and ran like the wind down the Cloysters with it; turned on the left hand, as soon as I was through, and cut into Little Britain, so into Bartholomew close, then cross Aldersgate street, through Paul's alley into Red cross street, and so cross all the streets, through innumerable alleys, and never stopped till I got into the second quarter of Moor fields, our old agreed rendezvous.

Will, in the meantime, fell down with the old gentleman, but soon got up; the old knight, for such it seems he was, was frightened with the fall, and his breath so stopped with his cough, that he could not recover himself to speak till some time; during which nimble Will was got up again, and walked off; nor could he call out, stop thief, or tell anybody he had lost anything for a good while; but, coughing vehemently, and looking red, till he was almost black in the face, he cried, "The ro——Heh, heh, heh, the rogues—heh—have got—heh, heh, heh, heh, heh, heh,"—then he would get a little breath, and at it again: "the rogues—heh, heh;" and, after a great many hehs and rogues, he brought it out,—"have got away my bag of money!"

All this while the people understood nothing of the matter; and as for the rogues indeed, they had time enough to get clear away, and in about an hour Will came to the rendezvous; there we sat down in the grass again, and turned out the money, which proved to be eight guineas, and 5*l.* 12*s.* in silver, so that it made just 14*l.* together. This we shared upon the spot, and went to work the same day for more; but whether it was, that, being flushed with our success, we were not so vigilant, or that no other opportunity offered, I know not, but we got nothing more that night, nor so much as anything offered itself for an attempt.

We took many walks of this kind, sometimes together, at a little distance from one another, and several small hits we made; but we were so flushed with our success, that truly we were above meddling with trifles, as I said before, no, not such things that others would have been glad of; nothing but pocket-books, letter-cases, or sums of money would move us.

The next adventure was in the dusk of the evening, in a court, which goes out of Gracechurch street into Lombard street, where the Quakers' meeting-house is; there was a young fellow, who, as we learned afterward, was a woollen draper's apprentice in Gracechurch street; it seems he had been receiving a sum of money, which was very considerable, and he comes to a goldsmith's

shop in Lombard street with it; paid in the most of it there; insomuch that it grew dark, and the goldsmith began to be shutting in shop, and candles to be lighted; we watched him in there, and stood on the other side of the way to see what he did. When he had paid in all the money he intended, he stayed still some time longer to take notes, as I supposed, for what he had paid, and by this time it was still darker than before; at last he comes out of the shop with still a pretty large bag under his arm, and walks over into the court, which was then very dark; in the middle of the court is a boarded entry, and farther, at the end of it, a threshold; and as soon as he had set his foot over the threshold, he was to turn on his left hand into Gracechurch street.

"Keep up," says Will to me, "be nimble;" and as soon as he had said so, he flies at the young man, and gives him such a violent thrust, that pushed him forward with too great a force for him to stand; and, as he strove to recover, the threshold took his feet, and he fell forward into the other part of the court, as if he had flown in the air, with his head lying towards the Quakers' meeting-house. I stood ready, and presently felt out the bag of money, which I heard fall, for it flew out of his hand, he having his life to save, not his money. I went forward with the money, and Will, that threw him down, finding I had it, ran backward, and as I made along Fenchurch street, Will overtook me, and we scoured home together. The poor young man was hurt a little with the fall, and reported to his master, as we heard afterward, that he was knocked down, which was not true, for neither Will nor I had any stick in our hands; but the master of the youth was, it seems, so very thankful that his young man was not knocked down before he paid the rest of the money (which was above 100*l.* more) to the goldsmith, who was Sir John Sweetapple, that he made no great noise at the loss he had; and, as we heard afterward, only warned his 'prentice to be more careful, and come no more through such places in the dark; whereas the man had really no such deliverance as he imagined, for we saw him before, when he had all the money about him; but it was no time of day for such work as we had to do, so that he was in no danger before.

This booty amounted to 29*l.* 16*s.*, which was 14*l.* 18*s.* a-piece, and added exceedingly to my store, which began now to be very much too big for my management; and indeed I began to be now full of care for the preservation of what I had got: I wanted a trusty friend to commit it to, but where was such a one to be found by a poor boy, bred up among thieves? If I should have let any honest body know that I had so much money, they would have asked me how I came by it, and would have been afraid to take it into their hands, lest, I being some time or other caught in my rogueries, they should be counted the receivers of stolen goods, and the encouragers of a thief.

We had, however, in the meantime, a great many other successful enterprizes, some of one kind, some of another, and were never so much as in danger of being apprehended; but my companion Will, who was now grown a man, and encouraged by these advantages, fell into quite another vein of wickedness, getting acquainted

with a wretched gang of fellows that turned their hands to everything that was vile.

Will was a lusty strong fellow, and withal very bold and daring, would fight anybody, and venture upon anything, and I found he began to be above the mean rank of a poor pick-pocket, so I saw him but seldom: however, once coming to me, in a very friendly manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I used the old trade still, that I had had two or three good jobs; one with a young woman, whose pocket I had picked of eleven guineas; and another, a country-woman, just come out of a stage-coach, seeing her pull out her bag to pay the coachman; and that I followed her till I got an opportunity, and slipped it out so neatly, that though there was 8*l.* 17*s.* in it, yet she never felt it go. And several other jobs I told him of, by which I made a pretty good purchase. "I always said you were a lucky boy, Colonel Jack," says he; "but, come, you are grown almost a man now, and you shall not be always at play at push-pin; I am got into better business, I assure you, and you shall come into it too. I'll bring you into a brave gang, Jack," says he, "where you shall see we shall be all gentlemen."

Then he told me the trade itself, in short, which was with a desperate set of fellows, that had two of the most desperate works upon their hands that belonged to the whole art of thieving; that is to say, in the evening they were foot-pads, and in the night they were house-breakers. Will told me so many plausible stories, and talked of such great things, that, in short, I, who had been always used to do anything he bid me do, went with him without any hesitation.

Nothing is more certain than that hitherto, being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught childhood, as I observed before, partly from the hardness and wickedness of the company I kept, and add to these, that it was the business I might be said to be brought up to; I had, I say, all the way hitherto, no manner of thoughts about the good or evil of what I was embarked in; consequently, I had no sense of conscience, no reproaches upon my mind for having done amiss.

Yet I had something in me, by what secret influence I knew not, kept me from the other degrees of raking and vice, and, in short, from the general wickedness of the rest of my companions: for example, I never used any ill words, nobody ever heard me swear, nor was I given to drink, or to love strong drink; and I cannot omit a circumstance that very much served to prevent it. I had a strange original notion, as I have mentioned in its place, of my being a gentleman; and several things had casually happened in my way to increase this fancy of mine. It happened one day, that being in the glass-house yard, between Rosemary lane and Ratcliffe highway, there came a man dressed very well, and with a coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy glass-bottles, or some other goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his goods, he swore most horrible oaths at every two or three words. At length the master of the glass-house, an ancient grave gentleman, took the liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after a while, the gentleman was a little calmer,

but still he swore very much, though not so bad as at first. After some time, the master of the glass-house turned from him.—"Really, sir," says the good old gentleman, "you swear so, and take God's name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you; I would rather you would let my goods alone, and go somewhere else; I hope you won't take it ill, but I don't desire to deal with anybody that does so; I am afraid my glass-house should fall on your head while you stay in it."

The gentleman grew good-humoured at the reproof, and said, "Well, come, don't go away, I won't swear any more," says he, "if I can help it; for I own," says he, "I should not do it."

With that the old gentleman looked up at him, and returning, "Really, sir," says he, "'tis a pity you, that seem to be a fine gentleman, well bred and good-humoured, should accustom yourself to such an hateful practice; why, 'tis not like a gentleman to swear, 'tis enough for my black wretches that work there at the furnace, or for these ragged, naked, blackguard boys," pointing at me and some others of the dirty crew that lay in the ashes; "'tis bad enough for them," says he, "and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a man of breeding, sir," says he, "a gentleman, it ought to be looked upon as below them; gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better; I beseech you, sir, when you are tempted to swear, always ask yourself, is this like a gentleman? does this become me as a gentleman? Do but ask yourself that question, and your reason will prevail, you will soon leave it off."

I heard all this, and it made the blood run chill in my veins, when he said swearing was only fit for such as we were. In short, it made as great an impression upon me as it did upon the gentleman; and yet he took it very kindly too, and thanked the old gentleman for his advice. But from that time forward I never had the least inclination to swearing or ill words, and abhorred it when I heard the other boys do it. As to drinking, I had no opportunity, for I had nothing to drink but water, or small beer that anybody gave me in charity, for they seldom gave away strong beer; and after I had money, I neither desired strong beer, or cared to part with my money to buy it.

Then as to principle, 'tis true I had no foundation laid in me by education; and being early led by my fate into evil, I had the less sense of its being evil left upon my mind: but when I began to grow to an age of understanding, and to know that I was a thief, growing up in all manner of villainy, and ripening apace for the gallows, it came often into my thoughts that I was going wrong; that I was in the high road to Old Nick, and several times I would stop short, and ask myself, if this was the life of a gentleman?

But these little things wore off again as often as they came on, and I followed the old trade again; especially when Will came to prompt me, as I have observed, for he was a kind of a guide to me in all these things; and I had, by custom and application, together with seeing his way, learned to be as acute a workman as my master.

But, to go back where I left off. Will came to me, as I have said, and telling me how much better business he was fallen into, would have me

go along with him, and I should be a gentleman. Will, it seems, understood that word in a quite different manner from me; for his gentleman was nothing more or less than a gentleman thief, a villain of a higher degree than a pick-pocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the gallows, than could be done in our way: but my gentleman that I had my eye upon, was another thing quite, though I could not really tell how to describe it neither.

However, the word took with me, and I went with him. We were neither of us old; Will was about twenty-four and as for me I was now about eighteen, and pretty tall of my age.

The first time I went with him, he brought me into the company only of two more young fellows. We met at the lower part of Grays Inn lane, about an hour before sunset, and went out into the fields towards a place called Pindar of Wakefield, where are abundance of brick-kilns; here it was agreed to spread from the field-path to the roadway, all the way towards Pancras church, to observe any chance game, as they called it, which they might shoot flying. Upon the path, within the bank, on the one side of the road, going towards Kentish Town, two of our gang, Will, and one of the other, met a single gentleman, walking apace towards the town; being almost dark, Will cried, "Mark, ho!" which, it seems, was the word at which we were all to stand still at a distance, come in, if he wanted help, and give a signal if anything appeared that was dangerous.

Will steps up to the gentleman, stops him, and put the question, that is, "Sir, your money?" The gentleman, seeing he was alone, struck at him with his cane, but Will, a nimble strong fellow, flew in upon him, and, with struggling, got him down; then he begged for his life, Will having told him with an oath that he would cut his throat. In that moment, while this was doing, comes a hackney-coach along the road, and the fourth man, who was that way, cries, "Mark, ho!" which was to intimate that it was a prize, not a surprise; and accordingly the next man went up to assist him, where they stopped the coach, which had a doctor of physic and a surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable patient, and, I suppose, had considerable fees; for here they got two good purses, one with eleven or twelve guineas, the other six, with some pocket money, two watches, one diamond ring, and the surgeon's plaister-box, which was most of it full of silver instruments.

While they were at this work, Will kept the man down who was under him; and though he promised not to kill him unless he offered to make a noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the noise of the coach going on again, by which he knew the job was over on that side. Then he carried him a little out of the way, tied his hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no noise, and he would come back in half an hour and untie him upon his word; but if he cried out, he would come back and kill him.

The poor man promised to lie still and make no noise, and did so; and had not above 11s. 6d. in his pocket, which Will took, and came back to the rest; but while they were together, I, who

was on the side of the Pindar of Wakefield, cried, "Mark, ho!" too.

What I saw was a couple of poor women, one a kind of a nurse, and the other a maid-servant, going for Kentish Town. As Will knew that I was but young at the work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a bargain it was, he said, "Go, Colonel, fall to work." I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly woman, "Nurse," said I, "don't be in such haste, I want to speak with you;" at which they both stopped, and looked a little frightened; "Don't be frightened, sweetheart," said I to the maid; "a little of that money in the bottom of your pocket will make all easy, and I will do you no harm." By this time Will came up to us, for they did not see him before; then they began to scream out. "Hold," says I, "make no noise, unless you have a mind to force us to murder you whether we will or no; give me your money presently, and make no words, and we shan't hurt you. Upon this, the poor maid pulled out 5s. 6d., and the old woman a guinea and a shilling, crying heartily for her money, and said, it was all she had left in the world. Well, we took it for all that, though it made my very heart bleed to see what agony the poor woman was in at parting with it, and I asked her where she lived; she said her name was Smith, and she lived at Kentish Town: I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their business, and I gave Will the money; so in a few minutes we were all together again. Says one of the other rogues, "Come, this is well enough for one road; it's time to be gone." So we jogged away, crossing the fields, out of the path towards Tottenham court; "But hold," says Will, "I must go and untie the man." "D—n him," says one of them, "let him lie." "No," says Will, "I won't be worse than my word, I will untie him." So he went to the place, but the man was gone; either he had untied himself, or somebody had passed by, and he had called for help, and so was untied, for he could not find him, nor make him hear, though he ventured to call twice for him aloud.

This made us hasten away the faster, and getting into Tottenham court road, they thought it was a little too near, so they made into the town at St Giles's, and crossing to Piccadilly, went to Hyde-park gate; here they ventured to rob another coach, that is to say, one of the two other rogues and Will did it between the park gate and Knightsbridge; there was in it only a gentleman and a punk that he had picked up, it seems, at the Spring garden a little farther. They took the gentleman's money, his watch, and his silver-hilted sword; but when they came to the slut, she damned and cursed them for robbing the gentleman of his money, and leaving none for her; as for herself, she had not one sixpenny piece about her, though she was indeed well enough dressed too.

Having made this adventure, we left that road too, and went over the fields to Chelsea. In the way from Westminster to Chelsea, we met three gentlemen, but they were too strong for us to meddle with; they had been afraid to come over the fields so late, (for by this time it was eight o'clock, and though the moon gave some light, yet it was too late and too dark to be safe,) so they hired three men at Chelsea, two with

Pitchforks, and the third, a waterman, with a boat-hook staff, to guard them. We would have steered clear of them, and cared not to have them see us, if we could help it; but they did see us, and cried, "Who comes there?" and we answered, "Friends;" and so they went on, to our great satisfaction.

CHAPTER V.

MY NEW PROFESSION VERY HATEFUL TO ME—WILL IS IN GREAT DANGER OF BEING TAKEN FOR A HOUSEBREAKING AT HOUNSLOW—HE LEAVES HIS PLUNDER UNDER MY BED—I MEET WITH HIM BY ACCIDENT, AND RECEIVE HIS DIRECTIONS HOW TO DISPOSE OF THE STOLEN GOODS—I MEET CAPTAIN JACK, WHO INFORMS ME WILL IS COMMITTED TO NEWGATE—I PAY A VISIT TO MY OLD FRIEND MENTIONED IN THE THIRD CHAPTER—CONVERSATION WITH HIM—I AM APPREHENDED—CONSEQUENCES THEREOF.

WHEN we came to Chelsea, it seems we had other work to do, which I had not been made privy to; and this was a house to be robbed. They had some intelligence, it seems, with a servant in the house, who was of their gang; this rogue was a waiting-man, or footman, and he had a watch-word to let them in by; but this fellow, not for want of being a villain, but by getting drunk, and not minding his part of the work, disappointed us; for he had promised to rise at two o'clock in the morning and let us all in, but, being very drunk, and not come in at eleven o'clock, his master ordered him to be shut out, and the doors locked up, and charged the other servants not to let him in upon any terms whatsoever.

We came about the house at one o'clock to make our observations, intending to go and lie under Beaufort House wall till the clock struck two, and then to come again; but, behold, when we came to the house, there lay the fellow at the door fast asleep, and very drunk. Will, who I found was the leader in all these things, waked the fellow, who, as he had had about two hours' sleep, was a little come to himself, and told them the misfortune, as he called it, and that he could not get in. They had some instruments about them by which they could have broken in by force, but Will considered that as it was but waiting till another time, and they should be let in quietly, they resolved to give it over for that time.

But this was a happy drunken bout for the family, for the fellow having let fall some words in his drink (for he was a saucy one as well as a drunken one), and talked oddly, as that it had been better they had let him in, and he would make them pay dear for it, or some such thing, the master, hearing of it, turned him away in the morning, and never let him come into his house again; so, I say, it was a happy drunkenness to the family, for it saved them from being robbed, and perhaps murdered, for they were a cursed bloody crew, and, as I found, were about thirteen of them in all, whereof three of them made it their business to get into gentlemen's services, and so to open doors in the night, and let the other rogues in upon them to rob and destroy them.

I rambled this whole night with them. They went from Chelsea, being disappointed there as above, to Kensington; there they broke into a brewhouse and washhouse, and by that means into an out-kitchen of a gentleman's house, where they unhanged a small copper and brought it off, and stole about a hundred weight of pewter, and went clear off with that too; and, every one going their own byeways, they found means to get safe to their several receptacles where they used to dispose of such things.

We lay still the next day and shared the effects stolen that night, of which my share came to 8*l.* 19*s.* The copper and pewter being weighed and cast up, a person was at hand to take it as money at about half value, and in the afternoon Will and I came away together. Will was mighty full of the success we had had, and how we might be sure of the like this way every day. But he observed that I did not seem so elevated at the success of that night's ramble as I used to be, and also that I did not take any great notice of the expectations he was in of what was to come, yet I had said little to him at that time.

But my heart was full of the poor woman's case at Kentish Town, and I resolved, if possible, to find her out and give her her money. With the abhorrence that filled my mind at the cruelty of that act there necessarily followed a little distaste for the thing itself; and now it came into my head with a double force that this was the high road to the devil, and that certainly this was not the life of a gentleman.

Will and I parted for that time, but next morning we met again, and Will was mighty brisk and merry. "And now, Colonel Jack," says he, "we shall be rich very quickly." "Well," says I, "and what shall we do when we are rich?" "Do," says he, "we will buy a couple of good horses, and go further afield." "What do you mean by further afield?" says I. "Why," says he, "we will take the highway like gentlemen, and then we shall get a great deal of money indeed." "Well," says I, "what then?" "Why, then," says he, "we shall live like gentlemen."

"But, Will," says I, "if we get a great deal of money, shan't we leave this trade off, and sit down and be safe and quiet?"

"Ay," says Will, "when we have got a great estate we shall be willing to lay it down." "But where," says I, "shall we be before that time comes if we should drive on this cursed kind of trade?"

"Prithee never think of that," says Will; "if you think of those things you will never be fit to be a gentleman." He touched me there, indeed, for it ran much in my mind still that I was to be a gentleman, and it made me dumb for awhile; but I came to myself after a little while, and I said to him, pretty tartly, "Why, Will, do you call this way of living the life of a gentleman?"

"Why," says Will, "why not?"

"Why," says I, "was it like a gentleman for me to take that 22*s.* from a poor ancient woman, when she begged of me upon her knees not to take it, and told me it was all she had in the world to buy her bread for herself and a sick child which she had at home? Do you think I could be so cruel if you had not stood by and made me do

it; why, I cried at doing it as much as the poor woman did, though I did not let you see me."

"You fool you," says Will, "you will never be fit for our business, indeed, if you mind such things as those; I shall bring you off those things quickly. Why, if you will be fit for business, you must learn to fight when they resist, and cut their throats when they submit; you must learn to stop their breath, that they may beg and pray no more. What signifies pity? Prithee who will pity us when we come to the Old Bailey? I warrant you that whining old woman that begged so heartily for her 22s. would let you and I beg upon our knees, and would not save our lives by not coming in for an evidence against us; did you ever see any of them cry when they see gentlemen go to the gallows?"

"Well, Will," says I, "you had better let us keep to the business we were in before; there were no such cruel doings in that, and yet we got more money by it than I believe we shall get at this."

"No, no," says Will, "you are a fool; you don't know what fine things we shall do in a little while."

Upon this discourse we parted for that time; but I resolved with myself that I would never be concerned with him that way any more. The truth is, they were such a dreadful gang, such horrid, barbarous villains, that even that little while that I was among them my very blood ran cold in my veins at what I heard, particularly the continued raving and damning one another and themselves at every word they spoke; and then the horrid resolutions of murder and cutting throats which I perceived was in their minds upon any occasion that should present. This appeared first in their discourse upon the disappointment they met with at Chelsea, where the two rogues that were with us, ay, and Will too, damned and raged that they could not get into the house, and swore they would have cut the gentleman's throat if they had got in, and shook hands, damning and cursing themselves if they did not murder the whole family as soon as Tom (that was the manservant) could get an opportunity to let them in.

Two days after this Will came to my lodging; for I had now got a room by myself, had bought me tolerable good clothes and some shirts, and began to look like other folks; but, as it happened, I was abroad upon the scout in another way, for, though I was not hardened enough for so black a villain as Will would have had me be, yet I had not arrived to any principle sufficient to keep me from a life, in its degree wicked enough, which tended to the same destruction, though not in so violent and precipitant degrees. I had his message delivered to me, which was to meet him the next evening at such a place, and, as I came in time enough to go, I went to the place, but resolved beforehand that I would not go any more with him among the gang.

However, to my great satisfaction, I missed him, for he did not come at all to the place, but met with the gang at another place, they having sent for him in haste upon the notice of some booty; and so they went all away together. This was a summons, it seems, from one of the creatures which they had abroad in a family where an opportunity offered them to commit a notorious

robbery down almost as far as Hounslow, and where they wounded a gentleman's gardener so that I think he died, and robbed the house of a very considerable sum of money and plate.

This, however, was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the resistance they met with, the neighbours were all alarmed, and the gentlemen rogues were pursued, and being at London with the booty, one of them was taken; Will, a dexterous fellow, and head of the gang, made his escape, and though in his clothes, with a great weight about him, of both money and plate, plunged into the Thames, and swam over where there was no path or road leading to the river, so that nobody suspected any one's going that way. Being got over, he made his way, wet as he was, into some woods adjacent, and, as he told me afterwards, not far from Chertsey, and stayed lurking about in the woods or fields thereabout, till his clothes were dry; then, in the night, got down to Kingston, and so to Mortlake, where he got a boat to London.

He knew not that one of his comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were obliged to disperse, and every one to shift for himself. He happened to come home in the evening, as good luck then directed him, just after search had been made for him by the constables; his companion, who was taken, having, upon promise of favour, and of saving him from the gallows, discovered his companions, and Will, among the rest, as the principal party in the whole undertaking.

Will got notice of this just time enough to run for it, and not to be taken; and away he came to look for me; but, as my good fate still directed, I was not at home neither. However, he left all his booty at my lodging, and hid it in an old coat that lay under my bedding, and left word that my brother Will had been there, and had left his coat, that he borrowed of me, and that it was under my bed.

I knew not what to make of it, but went up to go to bed; and, finding the parcel, was perfectly frightened to see, wrapped up in it, above one hundred pounds in plate and money, and yet knew nothing of brother Will, as he called himself, nor did I hear of him for three or four days.

At the end of four days I heard, by great accident, that Will, who used to be seen with me, and who called me brother, was taken, and would be hanged. Next day a poor man, a shoemaker, that used formerly to have a kindness for me, and to send me of errands, and gave me sometimes some victuals, seeing me accidentally in Rosemary lane, going by him, clasped me fast hold by the arm: "Hark ye, young man," says he, "have I caught you?" and he hauled me along as if I had been a thief apprehended, and he the constable. "Hark ye, Colonel Jack," says he again, "come along with me, I must speak with you. What, are you got into this gang too? What, are you turned housebreaker? Come, I'll have you hanged, to be sure."

These were dreadful words to me, who, though not guilty of the particular thing in question, yet was frightened heartily before, and did not know what I might be charged with by Will, if he was taken, as I had heard that very morning he was. With these words the shoemaker began to haul

and drag me along as he used to do when I was a boy.

However, recovering my spirits, and provoked to the highest degree, I said to him, "What do you mean, Mr —? Let me alone, or you will oblige me to make you do it;" and with that I stopped short, and soon let him see I was a little too big to be hauled about as I used to be when I ran of his errands, and made a motion with my other hand as if I would strike him in the face.

"How, Jack!" says he, "will you strike me? Will you strike your old friend?" and then he let go my arm, and laughed. "Well, but hark ye, Colonel," says he, "I am in earnest, I hear bad news of you; they say you are gotten into bad company, and that this Will calls you brother; he is a great villain, and I hear he is charged with a bloody robbery, and will be hanged if he is taken. I hope you are not concerned with him; if you are, I would advise you to shift for yourself, for the constable and the headborough are after him to-day, and if he can lay anything to you, he will do it, you may be sure; he will certainly hang you to save himself."

This was kind, and I thanked him; but told him this was a thing too serious, and that had too much weight in it to be jested with, as he had done before; and that some ignorant stranger might have seized upon me as a person guilty, who had no farther concern in it than just knowing the man, and so I might have been brought into trouble for nothing; at least people might have thought I was among them, whether I was or no, and it would have rendered me suspected, though I was innocent.

He acknowledged that; told me he was but in jest, and that he talked to me just as he used to do. "However, Colonel," says he, "I won't jest any more with you in a thing of such a dangerous consequence; I only advise you to keep the fellow company no more."

I thanked him, and went away, but in the greatest perplexity imaginable; and now, not knowing what to do with myself, or with the little ill-gotten wealth which I had, I went musing and alone into the fields towards Stepney, my usual walk, and there began to consider what to do; and as this creature had left his prize in my garret, I began to think, that if he should be taken, and should confess, and send the officers to search there for the goods, and they should find them, I should be undone, and should be taken up for a confederate: whereas I knew nothing of the matter, and had no hand in it.

While I was thus musing, and in great perplexity, I heard somebody hollo to me; and, looking about, I saw Will running after me. I knew not what to think at first; but seeing him alone, was the more encouraged, and I stood still for him. When he came up to me, I said to him, "What is the matter, Will?"—"Matter!" says Will, "matter enough; I am undone. When was you at home?"

"I saw what you left there," says I; "what is the meaning of it, and where got you all that? Is that your being undone?"

"Ay," says Will, "I am undone for all that, for the officers are after me, and I am a dead dog if I am taken, for George is in custody, and he

has peached me and all the others to save his life."

"Life!" says I, "why, should you lose your life if they should take you? Pray what would they do to you?"

"Do to me!" says he, "they would hang me if the king had ne'er another soldier in his guards; I shall certainly be hanged as I am now alive."

This frightened me terribly, and I said, "And what will you do then?"—"Nay," says he, "I know not; I would get out of the nation, if I knew how; but I am a stranger to all those things, and I know not what to do, not I. Advise me, Jack," says he, "prithee tell me whither shall I go; I have a good mind to go to sea."

"You talk of going away," says I; "what will you do with all you have hid in my garret; it must not lie there," said I; "for if I should be taken up for it, and it be found to be the money you stole, I shall be ruined."

"I care not what becomes of it, not I," says Will; "I'll be gone; do you take it, if you will, and do what you will with it; I must fly, and I cannot take it with me."—"I won't have it, not I," says I to him; "I'll go and fetch it to you if you will take it," says I, "but I won't meddle with it; besides, there is plate; what shall I do with plate?" said I; "if I should offer to sell it anywhere," said I, "they will stop me."

"As for that," says Will, "I could sell it well enough if I had it, but I must not be seen anywhere among my old acquaintance, for I am blown, and they will all betray me; but I will tell you where you shall go and sell it if you will, and they will ask you no questions, if you give them the word that I will give you." So he gave me the word, and directions to a pawnbroker, near Cloth fair; the word was 'Good tower standard.' Having these instructions, he said to me, "Colonel Jack, I am sure you won't betray me; and I promise you, if I am taken, and should be hanged, I won't name you; I will go to such a house (naming a house at Bromley, by Bow, where he and I had often been,) and there," says he, "I'll stay till it is dark; at night I will come near the streets, and I will lie under such a haystack all night (a place we both knew also very well); and if you cannot finish to come to me there, I will go back to Bow."

I went back and took the cargo, went to the place by Cloth fair, and gave the word, 'Good tower standard;' and, without any words, they took the plate, weighed it, and paid me after the rate of 2s. per ounce for it; so I came away, and went to meet him; but it was too late to meet him at the first place; but I went to the haystack, and there I found him fast asleep.

I delivered him his cargo; what it really amounted to I knew not, for I never told it; but I went home to my quarters very late and tired; I went to sleep at first, but, notwithstanding I was so weary, I slept little or none for several hours; at last, being overcome with sleep, I dropped, but was immediately roused with noise of people knocking at the door, as if they would beat it down, and crying and calling out to the people of the house, "Rise and let in the constable here, we come for your lodger in the garret."

I was frightened to the last degree, and started

up in my bed; but when I was awake, I heard no noise at all, but of two watchmen thumping at the doors with their staves, and giving the hour past three o'clock, and a rainy wet morning, for such it was. I was very glad when I found it was but a dream, and went to bed again, but was soon roused a second time with the same, very same noise and words: then, being sooner awaked than I was before, I jumped out of bed, and ran to the window, and found it was just an hour more, and the watchmen were come about past four o'clock, and they went away again very quietly; so I lay me down again, and slept the rest of the night quietly enough.

I laid no stress upon the thing called a dream, neither till now did I understand that dreams were of any importance; but getting up the next day, and going out with a resolution to meet brother Will, who should I meet but my former brother, Captain Jack: when he saw me, he came close to me in his blunt way, and says, "Do you hear the news?" "No, not I," said I; "what news?" "Your old comrade and teacher is taken this morning and carried to Newgate." "How," says I, "this morning?" "Yes," says he, "this morning at four o'clock. He is charged with a robbery and murder somewhere beyond Brentford; and that which is worse, is, that he is impeached by one of the gang, who, to save his own life, has turned evidence; and therefore you had best consider," says the Captain, "what you have to do." "What I have to do?" says I; "and what do you mean by that?" "Nay, Colonel," says he, "don't be angry; you know best if you are not in danger; I am glad of it, but I doubt not but you were with them." "No, not I," said I, again; "I assure you I was not." "Well," says he, "but if you were not with them this bout, you have been with them at other times; and 'twill be all one." "Not I," says I, "you are quite mistaken; I am none of their gang; they are above my quality." With such, and a little more talk of that kind, we parted, and Captain Jack went away; but, as he went, I observed he shook his head, seemed to have more concern upon him than he could be supposed to have merely on my account, of which we shall hear more very quickly.

I was extremely alarmed when I heard Will was in Newgate, and, had I known where to have gone, would certainly have fled as far as legs would have carried me; my very joints trembled, and I was ready to sink into the ground; and all that evening and that night following, I was in the uttermost consternation; my head ran upon nothing but Newgate and the gallows, and being hanged; which, I said, I deserved, if it were for nothing but taking that two-and-twenty shillings from the poor old nurse.

The first thing my perplexed thoughts allowed me to take care of was my money. This indeed lay in a little compass, and I carried it generally all about me. I had got together, as you will perceive by the past account, above sixty pounds, for I spent nothing, and what to do with it I knew not; at last it came into my head that I would go to my benefactor, the clerk at the custom-house, if he was to be found, and see if I could get him to take the rest of my money: the only business was to make a plausible story

to him, that he might not wonder how I came by so much money.

But my invention quickly supplied that want; there was a suit of clothes at one of our houses of rendezvous, which was left there for any of the gang to put on, upon particular occasions, as a disguise: this was a green livery, laced with pink-coloured galloon, and lined with the same; an edged hat, a pair of boots, and a whip. I went and dressed myself up in this livery, and went to my gentleman, to his house in Tower street, and there I found him in health, and well, just the same honest gentleman as ever.

He stared at me when first I came to him, for I met him just at his door; I say he stared at me, and seeing me bow and bow to him several times, with my laced hat under my arm; at last, not knowing me in the least, says he to me, "Dost thou want to speak with me, young man?" and I said, "Yes, sir; I believe your worship (I had learnt some manner now) does not know me; I am the poor boy Jack." He looked hard at me, and then recollecting me presently, says he, "Who, Colonel Jack! why, where hast thou been all this while? why, 'tis five or six years since I saw you." "'Tis above six years, and please your worship," says I.

"Well, and where hast thou been all this while?" says he.

"I have been in the country, sir," says I, "at service."

"Well, Colonel Jack, says he, "you give long credit; what's the reason you han't fetched your money all this while, nor the interest? Why, you will grow so rich in time by the interest of your money, you won't know what to do with it."

To that I said nothing, but bowed and scraped a great many times. "Well, come, Colonel Jack," said he, "come in, and I will give you your money, and the interest of it too."

I cringed, and bowed, and told him I did not come to him for my money; for I had had a good place or two, and I did not want my money.

"Well, Colonel Jack," said he, "and who do you live with?"

"Sir Jonathan Loxham," said I, "sir, in Somersetshire, and please your worship." This was a name I had heard of, but knew nothing of any such gentleman, or of the county.

"Well," says he, "but won't you have your money, Jack?"

"No, sir," said I, "if your worship would please, for I have had a good place."

"If I would please to do what, prithee? Your money is ready, I tell thee."

"No, sir," said I, "but I have had a good place."

"Well, and what dost thou mean, Jack? I do not understand thee."

"Why, and please your worship, my old master, Sir Jonathan's father, left me 30*l*. when he died, and a suit of mourning, and—"

"And what, prithee, Jack, what, hast thou brought me more money?" For then he began to understand what I meant.

"Yes, sir," said I, "and your worship would be so good to take it, and put it all together; I have saved some too out of my wages."

"I told you, Jack," says he, "you would be

rich; and how much hast thou saved? come, let me see it."

To shorten the story, I pulled it out, and he was content to take it, giving me his note, with interest, for the whole sum, which amounted to ninety-four pounds; that is to say,

25*l*. The first money.

9*l*. For six years' interest.

60*l*. Now paid him.

94*l*.

I came away exceeding joyful, made him abundance of bows and scrapes, and went immediately to shift my clothes again, with a resolution to run away from London, and see it no more for a great while; but I was surprised the very next morning, when, going cross Rosemary lane, by the end of the place which is called Rag fair, I heard one call Jack, he had said something before, which I did not hear, but upon hearing the name Jack, I looked about me, immediately saw three men, and after them a constable coming towards me with great fury. I was in a great surprise, and started to run, but one of them clapped in upon me, and got hold of me, and in a moment the rest surrounded me, and I was taken. I asked them what they wanted, and what I had done? They told me it was no place to talk of that there; but showed me their warrant, and bade me read it, and I should know the rest when I came before the justice; so they hurried me away.

I took the warrant, but, to my great affliction, I could know nothing by that, for I could not read; so I desired them to read it, and they read it, that they were to apprehend a known thief, that went by the name of one of the three Jacks of Rag fair; for that he was charged upon oath with having been a party in a notorious robbery, burglary, and murder, committed so and so, in such a place, and on such a day.

It was to no purpose for me to deny it, or to say I knew nothing of it, that was none of their business they said; that must be disputed, they told me, before the justice, where I would find that it was sworn positively against me, and then, perhaps, I might be better satisfied.

I had no remedy but patience; and, as my heart was full of terror and guilt, so I was ready to die with the weight of it as they carried me along; for as I very well knew that I was guilty of the first day's work, though I was not of the last; so I did not doubt but I should be sent to Newgate, and then I took it for granted I must be hanged; for to go to Newgate, and to be hanged, were to me as things which necessarily followed one another.

But I had a sharp conflict to go through before it came to that part; and that was before the justice; where, when I was come, and the constable brought me in, the justice asked me my name; "but hold," says he, "young man, before I ask you your name, let me do you justice; you are not bound to answer till your accusers come;" so, turning to the constable, he asked for his warrant.

"Well," says the justice, "you have brought this young man here by virtue of this warrant; is this young man the person for whom this warrant is granted?"

Con. "I believe so, and please your worship."

Just. "Believe so! Why, are you not sure of it?"

Con. "An't please your worship, the people said so where I took him."

Just. "It is a very particular kind of warrant; it is to apprehend a young man who goes by the name of Jack, but no surname, only that it is said he is called Captain Jack, or some other such name. Now, young man, pray is your name Captain Jack, or are you usually called so?"

I presently found that the men who took me knew nothing of me, and the constable had taken me up by hearsay; so I took heart and told the justice that I thought, with submission, that it was not the present question what my name was, but what these men, or any one else, had to lay to my charge; whether I was the person whom the warrant empowered them to apprehend or no?

He smiled; "'Tis very true, young man," says he, "it is very true; and on my word, if they have taken you up, and do not know you, and there is nobody to charge you, they will be mistaken to their own damage."

Then I told his worship, I hoped I should not be obliged to tell my name till my accuser was brought to charge me, and then I should not conceal my name.

"It is but reason," said his worship. "Mr Constable," turning to the officers, "are you sure this is the person that is intended in your warrant? If you are not, you must fetch the person that accuses him, and on whose oath the warrant was granted." They used many words to insinuate that I was the person, and that I knew it well enough, and that I should be obliged to tell my name.

I insisted on the unreasonableness of it, and that I should not be obliged to accuse myself; and the justice told them in so many words that he could not force me to it; that I might do it if I would, indeed; "but you see," says the justice, "he understood too well to be imposed upon in that case:" so that, in short, after an hour's debating before his worship, in which time I pleaded against four of them, the justice told them they must produce the accuser, or he must discharge me.

I was greatly encouraged at this, and argued with the more vigour for myself; at length the accuser was brought, fettered as he was, from the gaol, and glad I was when I saw him, and found that I knew him not; that is to say, that it was not one of the two rogues that I went out with that night that we robbed the poor old woman.

When the prisoner was brought into the room, he was set right against me.

"Do you know this young man?" says the justice.

"No, sir," says the prisoner, "I never saw him in my life."

"Hum!" says the justice, "did not you charge one that goes by the name of Jack, or Captain Jack, as concerned in the robbery and murder which you are in custody for?"

Pris. "Yes, an't please your worship," says the prisoner.

Just. "And is this the man, or is he not?"

Pris. "This is not the man, sir; I never saw this man before."

"Very good, Mr Constable," says the justice; "what must we do now?"

"I am surprised," says the constable; "I was at such a house," naming the house, "and this young man went by; the people cried out, 'There's Jack, that's your man,' and these people ran after him, and apprehended him."

"Well," says the justice, "and have these people anything to say to him; can they prove that he is the person?"

One said "No," and the other said "No;" and, in short, they all said "No."—"Why, then," said the justice, "what can be done? The young man must be discharged; and I must tell you, Mr Constable, and you gentlemen that have brought him hither, he may give you trouble, if he thinks fit, for your being so rash; but look you, young man," says the justice, "you have no great damage done you, and the constable, though he has been mistaken, had no ill design but to be faithful to his office; I think you may pass it by."

I told his worship, I would readily pass it by at his direction; but I thought the constable and the rest could do no less than to go back to the place where they had insulted me, and declare publicly there that I was honourably acquitted, and that I was not the man. This his worship said was very reasonable, and the constable and his assistants promised to do it, and so we came all away good friends, and I was cleared with triumph.

NOTE.—This was the time that, as I mentioned above, the justice talked to me, and told me I was born to better things, and that, by my well managing of my own defence, he did not question but I had been well educated; and that he was sorry I should fall into such a misfortune as this, which he hoped, however, would be no dishonour to me, since I was so handsomely acquitted.

CHAPTER VI.

I VISIT WILL, MY TUTOR IN WICKEDNESS, IN NEWGATE—HE IS EXECUTED—CAPTAIN JACK PROPOSES TO ME TO FLY INTO SCOTLAND—I RETURN THE POOR OLD WOMAN THE MONEY I HAD FORMERLY ROBBED HER OF—CAPTAIN JACK AND I SET OUT ON OUR JOURNEY NORTH—THE CAPTAIN'S ROGUERIES, AND VARIOUS ADVENTURES ON THE ROAD.

THOUGH his worship was mistaken in the matter of my education, yet it had this good effect upon me, that I resolved, if possible, I would learn to read and write, that I would not be such an incapable creature that I should not be able to read a warrant, and see whether I was the person to be apprehended or not.

But there was something more in all this than what I have taken notice of; for, in a word, it appeared plainly that my brother, Capt. Jack, who had the forwardness to put it to me, "Whether I was among them or no?" when in truth he was there himself, had the only reason to be afraid and to fly, at the same time that he advised me to shift for myself.

As this presently occurred to my thoughts, so I made it my business to inquire and find him out, and give him notice of it.

In the meantime, being now confident of my own safety, I had no more concern upon my mind

about myself; but now I began to be anxious for poor Will, my master and tutor in wickedness, who was now fast by the heels in Newgate, while I was happily at liberty, and I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I found him in a sad condition, laden with heavy irons, and having himself no prospect or hope of escaping. He told me he should die, but bid me be easy, for, as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it he would not bring me into the trouble; as for the rogue who had betrayed them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might be satisfied he had never seen me in his life. "But, Colonel Jack," says he, "I will tell you who was with us, and that is your brother the captain, and the villain has certainly named him; and, therefore," says he, "if you can give him timely notice of it, do, that he may make his escape."

He said a great many things to warn me of following the steps he had led me. "I was far out, Jack," said he, "when I told you to be a notorious thief was to live like a gentleman." He chiefly discovered his concern that they had, as he feared, killed the gentleman's gardener, and that he in particular had given him a wound in the neck of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great sum of money in gold about him, being the same that I had carried back to him at the haystack, and he had concealed it so well that those that took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest part of it to carry to his mother, which I very honestly delivered, and came away with a heavy heart; nor did I ever see him since, for he was executed in about three weeks' time after, being condemned that very next sessions.

I had nothing to do now but to find the captain, who, though not without some trouble, I at last got news of, and told him the whole story, and how I had been taken up for him by mistake, and was come off, but that the warrant was still out for him, and very strict search after him. I say, telling him all this, he presently discovered by his surprise that he was guilty, and, after a few words more, told me plainly it was all true, that he was in the robbery, and that he had the greatest part of the booty in keeping, but what to do with it or himself he did not know, and wanted me to tell him, which I was very unfit to do, for I knew nothing of the world. Then he told me he had a mind to fly into Scotland, which was easy to be done, and asked me if I would go with him. I told him I would with all my heart if I had money enough to bear the charge. He had the trade still in his eyes by his answer. "I warrant you," says he, "we will make the journey pay our charge." "I dare not think of going any more upon the adventure," says I; "besides, if we meet with any misfortune out of our knowledge we shall never get out of it, we shall be undone." "Nay," says he, "we shall find no mercy here if they can catch us, and they can do no worse abroad; I am for venturing at all events."

"Well, but captain," says I, "have you husbanded your time so ill that you have no money to supply you in such a time as this?" "I have very little, indeed," said he, "for I have had bad luck lately." But he lied, for he had a great share of the booty they had got at their last ad-

venture, as above; and, as the rest complained, he and Will had got almost all of it, and kept the rest out of their shares, which made them the willinger to discover them.

However as it was, he owned he had about 22*l.* in money, and something that would yield money; I suppose it was plate; but he would not tell me what it was or where it was, but he said he durst not go to fetch it, for he should be betrayed and seized, so he would venture without it. "Sure," says he, "we shall come back again some time or other."

I honestly produced all the money I had, which was 16*l.* and some odd shillings. "Now," says I, "if we are good husbands, and travel frugally, this will carry us quite out of danger;" for we had both been assured that when we went out of England we should be both safe, and nobody could hurt us though they had known us; but we neither of us thought it was so many weary steps to Scotland as we found it.

I speak of myself as in the same circumstances of danger with brother Jack; but it was only thus, I was in as much fear as he, but not in quite as much danger.

I cannot omit, that, in the interval of these things, and a few days before I carried my money to the gentleman in Tower street, I took a walk all alone into the fields in order to go to Kentish Town and do justice to the poor old nurse; it happened that before I was aware I crossed a field that came to the very spot where I robbed the poor old woman and the maid, or where, I should say, Will made me rob them. My heart had reproached me many a time with that cruel action, and many a time I had promised to myself that I would find a way to make her satisfaction and restore her money, and that day I had set apart for the work, but was a little surprised that I came so suddenly upon the unhappy spot.

The place brought to my mind the villany I had committed there, and something struck me with a kind of wish, I cannot say prayer, for I knew not what that meant, that I might leave off that cursed trade; and I said to myself, "O, that I had some trade to live by; I would never rob no more, for sure 'tis a wicked, abominable thing."

Here, indeed, I felt the loss of what just parents do, and ought to do, by all their children; I mean being bred to some trade or employment; and I wept many times that I knew not what to do, or what to turn my hand to, though I resolved to leave off the wicked course I was in.

But to return to my journey. I asked my way to Kentish Town, and it happened to be of a poor woman that said she lived there; upon which intelligence I asked her if she knew a woman that lived there, whose name was Smith. She answered, yes, very well; that she was not a settled inhabitant, only a lodger in the town, but that she was an honest, poor, industrious woman, and, by her labour and pains, maintained a diseased husband that had been unable to help himself some years.

"What a villain have I been," said I to myself, "that I should rob such a poor woman as this, and add grief and tears to her misery, and to the sorrows of her house!" This quickened my resolution to restore her money, and not only so, but

I resolved I would give her something over and above her loss; so I went forward, and, by the direction I had received, found her lodging with very little trouble; then, asking for the woman, she came to the door immediately, for she heard me ask for her by her name of a little girl that came first to the door. I presently spoke to her. "Dame," said I, "was not you robbed about a year ago, as you was coming home from London, about the Pindar of Wakefield?" "Yes, indeed I was," says she, "and sadly frightened into the bargain." "And how much did you lose?" said I. "Indeed," says she, "I lost all the money I had in the world; I am sure I worked hard for it, it was money for keeping a nurse child that I had then, and I had been at London to receive it." "But how much was it, dame?" said I. "Why," says she, "it was 22*s.* and 6½*d.*; 21*s.* I had been to fetch, and the odd money was my own before."

"Well, look you, good woman, what will you say if I should put you in a way to get your money again? for I believe the fellow that took it is fast enough now, and perhaps I may do you a kindness in it, and for that I came to see you." "O dear!" says the old woman, "I understand you, but indeed I cannot swear to the man's face again, for it was dark; and, besides, I would not hang the poor wretch for my money; let him live and repent." "That is very kind," says I, "more than he deserves from you; but you need not be concerned about that, for he will be hanged whether you appear against him or not: but are you willing to have your money again that you lost?" "Yes, indeed," said the woman, "I should be glad of that, for I have not been so hard put to it for money a great while as I am now; I have much ado to find us bread to eat, though I work hard early and late." And with that she cried.

I thought it would have broke my very heart, to think how this poor creature worked, and was a slave at near threescore, and that I, a young fellow of hardly twenty, should rob her of her bread to support my idleness and wicked life; and the tears came into my eyes in spite of all my struggling to prevent it, and the woman perceived it too. "Poor woman," said I, "'tis a sad thing such creatures as these should plunder and strip such a poor object as thou art! Well, he is at leisure now to repent it, I assure you." "I perceive, sir," says she, "you are very compassionate indeed; I wish he may improve the time God has spared him, and that he may repent, and I pray God give him repentance; whoever he is, I forgive him, whether he can make me recompence or not, and I pray God forgive him; I won't do him any prejudice, not I;" and with that, she went on praying for me. "Well, dame, come hither to me," says I; and with that I put my hand into my pocket, and she came to me. "Hold up your hand," said I, which she did, and I told her nine half-crowns into her hand; "there, dame," said I, "is your 22*s.* 6*d.* you lost; I assure you, dame," said I, "I have been the chief instrument to get it of him for you; for, ever since he told me the story of it among the rest of his wicked exploits, I never gave him any rest till I made him promise to make restitution." All the while I held her hand and put the money into it, I looked in her face, and I perceived her

colour come and go, and that she was under the greatest surprise of joy imaginable.

"Well, God bless him," says she, "and spare him from the disaster he is afraid of, if it be his will; for sure, this is an act of so much justice, and so honest, that I never expected the like." She ran on a great while so, and wept for him, when I told her I doubted there was no room to expect his life. "Well," says she, "then pray God give him repentance, and bring him to heaven, for sure he must have something that is good at the bottom; he has a principle of honesty at the bottom to be sure, however he may have been brought into bad courses by bad company, or evil example, or other temptations: but I dare say he will be brought to repentance one time or other before he dies."

All this touched me nearer than she imagined; for I was the man that she prayed for all this while, though she did not know it, and in my heart I said Amen to it; for I was sensible that I had done one of the vilest actions in the world, in attacking a poor creature in such a condition, and not listening to her entreaties, when she begged so heartily for that little money we took from her.

In a word, the good woman so moved me with her charitable prayers, that I put my hand in my pocket again for her; "Dame," said I, "you are so charitable in your petitions for this miserable creature, that it puts me in mind of one thing more which I will do for him, whether he ordered me or not; and that is, to ask you forgiveness for the thief in robbing you; for it was an offence, and a trespass against you, as well as an injury to you; and therefore I ask your pardon for him: will you sincerely and heartily forgive him, dame? I do desire it of you;" and with that I stood up, and, with my hat off, asked her pardon. "O! sir," says she, "do not stand up, and with your hat off to me! I am a poor woman; I forgive him, and all that were with him; for there was one or more with him; I forgive them with all my heart, and I pray God to forgive them."

"Well, dame, then," said I, "to make you some recompence for your charity, there is something for you more than your loss," and with that I gave her a crown more.

Then I asked her who that was who was robbed with her? She said it was a servant maid that lived then in the town, but she was gone from her place, and she did not know where she lived now. "Well, dame," says I, "if ever you do hear of her, let her leave word where she may be found; and if I live to come and see you again, I will get the money of him for her too: I think that was but little, was it?" "No," says she, "it was but 5s. 6d."—which I knew as well as she. "Well," says I, "dame, inquire her out if you have an opportunity;" so she promised me she would, and away I came.

The satisfaction this gave me was very much; but then a natural consequence attended it, which filled me with reflection afterwards; and this was, that, by the same rule, I ought to make restitution to all that I had wronged, in the like manner; and what could I do as to that? To this I knew not what to say, and so the thought in time wore off; for, in short, it was impossible to be done: I had not ability, neither did I know any

of the people whom I had so injured; and that satisfying me for the present, I let it drop.

I come now to my journey with Captain Jack, my supposed brother. We set out from London on foot, and travelled the first day to Ware, for we had learnt so much of our road that the way lay through that town; we were weary enough the first day, having not been used at all to travelling; but we made shift to walk once up and down the town after we came into it.

I soon found that his walking out to see the town was not to satisfy his curiosity in viewing the place, for he had no notion of anything of that kind; but to see if he could light of any purchase, for he was so natural a thief, that he could see nothing on the road, but it occurred to him how easily that might be taken, and how cleverly this might be carried off, and the like.

Nothing offered in Ware to his mind, it not being market day; and as for me, though I made no great scruple of eating and drinking at the cost of his roguery, yet I resolved not to enter upon anything, as they called it, nor to take the least thing from anybody.

When the captain found me resolved upon the negative, he asked me how I thought to travel? I asked him what he thought of himself, that was sure to be hanged if he was taken, how small soever the crime was that he should be taken for. "How can that be?" says he; "they don't know me in the country." "Ay," says I, "but do you think they do not send up word to Newgate as soon as any thief is taken in the country, and so inquire who is escaped from them, or who is fled, so that they may be stopped? Assure yourself," says I, "the jailors correspond with one another with the greatest exactness imaginable; and if you were taken here but for stealing a basket of eggs, you shall have your accuser sent down to see if he knows you."

This terrified him a little for a while, and kept him honest for three or four days; but it was but for a few days indeed, for he played a great many rogue's tricks without me, till at last he came to his end without me too, though it was not till many years after, as you shall hear in its order: but as these exploits are no part of my story, but of his, whose life and exploits are sufficient to make a volume larger than this by itself, so I shall omit everything but what I was particularly concerned in during this tedious journey.

From Ware we travelled to Cambridge, though that was not our direct road; the occasion was this: in our way, going through a village called Puckeridge, we baited at an inn, at the sign of the Falcon, and while we were there, a countryman comes to the inn, and hangs his horse at the door, while he goes in to drink; we sat in the gate-way, having called for a mug of beer, and drank it up: we had been talking with the ostler about the way to Scotland, and he had bid us ask the road to Royston; "but," says he, "there is a turning just here a little farther, you must not go that way, for that goes to Cambridge."

We had paid for our beer, and sat at the door only to rest us, when on the sudden comes a gentleman's coach to the door, and three or four horsemen; the horsemen rode into the yard, and the ostler was obliged to go in with them; says

he to the captain, "Young man, pray take hold of the horse (meaning the countryman's horse I mentioned above), and take him out of the way, that the coach may come up." He did so, and beckoned me to follow him; we walked together to the turning: says he to me, "Do you step before and turn up the lane, I'll overtake you;" so I went on up the lane, and in a few minutes he was got up upon the horse and at my heels. "Come, get up," says he; "we will have a lift, if we don't get the horse by the bargain."

I made no difficulty to get up behind him, and away we went at a good round rate, it being a good strong horse. We lost no time for an hour's riding and more, by which time we thought we were out of the reach of being pursued; and as the countryman, when he should miss his horse, would hear that we inquired the way to Royston, he would certainly pursue us that way, and not towards Cambridge. We went easier after the first hour's riding, and, coming through a town or two, we alighted by turns, and did not ride double through the villages.

Now, as it was impossible for the captain to pass by anything that he could lay his hand on, and not take it, so now, having a horse to carry it off too, the temptation was the stronger. Going through a village where a good housewife of the house had been washing, and hung her clothes out upon a hedge near the road, he could not help it, but got hold of a couple of good shirts, that were about half dry, and overtook me upon the spur, for I walked on before; I immediately got up behind, and away we galloped together as fast as the horse could well go. In this part of our expedition, his good luck, or mine, carried us quite out of the road; and having seen none to ask the way of, we lost ourselves, and wandered I know not how many miles to the right hand, till, partly by that means, and partly by the occasion following, we came quite into the coach road to Cambridge, from London, by Bishop-Stratford. The particular occasion that made me wander on was thus; the country was all open corn-fields, no enclosures; when, being upon a little rising ground, I bade him stop the horse, for I would get down, and walk a little to ease my legs, being tired with riding so long behind without stirrups; when I was down, and looked a little about me, I saw plainly the great white road, which we should have gone, at near two miles from us.

On a sudden, looking a little back to my left upon that road, I saw four or five horsemen riding full speed, some a good way before the other, and hurrying on, as people in a full pursuit.

It immediately struck me. "Ha! brother Jack," says I, "get off the horse this moment, and ask why afterwards;" so he jumps off. "What is the matter?" says he. "The matter!" says I; "look yonder; it is well we have lost our way; do you see how they ride? they are pursuing us, you may depend upon it; either," says I, "you are pursued from the last village for the two shirts, or from Puckeridge for the horse." He had so much presence of mind, that, without my mentioning it to him, he puts back the horse behind a great white thorn-bush, which grew just by him; so they could by no means see the horse, which, we being just at the top of the hill, they might other-

wise have done, and so have pursued that way at a venture.

But as it was impossible for them to see the horse, so was it as impossible for them to see us at that distance, who sat down on the ground to look at them the more securely.

The road winding about, we saw them a great way, and they rode as fast as they could make their horses go. When we found they were gone quite out of sight, we mounted, and made the best of our way also; and indeed, though we were two upon one horse, yet we abated no speed where the way would admit of it, not inquiring of anybody the way to anywhere, till, after about two hours' riding, we came to a town, which, upon inquiry, they called Chesterford; and here we stopped, and asked not our way to any place, but whither that road went, and were told it was the coach road to Cambridge; also that it was the way to Newmarket, to St Edmund's-bury, to Norwich and Yarmouth, to Lynn and to Ely, and the like.

We stayed here a good while, believing ourselves secure; and afterwards, towards evening, went forward to a place called Bourn-bridge, where the road to Cambridge turns away out of the road to Newmarket, and where there are but two houses only, both of them being inns. Here the captain says to me, "Hark ye, you see we are pursued towards Cambridge, and shall be stopped if we go thither; now Newmarket is but ten miles off, and there we may be safe, and perhaps get an opportunity to do some business."

"Look ye, Jack," said I, "talk no more of doing business, for I will not join with you in anything of that kind; I would fain get you to Scotland before you get a halter about your neck; I will not have you hanged in England, if I can help it, and therefore I won't go to Newmarket, unless you promise me to take no false steps there." "Well," says he, "if I must not, then I won't; but I hope you will let us get another horse, won't you, that we may travel faster?" "No," says I, "I won't agree to that; but if you will let me send this horse back fairly, I will tell you how we shall hire horses afterwards for one stage or two, and then take them as far as we please; it is only sending a letter to the owner to send for him, and then, if we are stopped, it can do us but little hurt."

"You are a wary, politic gentleman," says the captain, "but, I say, we are better as we are; for we are out of all danger of being stopped on the way, after we are gone from this place."

We had not parleyed thus long, but, though in the dead of the night, came a man to the other inn door—for, as I said above, there are two inns at that place,—and called for a pot of beer, but the people were all in bed, and would not rise; he asked them if they had seen two fellows come that way upon one horse: the man said he had, that they went by in the afternoon, and asked the way to Cambridge, but did not stop only to drink one mug. "O!" says he, "are they gone to Cambridge? Then I'll be with them quickly." I was awake in a little garret of the next inn, where we lodged; and hearing the fellow call at the door, got up, and went to the window, having some uneasiness at every noise I heard; and by that means heard

the whole story. Now, the case is plain, our hour was not come, our fate had determined other things for us, and we were to be reserved for it; the matter was thus: when we first came to Bourn bridge, we called at the first house, and asked the way to Cambridge, drank a mug of beer, and went on, and they might see us turn off to go the way they directed; but, night coming on, and we being very weary, we thought we should not find the way; and we came back in the dusk of the evening, and went into the other house, being the first as we came back, as that, where we called before, was the first as we went forward.

You may be assured I was alarmed now, as indeed I had reason to be: the captain was in bed, and fast asleep, but I waked him, and roused him with a noise that frightened him enough. "Rise, Jack," said I; "we are both ruined; they are come after us hither." Indeed, I was wrong to terrify him at that rate; for he started, and jumped out of bed, and ran directly to the window, not knowing where he was, and, not quite awake, was just going to jump out of the window, but I laid hold of him. "What are you going to do?" says I. "I won't be taken," says he; "let me alone: where are they?"

This was all confusion; and he was so out of himself with the fright, and being overcome with sleep, that I had much to do to prevent his jumping out of the window: however, I held him fast, and thoroughly wakened him, and then all was well again, and he was presently composed.

Then I told him the story, and we sat together upon the bed-side, considering what we should do: upon the whole, as the fellow that called was apparently gone to Cambridge, we had nothing to fear, but to be quiet till day-break, and then to mount and be gone.

Accordingly, as soon as day peeped we were up; and having happily informed ourselves of the road the other house, and being told that the road to Cambridge turned off on the left hand, and that the road to Newmarket lay straight forward; I say, having learnt this, the captain told me he would walk away on foot towards Newmarket; and so, when I came to go out, I should appear as a single traveller; and accordingly he went out immediately, and away he walked, and he travelled so hard that, when I came to follow, I thought once that he had dropped me, for though I rode hard, I got no sight of him for an hour; at length, having passed the great bank called the devil's-ditch, I found him, and took him up behind me, and we rode double till we came almost to the end of Newmarket town. Just at the hither house in the town, stood a horse at a door, just as it was at Puckeridge. "Now," says Jack, "if the horse was at the other end of the town, I would have him, as sure as we had the other at Puckeridge;" but it would not do, so he got down, and walked through the town on the right hand side of the way.

He had not got half through the town, but the horse, having somehow or other got loose, came trotting gently on by himself, and nobody following him; the captain, an old soldier at such work, as soon as the horse was got a pretty way before him, and that he saw nobody followed, sets up a

run after the horse; and the horse hearing him follow, ran the faster; then the captain calls out, "Stop the horse!" and by this time the horse was got almost to the farther end of the town; the people of the house where he stood not missing him all the while.

Upon his calling out, "Stop the horse!" the poor people of the town, such as were next at hand, ran from both sides the way, and stopped the horse for him as readily as could be, and held him for him till he came up; he very gravely comes up to the horse, hits him a blow or two, and calls him dog for running away; gives the man 2d. that caught him for him, mounts, and away he comes after me.

This was the oddest adventure that could have happened, for the horse stole the captain, the captain did not steal the horse. When he came up to me, "Now, Colonel Jack," says he, "what say you to good luck? would you have had me refuse the horse, when he came so civilly to ask me to ride?"

"No, no," said I; "you have got this horse by your wit, not by design; and you may go now, I think; you are in a safer condition than I am, if we are taken."

The next question was, what road we should take? here were four ways before us, and we were alike strangers to them all; first on the right hand, and at a little mile from the town, a great road went off to St Edmund's-bury; straight on, but inclining afterwards to the right, lay the great road to Barton-mills and Thetford, and so to Norwich; and full before us lay a great road also to Brandon and Lynn; and on the left lay a less road to the city of Ely, and into the Fens.

In short, as we knew not which road to take, nor which way to get into the great north road, which we had left, so we, by mere unguided chance, took the way to Brandon, and so to Lynn: at Brand, or Brandon, we were told, that passing over at a place called Downham-bridge, we might cross the fen country to Wisbeach; and from thence go along the bank of the river Nyne to Peterborough, and from thence to Stamford, where we were in the northern road again: and likewise, that at Lynn we might go by the washes into Lincolnshire, and so might travel north. But, upon the whole, this was my rule, that, when we inquired the way to any particular place, to be sure we never took the road, but some other, which the accidental discourse we might have should bring in; and thus we did here; for, having chiefly asked our way into the northern road, we resolved to go directly for Lynn.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER ADVENTURES—THERE IS NO PREVENTING MY COMRADE FROM EXERCISING HIS TRADE OF A THIEF—WE WITNESS A WHIPPING IN EDINBURGH—THE CAPTAIN TAKES FRENCH LEAVE—I RETURN MY HORSE TO THE PERSON FROM WHOM IT WAS STOLEN—LEARN TO READ AND WRITE—I AM HIRED AND CHEATED BY A SCOTTISH MASTER—MEET WITH THE CAPTAIN AGAIN—I ENLIST FOR A SOLDIER—WE DESERT—ADVENTURES THEREUPON.

We arrived here very easy and safe; and, while we were considering of what way we should travel

next, we found we were got to a point, and that there was no way now left but that by the washes into Lincolnshire, and that was represented as very dangerous; so an opportunity offering of a man that was travelling over the fens, we took him for our guide, and went with him to Spalding, and from thence to a town called Deeping, and so to Stamford in Lincolnshire.

This is a large populous town, and it was market-day when we came to it; so we put in at a little house at the hither end of the town, and walked into the town.

Here it was not possible to restrain my captain from playing his feats of art, and my heart ached for him; I told him I would not go with him, for he would not promise to leave off, and I was so terribly concerned at the apprehension of his venturous humour, that I would not so much as stir out of my lodging; but it was in vain to persuade him. He went into the market, and found a mountebank there, which was what he wanted. How he picked two pockets there in one quarter of an hour, and brought to our quarters a piece of new holland of eight or nine ells, a piece of stuff, and played three or four pranks more in less than two hours; and how afterwards he robbed a doctor of physic, and yet came off clear; all this I say, as above, belongs to his story, not mine.

I scolded heartily at him when he came back, and told him he would certainly ruin himself, and me too, before he left off, and threatened in so many words that I would leave him and go back, and carry the horse to Puckeridge, where we borrowed it, and so go to London by myself.

He promised amendment; but as we resolved (now we were in the great road) to travel by night, so it being not yet night, he gives me the slip again, and was not gone half an hour but he comes back with a gold watch in his hand: "Come," says he, "why an't you ready? I am ready to go as soon as you will;" and with that he pulls out the gold watch. I was amazed at such a thing as that in a country town; but it seems there were prayers at one of the churches in the evening, and he, placing himself as the occasion directed, found the way to be so near a lady as to get it from her side, and walked off with it unperceived.

The same night we went away by moonlight, after having the satisfaction to hear the watch cried, and ten guineas offered for it again; he would have been glad of the ten guineas instead of the watch, but durst not venture to carry it home. "Well," says I, "you are afraid, and indeed you have reason; give it me, I will venture to carry it again;" but he would not let me, but told me that, when we came into Scotland, we might sell any thing there without danger; which was true indeed, for there they asked us no questions.

We set out, as I said, in the evening by moonlight, and travelled hard, the road being very plain and large, till we came to Grantham, by which time it was about two in the morning, and all the town, as it were, dead asleep; so we went on for Newark, which we reached about eight in the morning, and there we lay down and slept most of the day; and by this sleeping so continually in the day-time, I kept him from doing a great deal of mischief, which he would otherwise have done.

From Newark we took advice of one that was accidentally comparing the roads, and we concluded that the road by Nottingham would be the best for us; so we turned out of the great road, and went up the side of the Trent to Nottingham: here he played his pranks again in a manner that it was the greatest wonder imaginable to me that he was not surprised, and yet he came off clear; and now he had got so many bulky goods that he bought him a portmanteau to carry them in. It was in vain for me to offer to restrain him any more, so after this he went on his own way.

At Nottingham, I say, he had such success as made us the hastier to be going than otherwise we should have been, lest we should have been baulked and should be laid hold of; from thence we left the road, which leads to the north again, went away by Mansfield into Scarsdale, in Yorkshire.

I shall take up no more of my own story with his pranks; they very well merit to be told by themselves, but I shall observe only what relates to our journey. In a word, I dragged him along as fast as I could, till I came to Leeds in Yorkshire. Here, though it be a large and populous town, yet he could make nothing of it, neither had he any success at Wakefield; and he told me, in short, that the north-country people were certainly all thieves. "Why so?" said I; "the people seem to be just as other people are."—"No, no," says he, "they have their eyes so about them, and are all so sharp, they look upon everybody that comes near them to be a pickpocket, or else they would never stand so upon their guard; and then again," says he, "they are so poor, there is but little to be got; and I am afraid," says he, "the farther we go north we shall find it worse."—"Well," said I, "what do you infer from thence?"—"I argue from thence," says he, "that we shall do nothing there, and I had as good go back into the south and be hanged, as into the north to be starved."

Well, we came at length to Newcastle upon Tyne. Here, on a market day, was a great throng of people, and several of the town's-people going to market to buy provisions; and here he played his pranks, cheated a shopkeeper of 15*l.* or 16*l.* in goods, and got clear away with them; stole a horse, and sold that he came upon, and played so many pranks, that I was quite frightened for him; I say for him, for I was not concerned for myself, having never stirred out of the house where I lodged, at least not with him, nor without some or other with me belonging to the inn, that might give an account of me.

Nor did I use this caution in vain, for he had made himself so public by his rogueries, that he was waylaid everywhere to be taken, and had he not artfully first given out, that he was come from Scotland, and was going towards London, inquiring that road and the like, which amused his pursuers for the first day, he had been taken, and in all probability had been hanged there, but by that artifice he got half a day's time of them; and yet, as it was, he was put so to it, that he was fain to plunge, horse and all, into the river Tweed and swim over, and thereby made his escape. It was true that he was before upon Scots ground (as they called it), and conse-

quently they had no power to have carried him off if anybody had opposed them; yet, as they were in a full chase after him, could they have come up with him, they would have run the risk of the rest, and they could but have delivered him up if they had been questioned about it. However, as he got over the Tweed, and was landed safe, they could neither follow him, the water being too high at the usual place of going over, nor could they have attempted to have brought him away if they had taken him: the place where he took the river was where there is a ford below Kelso, but the water being up, the ford was not passable, and he had no time to go to the ferry-boat, which is about a furlong off, opposite to the town.

Having thus made his escape, he went to Kelso, where he had appointed me to come after him.

I followed with a heavy heart, expecting every hour to meet him upon the road, in the custody of the constables, and such people, or to hear of him in the gaol; but when I came to a place on the border, called Woller-haugh-head, there I understood how he had been chased, and how he had made his escape.

When I came to Kelso, he was easy enough to be found; for his having desperately swam the Tweed, a rapid and large river, made him much talked of, though it seems they had not heard of the occasion of it, nor anything of his character; for he had wit enough to conceal all that, and live as retired as he could till I came to him.

I was not so much rejoiced at his safety as I was provoked at his conduct; and the more, for that I could not find he had yet the least notion of his having been void of common sense with respect to his circumstances, as well as contrary to what he promised me. However, as there was no beating anything into his head by words, I only told him, that I was glad he was at last gotten into a place of safety, and I asked him then how he intended to manage himself in that country? He said in a few words, he did not know yet, he doubted the people were very poor; but if they had any money, he was resolved to have some of it.

"But do you know too," says I, "that they are the severest people upon criminals of your kind in the world?" He did not value that, he said, in his blunt short way, he would venture it; upon this I told him that, seeing it was so, and he would run such ventures, I would take my leave of him, and be gone back to England. He seemed sullen, or rather it was the roughness of his untractable disposition; he said I might do what I would, he would do as he found opportunity; however, we did not part immediately, but went on towards the capital city; on the road we found too much poverty, and too few people, to give him room to expect any advantage in his way; and though he had his eyes about him as sharp as a hawk, yet he saw plainly there was nothing to be done; for as to the men, they did not seem to have much money about them; and for the women, their dress was such, that had they any money, or indeed any pockets, it was impossible to come at them; for, wearing large plaids about them, and down to their knees, they

were wrapped up so close, that there was no coming to make the least attempt of that kind.

Kelso was indeed a good town, and had abundance of people in it; and yet, though he staid one Sunday there, and saw the church, which is very large, and thronged with people; yet, as he told me, there was not one woman to be seen in all the church with any other dress than a plaid, except in two pews, which belonged to some noblemen, and who, when they came out, were so surrounded with footmen and servants, that there was no coming near them, any more than there was any coming near the king surrounded by his guards.

We set out therefore with this discouragement, which I was secretly glad of, and went forward for Edinburgh. All the way thither we went through no considerable town, and it was but very coarse travelling for us, who were strangers; for we met with waters which were very dangerous to pass, by reason of hasty rains, at a place called Lauderdale, and where my captain was really in danger of drowning, his horse being driven down by the stream, and fell under him, by which he wetted and spoiled his stolen goods, that he brought from Newcastle, and which he had kept dry strangely, by holding them up in his arms, when he swam the Tweed; but here it wanted but little, that he and his horse had been lost, not so much by the depth of the water, as the fury of the current; but he had a proverb in his favour, and he got out of the water, though with difficulty enough, not being born to be drowned, as I shall observe afterwards in its place.

We came to Edinburgh, the third day from Kelso, having stopped at an inn one whole day, at a place called Soutra-hill, to dry our goods and refresh ourselves. We were oddly saluted at Edinburgh, the next day after we came thither; my captain having a desire to walk, and look about him, asked me if I would go and see the town? I told him yes; so we went out, and coming through a gate, that they call the Netherbow, into the great High street, which went up to the Cross, we were surprised to see it thronged with an infinite number of people: Ay (says my captain) this will do; however, as I had made him promise to make no adventures that day, otherwise I told him I would not go out with him, so I held him by the sleeve, and would not let him stir from me.

Then we came up to the Market-cross, and there, besides the great number of people who passed and repassed, we saw a great parade, or kind of meeting, like an Exchange of gentlemen, of all ranks and qualities, and this encouraged my captain again, and he pleased himself with that sight.

It was while we were looking and wondering at what we saw here that we were surprised with a sight which we little expected. We observed the people running on a sudden, as to see some strange thing just coming along, and strange it was, indeed; for we saw two men naked from the waist upwards run by us as swift as the wind, and we imagined nothing but that it was two men running a race for some mighty wager. On a sudden we found two long small ropes or lines, which hung down at first, pulled strait, and the

two racers stopped, and stood still one close by the other. We could not imagine what this meant; but the reader may judge at our surprise when we found a man follow after who had the ends of both those lines in his hands, and who, when he came up to them, gave each of them two frightful lashes with a wire-whip, or lash, which he held in the other hand; and then the two poor naked wretches run on again to the length of their line or tether, where they waited for the like salutation; and in this manner they danced the length of the whole street, which is about half a mile.

This was a dark prospect to my captain, and put him in mind, not only of what he was to expect if he made a slip in the way of his profession in this place, but also of what he had suffered when he was but a boy at the famous place called Bridewell.

But this was not all; for, as we saw the execution, so we were curious to examine into the crime too; and we asked a young fellow who stood near us what the two men had done for which they suffered that punishment? The fellow, an unhappy ill-natured Scotchman, perceived by our speech that we were Englishmen, and by our question that we were strangers, told us, with a malicious wit, that they were two Englishmen, and that they were whipped so for picking pockets and other petty thieveries, and that they were afterwards to be sent away over the border into England.

Now this was every word of it false, and was only formed by his nimble invention to insult us as Englishmen; for, when we inquired further, they were both Scotchmen, and were thus scourged for the usual offences for which we give the like punishment in England; and the man who held the line and scourged them was the city hangman, who, by the way, is there an officer of note, has a constant salary, and is a man of substance; and not only so, but a most dexterous fellow in his office, and makes a great deal of money of his employment.

This sight, however, was very shocking to us; and my captain turned to me; "Come," says he, "let us go away; I won't stay here any longer." I was glad to hear him say so, but did not think he had meant or intended what he said; however, we went back to our quarters, and kept pretty much within, only that in the evenings we walked about. But even then my captain found no employment, no encouragement; two or three times, indeed, he made a prize of some mercery and millinery goods; but when he had them he knew not what to do with them, so that, in short, he was forced to be honest, in spite of his good will to be otherwise.

We remained here about a month; when, on a sudden, my captain was gone, horse and all, and I knew nothing what was become of him, nor did I ever see or hear of him for eighteen months after, nor did he so much as leave the least notice for me either whither he was gone or whether he would return to Edinburgh again or no.

I took his leaving me very heinously, not knowing what to do with myself, being a stranger in the place; and, on the other hand, my money abated apace too. I had for the most part of this time my horse upon my own hands to keep; and,

as horses yield but a sorry price in Scotland, I found no opportunity to make much of him; and, on the other hand, I had a secret resolution, if I had gone back to England, to have restored him to the owner at Puckeridge, by Ware; and so I should have wronged him of nothing, but of the use of him for so long a time. But I found an occasion to answer all my designs about the horse to advantage.

There came a man to the stabler (so they call the people at Edinburgh that take in horses to keep) and wanted to know if he could hear of any return horses for England. My landlord (so we called him) came bluntly to me one day, and asked me if my horse was my own. It was an odd question, as my circumstances stood, and puzzled me at first, and I asked why, and what was the matter. "Because," says he, "if it be a hired horse in England, as is often the case with Englishmen who come to Scotland, I could help you to send it back, and get you something for riding." So he expressed himself.

I was very glad of the occasion; and, in short, took security there of the person for delivering the horse safe and sound, and had 15s. sterling for the riding him. Upon this agreement I gave order to leave the horse at the Falcon at Puckeridge, and where I heard, many years after, that he was honestly left, and that the owner had him again, but had nothing for the loan of him.

Being thus eased of the expense of my horse, and having nothing at all to do, I began to consider with myself what would become of me, and what I could turn my hand to: I had not much diminished my stock of money, for though I was all the way so wary, that I would not join with my captain in his desperate attempts, yet I made no scruple to live at his expense, which, as I came out of England only to keep him company, had been but just, had I not known that all he had to spend upon me was what he robbed honest people of, and that I was all that while a receiver of stolen goods; but I was not come so far then as to scruple that part at all.

In the next place, I was not so anxious about my money running low, because I knew what a reserve I had made at London; but still I was very willing to have engaged in any honest employment for a livelihood; for I was sick indeed of the wandering life which I had led, and was resolved to thieve no more; but then two or three things, which I had offered me, I lost, because I could not write or read.

This afflicted me a great while very much; but the stabler, as I have called him, delivered me from my anxiety that way, by bringing me to an honest, but poor young man, who undertook to teach me both to write and read, and in a little time too, and for a small expense, if I would take pains at it. I promised all possible diligence, and to work I went with it, but found the writing much more difficult to me than the reading.

However, in half a year's time, or thereabouts, I could read and write too, tolerably well, inso-much that I began to think I was now fit for business; and I got by it into the service of a certain officer of the customs, who employed me for a time, but as he set me to do little but pass and repass between Leith and Edinburgh, with the accompts which he kept for the farmers of the

customs there, leaving me to live at my own expense till my wages should be due, I run out the little money I had left, in clothes and subsistence, and a little before the year's end, when I was to have 12*l.* English money, truly my master was turned out of his place; and, which was worse, having been charged with some misapplications, was obliged to take shelter in England, and so we that were servants, for there were three of us, were left to shift for ourselves.

This was a hard case for me in a strange place, and I was reduced by it to the last extremity. I might have gone for England, an English ship being there, the master of which proffered me to give me my passage (upon telling him my distress) and to take my word for the payment of 10*s.* when I came there; but my captain appeared just then under new circumstances, which obliged him not to go away, and I was loth to leave him; it seems we were yet farther to take our fate together.

I have mentioned that he left me, and that I saw him no more for eighteen months: his rambles and adventures were many in that time; he went to Glasgow, played some remarkable pranks there, escaped almost miraculously from the gallows, got over to Ireland, wandered about there, turned raparee, and did some villanous things there, and escaped from Londonderry, over to the Highlands in the north of Scotland; and about a month before I was left destitute at Leith, by my master, behold! my noble Captain Jack came in there, on board the ferry-boat from Fife, being, after all adventures and successes, advanced to the dignity of a foot soldier, in a body of recruits raised in the north for the regiment of Douglas.

After my disaster, being reduced almost as low as my captain, I found no better shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a soldier too; and thus we were ranked together, with each of us a musquet upon our shoulders, and, I confess, that thing did not sit so ill upon me as I thought at first it would have done; for, though I fared hard, and lodged ill (for the last especially is the fate of poor soldiers in that part of the world), yet to me, that had been used to lodge on the ashes in the glass-house, this was no great matter; I had a secret satisfaction at being now under no necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a prison, and of the lash of the hangman; a thing which, from the time I saw it in Edinburgh, was so terrible to me, that I could not think of it without horror; and it was an inexpressible ease to my mind that I was now in a certain way of living, which was honest, and which I could say, was not unbecoming a gentleman.

Whatever was my satisfaction in that part, yet other circumstances did not equally concur to make this life suit me; for after we had been about six months in this figure, we were informed that the recruits were all to march for England, and to be shipped off at Newcastle, or at Hull, to join the regiment, which was then in Flanders.

I should tell you, that, before this, I was extremely delighted with the life of a soldier, and I took the exercise so naturally, that the sergeant that taught us to handle our arms, seeing me so ready at it, asked me if I had never carried arms before: I told him no; at which he swore, though jesting, they call you colonel, says he, and I be-

lieve you will be a colonel, or you must be some colonel's bastard, or you would never handle your arms as you do, at once or twice showing."

This pleased me extremely, and encouraged me, and I was mightily taken with the life of a soldier; but when the captain came and told me the news, that we were to march for England, and to be shipped off for Flanders at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I was surprised very much, and new thoughts began to come in my mind; as, first, my captain's condition was particular, for he durst not appear publicly at Newcastle, as he must have done if he had marched with the battalion (for they were a body of above 400, and therefore called themselves a battalion, though they were but recruits, and belonged to the several companies abroad), I say, he must have marched with them, and been publicly seen, in which case he would have been apprehended, and delivered up; in the next place, I remembered that I had almost 100*l.* in money in London, and if it should have been asked all the soldiers in the regiment, which of them would go to Flanders a private sentinel if they had 100*l.* in their pockets, I believe none of them would answer in the affirmative; 100*l.* being at that time sufficient to buy colours in any new regiment, though not in that regiment, which was on an old establishment: this whetted my ambition, and I dreamt of nothing but being a gentleman officer, as well as a gentleman soldier.

These two circumstances concurring, I began to be very uneasy and very unwilling in my thoughts to go over a poor musqueteer into Flanders, to be knocked on the head at the tune of 3*s.* 6*d.* a week: while I was daily musing on the circumstances of being sent away, as above, and considering what to do, my captain comes to me one evening; "Hark ye, Jack," says he, "I must speak with you; let us take a walk in the fields a little out from the houses." We were quartered at a place called Park-end, near the town of Dunbar, about twenty miles from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and about sixteen miles from the river Tweed, the nearest way.

We walked together here, and talked seriously upon the matter; the captain told me how his case stood, and that he durst not march with the battalion into Newcastle; that if he did, he should be taken out of the ranks and tried for his life, and that I knew as well as he. "I could go privately to Newcastle," says he, "and go through the town well enough, but to go publicly is to run into the jaws of destruction."—"Well," says I, "that is very true, but what will you do?"—"Do!" says he, "do you think I am so bound by honour, as a gentleman soldier, that I will be hanged for them? No, no," says he, "I am resolved to be gone, and I would have you go with us."—"What do you mean by us?" said I.—"Why, here is another honest fellow, an Englishman also," says he, "that is resolved to desert too, and he has been a long while in the service, and says he knows how we shall be used abroad, and he will not go to Flanders," says he, "not he."

"Why," says I, "you will be shot to death for deserters if you are taken, and they will send out scouts for you in the morning all over the country, so that you will certainly fall into their hands."—"As for that," says he, "my comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the way, and has

undertaken to bring us to the banks of the Tweed, before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the Tweed, they can't take us up."

"And when would you go away?" says I.

"This minute," says he; "no time to be lost; 'tis a fine moon shining night."

"I have none of my baggage," says I; "let me go back and fetch my linen, and other things."

"Your linen is not much, I suppose," says he, "and we shall easily get more in England the old way."

"No," says I, "no more of your old ways; it has been owing to those old ways that we are now in such a strait."

"Well, well," says he, "the old ways are better than this starving life of a gentleman, as we call it."

"But," says I, "we have no money in our pockets, how shall we travel?"

"I have a little," says the captain; "enough to help us on to Newcastle, and if we can get none by the way, we will get some collier ship to take us in, and carry us to London by sea."

"I like that the best of all the measures you have laid yet," said I; and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately. The cunning rogue having lodged his comrade a mile off under the hills, had dragged me by talking with him by little and little that way, till just when I consented, he was in sight, and he said, "Look, there's my comrade!" whom I knew presently, having seen him among the men.

Being thus gotten under the hills, and a mile off the way, and the day just shut in, we kept on apace, resolving, if possible, to get out of the reach of our pursuers before they should miss us, or know anything of our being gone.

We plied our time so well, and travelled so hard, that by five o'clock in the morning we were at a little village, whose name I forget; but they told us that we were within eight miles of the Tweed; and that as soon as we should be over the river we were on English ground.

We refreshed a little here, but marched on with but little stay; however it was half an hour past eight in the morning before we reached the Tweed, so it was at least twelve miles, when they told us it was but eight. Here we overtook two more of the same regiment, who had deserted from Haddington, where another part of the recruits were quartered.

These were Scotchmen, and very poor, having not one penny in their pockets; and had no more when they made their escape but 8s. between them; and when they saw us, whom they knew to be of the same regiment, they took us to be pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them; upon which they stood upon their defence, having the regiment swords on, as we had also, but none of the mounting or clothing; for we were not to receive the clothing till we came to the regiment in Flanders.

It was not long before we made them understand that we were in the same circumstances with themselves, and so we soon became one company; and after resting some time on the English side of the river (for we were heartily tired, and the others were as much fatigued as we were), I

say, after resting awhile, we set forward towards Newcastle, whither we resolved to go to get our passage by sea to London; for we had not money to hold us out any farther.

Our money was ebbd very low; for, though I had one piece of gold in my pocket, which I kept reserved for the last extremity, yet it was but half-a-guinea, and my captain had borne all our charges as far as his money would go, so that when we came to Newcastle, we had but sixpence left in all to help ourselves, and the two Scots had begged their way all along the road.

We contrived to come into Newcastle in the dusk of the evening, and even then we durst not venture into the public part of the town, but made down towards the river, something below the town, where some glass-houses stand: here we knew not what to do with ourselves; but, guided by our fate, we put a good face upon the matter, and went into an alehouse, sat down, and called for a pint of beer.

The house was kept by a woman only, that is to say, we saw no other; and, as she appeared very frank, and entertained us cheerfully, we at last told our condition, and asked her if she could not help us to some kind master of a collier, that would give us a passage to London by sea. The subtle devil, who immediately found us proper fish for her hook, gave us the kindest words in the world, and told us she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one day sooner; that there was a collier master, of her particular acquaintance, that went away but with the morning tide, that the ship was fallen down to Shields, but she believed was hardly over the bar yet, and she would send to his house and see if he was gone on board, for sometimes the masters do not go away till a tide after the ship, and she was sure, if he was not gone, she could prevail on him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on board immediately, the same night.

We begged her to send to his house, for we knew not what to do, and if she could oblige him to take us on board, we did not care what time of night it was; for, as we had no money, we had no lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on board.

We looked upon this as a mighty favour, that she sent to the master's house, and to our greater joy she brought us word about an hour after, that he was not gone, and was at a tavern in the town, whither his boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent word he would call there in the way home.

This was all in our favour, and we were extremely pleased with it. About an hour after, the landlady being in the room with us, her maid brings us word the master was below; so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our case, and see to persuade him to take us all on board. After some time she comes up with him, and brings him into the room to us: "Where are these honest gentlemen soldiers," says he, "that are in such distress?" We stood all up and paid our respects to him. "Well, gentlemen, and is all your money spent?"

"Indeed it is," said one of our company, "and we shall be infinitely obliged to you, sir, if you will give us a passage; we shall be very willing

to do anything we can in the ship, though we are not seamen."

"Why," says he, "were none of you ever at sea in your lives?"

"No," says we, "not one of us."

"You will be able to do me no service then," says he, "for you will be all sick. Well, however," says he, "for my good landlady's sake here, I'll do it; but are you all ready to go on board, for I go on board this very night?"

"Yes, sir," says we again, "we are ready to go this minute."

"No, no," says he very kindly, "we'll drink together; come, landlady," says he, "make these honest gentlemen a sneaker of punch."

We looked at one another, for we knew we had no money, and he perceived it; "Come, come," says he, "don't be concerned at your having no money; my landlady here and I never part with dry lips. Come, good wife," says he, "make the punch as I bid you."

We thanked him, and said, "God bless you, noble captain," a hundred times over, being overjoyed with such good luck. While we were drinking the punch he calls the landlady; "Come," says he, "I'll step home and take my things, and bid them good-bye, and order the boat to come at high water and take me up here; and pray, good wife," says he, "get me something for supper; sure, if I can give these honest men their passage, I may give them a bit of victuals too; it may be they ha'n't had much for dinner."

With this away he went, and in a little while we heard the Jack agoing, and one of us going down stairs for a spy, brought us word there was a good leg of mutton at the fire: in less than an hour our captain came again, and came up to us, and blamed us that we had not drank all the punch out; "Come," says he, "don't be bashful, when that is out we can have another; when I am obliging poor men, I love to do it handsomely."

We drank on, and drank the punch out, and more was brought up, and he pushed it about apace; and then came up a leg of mutton, and I need not say that we eat heartily, being told several times that we should pay nothing; after supper was done, he bids my landlady ask if the boat was come? And she brought word no, it was not high water by a good deal. "No," says he! "Well, then, give us some more punch." So more punch was brought in, and, as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more brandy than ordinary, that by the time the punch was drunk out we were all very drunk, and, as for me, I was asleep.

About the time that was out we were told the boat was come; so we tumbled out, almost over one another, into the boat, and away we went, and our captain with us in the boat. Most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after some time, though how much, or how far going we knew not, the boat stopped, and we were waked and told we were at the ship's side, which was true; and with much help, and holding us for fear we should fall over-board, we were all gotten into the ship; all I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on board our captain, as we called him, called out thus; "Here, boatswain, take care of these gentlemen, and give them good cabins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are

very weary;" and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first time I had ever drank any punch in my life.

CHAP. VIII.

WE ARE KIDNAPPED, AND CARRIED ON BOARD SHIP BY A VIRGINIA CAPTAIN—MAKE THE COAST OF VIRGINIA IN 32 DAYS—CAPTAIN JACK MAKES HIS ESCAPE—A PEEP INTO FUTURITY—I AM SOLD ALONG WITH THE OTHERS TO A RICH PLANTER—MY MASTER HOLDS A LONG CONVERSATION WITH ME, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF MY GOOD BEHAVIOUR PUTS ME IN A PLACE OF TRUST.

WELL, care was taken of us according to order, and we were put into very good cabins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep. In the meantime the ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on notice given had come to an anchor for us at Shields, weighed, stood over the bar, and went off to sea; and when we waked, and began to peep abroad, which was not till near noon the next day, we found ourselves a great way at sea, the land in sight indeed, but at a great distance, and all going merrily on for London, as we understood it; we were very well used and well satisfied with our condition for about three days, when we began to inquire whether we were not almost come, and how much longer it would be before we should come into the river.

"What river?" says one of the men. "Why, the Thames," says my Captain Jack. "The Thames!" says the seaman, "what do you mean by that? What, ha'n't you had time enough to be sober yet?" So captain Jack said no more, but looked about him like a fool; when awhile after some other of us asked the like question, and the seaman, who knew nothing of the cheat, began to smell a trick; and turning to the other Englishman that came with us, "Pray," says he, "where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it?"—"Why to London," says he, "where should we be going? We agreed with the captain to carry us to London."

"Not with the captain," says he; "I dare say, poor men, you are all cheated, and I thought so when I saw you come aboard with that kidnapping rogue Gilliman; poor men!" adds he, "you are all betrayed; why, you are going to Virginia, and the ship is bound to Virginia."

The Englishman falls a storming and raving like a madman, and we gathering round him, let any man guess, if they can, what was our surprise, and how we were confounded when we were told how it was; in short, we drew our swords, and began to lay about us, and made such a noise and hurry in the ship that at last the seamen were obliged to call out for help. The captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first place, which was not, however, done without giving and receiving some wounds, and afterwards he caused us to be brought to him into the great cabin.

Here he talked calmly to us, that he was really very sorry for what had befallen us; that he perceived we had been trepanned, and that the fellow who had brought us on board was a rogue that was employed by a sort of wicked merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as captain of the ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him yes, and

gave him a large account of ourselves, and how we came to the woman's house to inquire for some master of a collier to get a passage to London, and that this man engaged to carry us to London in his own ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no hand in it; but it was out of his power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our condition was, namely, that we were put on board his ship as servants to be delivered at Maryland to such a man, whom he named to us; but that, however, if we would be quiet and orderly in the ship, he would use us well in the passage, and take care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do anything for us that lay in his power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that, in short, we must be hand-cuffed, carried down between the decks and kept as prisoners, for it was his business to take care that no disturbance must be in the ship.

My captain raved like a madman, swore at the captain, told him he would not fail to cut his throat either on board, or a-shore, whenever he came within his reach; and that if he could not do it now he would do it after he came to England again, if ever he durst show his face there again; for he might depend upon it if he was carried away to Virginia he should find his way to England again; that if it was twenty years after he would have satisfaction of him. "Well, young man," says the captain smiling, "'tis very honestly said, and then I must take care of you while I have you here, and afterwards I must take care of myself."—"Do your worst," says Jack boldly, "I'll pay you home for it one time or other."—"I must venture that, young man," says he, still calmly, "but for the present you and I must talk a little; so he bids the boatswain, who stood near him, secure him, which he did; I spoke to him to be easy and patient, and that the captain had no hand in our misfortune.

"No hand in it! d—n him," said he aloud, "do you think he is not confederate in this villany? would any honest man receive innocent people on board his ship, and not inquire of their circumstances, but carry them away and not speak to them? and now he knows how barbarously we are treated, why does he not set us on shore again? I tell you he is a villain, and none but him; why does he not complete his villany and murder us, and then he will be free from our revenge? but nothing else shall ever deliver him from my hands, but sending us to the d—l, or going thither himself; and I am honester in telling him so fairly, than he has been to me, and am in no passion any more than he is."

The captain was, I say, a little shocked at his boldness, for he talked a great deal more of the same kind, with a great deal of spirit and fire, and yet, without any disorder in his temper; indeed I was surprised at it, for I never had heard him talk so well, and so much to the purpose in my life: the captain was, I say, a little shocked at it; however, he talked very handsomely to him, and told him, "Look ye, young man, I bear with you the more because I am sensible your case is very hard, and yet I cannot allow your threatening me neither, and you oblige me by

that to be severer with you than I intended: however, I will do nothing to you but what your threatening my life makes necessary." The boatswain called out to have him to the geers, as they called it, and to have him taste the cat-o'-nine-tails; all which were terms we did not understand till afterwards, when we were told he should have been whipped and pickled, for they said it was not to be suffered; but the captain said, "No, no, the young man has been really injured, and has reason to be very much provoked; but I have not injured him," says he; and then he protested he had no hand in it, that he was put on board, and we also, by the owners' agent, and for their account; that it was true that they did always deal in servants, and carried a great many every voyage; but that it was no profit to him as commander, but they were always put on board by the owners, and that it was none of his business to inquire about them; and, to prove that he was not concerned in it, but was very much troubled at so base a thing, and that he would not be instrumental to carry us away against our wills, if the wind and the weather would permit, he would set us on shore again, though, as it blowed then, the wind being at southwest, and a hard gale, and that they were already as far as the Orkneys, it was impossible.

But the captain was the same man; he told him that, let the wind blow how it would, he ought not to carry us away against our consents; and as to his pretences of his owners and the like, it was saying of nothing to him, for it was he, the captain, that carried us away, and that whatever rogue trepanned us on board (now he knew it) he ought no more to carry us away than murder us; and that he demanded to be set on shore, or else he, the captain, was a thief and a murderer.

The captain continued mild still; and then I put in with an argument, that had like to have brought us all back, if the weather had not really hindered it; which, when I came to understand sea affairs better, I found was indeed so, and that it had been impossible. I told the captain that I was sorry that my brother was so warm, but that our usage was villanous, which he could not deny: then I took up the air of what my habit did not agree with: I told him that we were not people to be sold for slaves, that though we had the misfortune to be in a circumstance that obliged us to conceal ourselves, having disguised ourselves to get out of the army, as being not willing to go into Flanders, yet that we were men of substance, and able to discharge ourselves from the service when it came to that; and, to convince him of it, I told him I would give him sufficient security, to pay 20*l.* a-piece for my brother and myself; and in as short time as we could send from the place he should put in to London, and receive a return; and, to show that I was able to do it, I pulled out my bill for 94*l.* from the gentleman of the custom-house, and who, to my infinite satisfaction, he knew as soon as he saw the bill. He was astonished at this, and lifting up his hands, "By what witchcraft," says he, "were you brought hither!"

"As to that," says I, "we have told you the story, and we add nothing to it; but we insist upon it, that you will do this justice to us now." "Well," says he, "I am very sorry for it, but I

cannot answer putting back the ship; neither, if I could," says he, "is it practicable to be done."

While this discourse lasted the two Scotchmen and the other Englishman were silent; but as I seemed to acquiesce, the Scotchmen began to talk to the same purpose, which I need not repeat, and had not mentioned, but for a merry passage that followed. After the Scotchmen had said all they could, and the captain still told them they must submit,—“And will you then carry us to Virginia?” “Yes,” says the captain. “And will we be sold,” says the Scotchman, “when we come there?” “Yes,” says the captain. “Why then, sir,” says the Scotchman, “the devil will have you at the hinder end of the bargain.” “Say you so,” says the captain smiling; “well, well, let the devil and I alone to agree about that: do you be quiet, and behave civilly as you should do, and you shall be used as kindly, both here and there too, as I can.” The poor Scotchmen could say little to it, nor I, nor any of us; for we saw there was no remedy, but to leave the devil and the captain to agree among themselves, as the captain had said, as to the honesty of it.

Thus, in short, we were all, I say, obliged to acquiesce but my captain, who was so much the more obstinate when he found that I had a fund to make such an offer upon, nor could all my persuasions prevail with him: the captain of the ship and he had many pleasant dialogues about this in the rest of the voyage, in which Jack never treated him with any language but that of kidnapper and villain, nor talked of anything but of taking his revenge of him; but I omit that part, though very diverting, as being no part of my own story.

In short, the wind continued to blow hard, though very fair, till, as the seamen said, we were past the Islands on the north of Scotland, and that we began to steer away westerly (which I came to understand since), as there was no land any way for many hundred leagues, so we had no remedy but patience, and to be easy as we could; only my surly Captain Jack continued the same man all the way.

We had a very good voyage, no storms all the way, and a northerly wind almost twenty days together; so that, in a word, we made the capes of Virginia in two and thirty days, from the day we steered west, as I have said, which was in the latitude of 60 degrees, 30 minutes, being to the north of the Isle of Great Britain; and this they said was a very quick passage.

Nothing material happened to me during the voyage; and indeed, when I came there, I was obliged to act in so narrow a compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

When we came ashore, which was in a great river, which they call Potomack, the captain asked us, but me more particularly, whether I had anything to propose to him now? Jack answered “Yes, I have something to propose to you, captain; that is, that I have promised you to cut your throat, and depend upon it I will be as good as my word.” “Well, well,” says the captain, “if I can’t help it, you shall;” so he turned away to me. I understood him very well what he meant; but I was now out of the reach of any relief; and as for my note, it was now but

a bit of paper of no value, for nobody could receive it but myself. I saw no remedy, and so talked coldly to him of it as of a thing I was indifferent about; and indeed I was grown indifferent, for I considered all the way on the voyage, that as I was bred a vagabond, had been a pick-pocket and a soldier, and was run from my colours, and that I had no settled abode in the world, nor any employ to get anything by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the gallows at the heels of it, I did not see but that this service might be as well to me as other business; and this I was particularly satisfied with, when they told me, that after I had served out the five years’ servitude I should have the courtesy of the country (as they called it), that is, a certain quantity of land to cultivate and plant for myself. So that now I was like to be brought up to something by which I might live, without that wretched thing called stealing, which my very soul abhorred, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that wicked time that I robbed the poor widow of Kentish Town.

In this mind I was when I arrived at Virginia; and so, when the captain inquired of me what I intended to do, and whether I had anything to propose (that is to say, he meant whether I would give him my bill, which he wanted to be fingering very much), I answered coldly, “My bill would be of no use to me now, for nobody would advance anything upon it; only this I would say to him, that, if he would carry me and Captain Jack back to England, and to London again, I would pay him the 20*l.* off my bill for each of us. This he had no mind to; “For as to your brother,” says he, “I would not take him into my ship for twice 20*l.*; he is such a hardened, desperate villain,” says he, “I should be obliged to carry him in irons as I brought him hither.”

Thus we parted with our captain, or kidnapper, call him as you will. We were then delivered to the merchants, to whom we were consigned, who again disposed of us as they thought fit, and in a few days we were separated.

As for my Captain Jack, to make short of the story, that desperate rogue had the good luck to have a very easy, good master, whose business and good humour he abused very much; and, in particular, took an opportunity to run away with a boat, which his master entrusted him and another with, to carry some provisions down the river to another plantation which he had there. This boat and provisions they ran away with, and sailed north to the bottom of the bay (as they call it), and into a river called Susquehanna, and there, quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods, till they came into Pennsylvania, from whence they made shift to get passage to New England, and from thence home; where, falling in among his old companions, and to the old trade, he was at length taken and hanged, about a month before I came to London, which was near twenty years afterward.

My part was harder at the beginning, though better at the latter end; I was disposed of (that is to say, sold) to a rich planter, whose name was Smith, and with me the other Englishman, who was my fellow-deserter, that Jack brought to me when we went off from Dunbar.

We were now fellow-servants, and it was our lot to be carried up a small river or creek, which falls into Potomack river, about eight miles from the great river. Here we were brought to the plantation, and put in among about fifty servants, as well negroes as others; and being delivered to the head man, or director or manager of the plantation, he took care to let us know that we must expect to work, and very hard too; for it was for that purpose his master bought servants, and for no other. I told him, very submissively, that since it was our misfortune to come into such a miserable condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desired we might be showed our business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been used to labour; and, I added, that when he knew particularly by what methods we were brought and betrayed into such a condition, he would perhaps see cause at least to show us that favour, if not more. This I spoke with such a moving tone as gave him curiosity to inquire into the particulars of our story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our advantage, too, than ordinary.

This story, as I hoped it would, did move him to a sort of tenderness; but yet he told us that his master's business must be done, and that he expected we must work as above; that he could not dispense with that upon any account whatever. Accordingly to work we went; and indeed we had three hard things attending us; namely, we worked hard, lodged hard, and fared hard. The first I had been an utter stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

During this scene of life I had time to reflect on my past hours, and upon what I had done in the world; and though I had no great capacity of making a clear judgment, and very little reflection from conscience, yet it made some impression upon me; and, particularly, that I was brought into this miserable condition of a slave, by some strange directing power, as a punishment for the wickedness of my younger years; and this thought was increased upon the following occasion: the master, whose service I was now engaged in, was a man of substance and figure in the country, and had abundance of servants, as well negroes as English; in all, I think, he had near two hundred, and among so many, as some grew every year infirm and unable to work, others went off upon their time being expired, and others died; and by these and other accidents the number would diminish if they were not often recruited and filled, and this obliged him to buy more every year.

It happened while I was here that a ship arrived from London with several servants, and among the rest were seventeen transported felons, some burnt in the hand, others not; eight of whom my master bought for the time specified in the warrant for their transportation respectively, some for a longer, some a shorter term of years.

Our master was a great man in the country, and a justice of peace, though he seldom came down to the plantation where I was; yet, as the new servants were brought on shore, and delivered at our plantation, his worship came thither, in a kind of state, to see and receive them. When they were brought before him, I was called, among other servants, as a kind of guard, to take them

into custody, after he had seen them, and to carry them to the work. They were brought by a guard of seamen from the ship, and the second mate of the ship came with them, and delivered them to our master, with the warrant for their transportation, as above.

When his worship had read over the warrants, he called them over by their names, one by one, and having let them know, by his reading the warrants over again to each man respectively, that he knew for what offences they were transported, he talked to every one separately very gravely; let them know how much favour they had received in being saved from the gallows, which the law had appointed for their crimes; that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hanged, and that transportation was granted them upon their own request and humble petition.

Then he laid before them, that they ought to look upon the life they were just agoing to enter upon as just beginning the world again; that if they thought fit to be diligent and sober, they would (after the time they were ordered to serve was expired) be encouraged by the constitution of the country to settle and plant for themselves; and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that, if he lived to see any of them serve their time faithfully out, it was his custom to assist his servants in order to their settling in that country, according as their behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several planters round about them, who now were in very good circumstances, and who formerly were only his servants in the same condition with them, and came from the same place (that is to say), Newgate; and some of them had the mark of it in their hands, but were now very honest men, and lived in very good repute.

Among the rest of his new servants he came to a young fellow not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and his warrant mentioned that he was, though a young man, yet an old offender; that he had been several times condemned, but had been respited or pardoned, but still he continued an incorrigible pickpocket; that the crime for which he was now transported, was for picking a merchant's pocket-book, or letter-case, out of his pocket, in which were bills of exchange for a very great sum of money; that he had afterwards received the money upon some of the bills; but that going to a goldsmith in Lombard-street with another bill, and having demanded the money, he was stopped, notice having been given of the loss of them; that he was condemned to die for the felony, and being so well known for an old offender, had certainly died, but the merchant, upon his earnest application, had obtained that he should be transported, on condition that he restored all the rest of his bills, which he had done accordingly.

Our master talked a long time to this young fellow; mentioned, with some surprise, that he so young should have followed such a wicked trade so long as to obtain the name of an old offender at so young an age; and that he should be styled incorrigible, which is to signify that, notwithstanding his being whipt two or three times, and several times punished by imprisonment, and once burnt in the hand, yet nothing would do him any

good, but that he was still the same. He talked mighty religiously to this boy, and told him, God had not only spared him from the gallows, but had now mercifully delivered him from the opportunity of committing the same sin again, and put it into his power to live an honest life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and though some part of his life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more than being put out apprentice to an honest trade, in which, when he came out of his time, he might be able to set up for himself, and live honestly.

Then he told him that, while he was a servant, he would have no opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself he would have no temptation to it; and so, after a great many other kind things said to him and the rest, they were dismissed.

I was exceedingly moved at this discourse of our master's, as anybody would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young rogue, born a thief and bred up a pickpocket, like myself; for I thought all my master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my head, that sure my master was some extraordinary man, and he knew all things that ever I had done in my life.

But I was surprised to the last degree, when my master, dismissing all the rest of us servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head clerk, "Here," says he, "bring that young fellow hither to me."

I had been near a year in the work, and I had plied it so well, that the clerk, or head man, either flattered me, or did really believe that I behaved very well; but I was terribly frightened to hear myself called out aloud, just as they used to call for such as had done some misdemeanor, and were to be lashed, or otherwise corrected.

I came in like a malefactor indeed, and thought I looked like one just taken in the fact, and carried before the justice; and indeed, when I came in, for I was carried into an inner room, or parlour, in the house to him; his discourse to the rest was in a large hall, where he sat in a seat like a lord judge upon the bench, or a petty king upon his throne.

When I came in, I say, he ordered his man to withdraw, and I standing half naked and bare-headed, with my haugh, or hoe, in my hand (the posture and figure I was in at my work), near the door, he bade me lay down my hoe, and come nearer; then he began to look a little less stern and terrible than I fancied him to look before, or, perhaps, both his countenance then and before might be, to my imagination, differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those things by the real temper of the person, but by the measure of our apprehensions.

"Hark ye, young man, how old are you?" says my master, and so our dialogue began.

Jack. "Indeed, sir, I do not know."

Mast. "What is your name?"

Jack. "They call me Colonel here, but my name is Jack, an't please your worship."

Mast. "But pr'ythee what is thy name?"

Jack. "Jack."

Mast. "What! is thy Christian name, then, Colonel, and thy surname Jack?"

Jack. "Truly, sir, to tell your honour the truth, I know little or nothing of myself, nor what my

true name is; but thus I have been called ever since I remember; which is my Christian name, or which my surname, or whether I was ever christened or not, I cannot tell."

Mast. "Well, however, that's honestly answered. Pray, how came you hither, and on what account are you made a servant here?"

Jack. "I wish your honour could have patience with me to hear the whole story; it is the hardest and most unjust thing that ever came before you."

Mast. "Say you so? tell it me at large then; I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an hour long."

This encouraged me, and I began at my being a soldier, and being persuaded to desert at Dunbar, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the time of my coming on shore, and the captain talking to me about my bill after I arrived here. He held up his hands several times as I went on, expressing his abhorrence of the usage I had met with at Newcastle, and inquired the name of the master of the ship; "For," said he, "that captain, for all his smooth words, must be a rogue." So I told him his name, and the name of the ship, and he took it down in his book, and then we went on.

Mast. "But pray answer me honestly, too, to another question; what was it made you so much concerned at my talking to the boy there, the pickpocket?"

Jack. "An't please your honour, it moved me to hear you talk so kindly to a poor slave."

Mast. "And was that all; speak truly now?"

Jack. "No, indeed, but a secret wish came into my thoughts, that you that were so good to such a creature as that, could but one way or other know my case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me, and do something for me."

Mast. "Well, but there was nothing in his case that hit with your own, that made you so affected with it, for I saw tears come from your eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you."

Jack. "Indeed, sir, I have been a wicked idle boy, and was left desolate in the world; but that boy is a thief, and condemned to be hanged; I never was before a court of justice in my life."

Mast. "Well, I won't examine you too far; if you were never before a court of justice, and are not a criminal transported, I have nothing farther to inquire of you. You have been ill used, that's certain, and was it that that affected you?"

Jack. "Yes, indeed, please your honour:" (we all called him his honour or his worship.)

Mast. "Well, now I do know your case, what can I do for you? You speak of a bill of 94*l.* of which you would have given the captain 40*l.* for your liberty; have you that bill in your keeping still?"

Jack. "Yes, sir, here it is." (I pulled it out of the waistband of my drawers, where I always found means to preserve it, wrapped up in a piece of paper, and pinned to the waistband, and yet almost worn out too with often pinning and removing, so I gave it to him to read, and he read it.)

Mast. "And is this gentleman in being that gave you the bill?"

Jack. "Yes, sir, he was alive, and in good health, when I came from London, which you may see by the date of the bill, for I came away the next day."

Mast. "I do not wonder that the captain of the ship was willing to get this bill of you, when you came on shore here."

Jack. "I would have given it into his possession, if he would have carried me and my brother back again to England, and have taken what he asked for us out of it."

Mast. "Ay, but he knew better than that too; he knew, if he had any friends there, they would call him to an account for what he had done; but I wonder he did not take it from you while you were at sea, either by fraud or by force."

Jack. "He did not attempt that indeed."

Mast. "Well, young man, I have a mind to try if I can do you any service in this case. On my word, if the money can be paid, and you can get it safe over, I might put you in a way how to be a better man than your master, if you will be honest and diligent."

Jack. "As I behave myself in your service, sir, you will, I hope, judge of the rest."

Mast. "But perhaps you hanker after returning to England."

Jack. "No, indeed, sir, if I can but get my bread honestly here, I have no mind to go to England, for I know not how to get my bread there; if I had, I had not listed for a soldier."

Mast. "Well, but I must ask you some questions about that part hereafter; for 'tis indeed something strange that you should list for a soldier when you had 94*l.* in your pocket."

Jack. "I shall give your worship as particular account of that as I have of the other part of my life, if you please, but 'tis very long."

Mast. "Well, we will have that another time; but to the case in hand; are you willing I should send to anybody at London, to talk with that gentleman that gave you the bill; not to take the money of him, but to ask him only whether he has so much money of yours in his hands? and whether he will part with it when you shall give order, and send the bill, or a duplicate of it? that is," says he, "the copy;" and it was well he did say so, for I did not understand the word duplicate at all.

Jack. "Yes, sir, I will give you the bill itself, if you please, I can trust it with you, though I could not with him."

Mast. "No, no, young man, I won't take it from you."

Jack. "I wish your worship would please to keep it for me, for, if I should lose it, then I am quite undone."

Mast. "I will keep it for you, Jack, if you will, but then you shall have a note under my hand, signifying that I have it, and will return it you upon demand, which will be as safe to you as the bill; I won't take it else."

So I gave my master the bill, and he gave me his note for it; and he was a faithful steward for me, as you will hear in its place. After this conference I was dismissed, and went to my work, but, about two hours after, the steward, or the overseer of the plantation, came riding by, and, coming up to me as I was at work, pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and, calling me to him,

gave me a dram of rum; when, in good manners, I had taken but a little sup, he held it out to me again and bade me take another, and spoke wondrous civilly to me, quite otherwise than he used to do.

This encouraged me and heartened me very much; but yet I had no particular view of anything, or which way I should have any relief.

A day or two after, when we were all going out to our work in the morning, the overseer called me to him again, and gave me a dram and a good piece of bread, and bade me come off from my work about one o'clock, and come to him to the house, for he must speak with me.

When I came to him, I came, to be sure, in the ordinary habit of a poor half-naked slave. "Come hither, young man," says he, "and give me your hoe." When I gave it him, "Well," says he, "you are to work no more in this plantation."

I looked surprised, and as if I was frightened. "What have I done, sir," said I, "and whither am I to be sent away?"

"Nay, nay," says he, and looked very pleasantly; "do not be frightened, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt you; I am ordered to make an overseer of you, and you shall be a slave no longer."

"Alas!" says I to him, "I an overseer! I am in no condition for it. I have no clothes to put on, no linen, nothing to help myself."

"Well, well," says he, "you may be better used than you are aware of; come hither with me." So he led me into a vast great warehouse, or rather set of warehouses, one within another, and calling the warehouse-keeper, "Here," says he, "you must clothe this man, and give him everything necessary, upon the foot of number five, and give the bill to me; our master has ordered me to allow it in the accout of the west plantation." That was, it seems, the plantation where I was to go.

CHAPTER IX.

I STUMBLE AT THE THRESHOLD OF MY NEW OFFICE
—I STUDY TO RENDER THE NEGROES OBEDIENT WITHOUT PUNISHMENT, AND SUCCEED—OUR MASTER VISITS THE PLANTATION—CONVERSATION WITH HIM—I GAIN HIS GOOD GRACES MORE AND MORE—FIDELITY OF A NEGRO.

ACCORDINGLY, the warehouse-keeper carried me into an inner warehouse, where were several suits of clothes of the sort his orders mentioned, which were plain, but good sort of clothes, ready made, being of a good broad-cloth, about 1*l.*s. a yard in England, and with this he gave me three good shirts, two pair of shoes, stockings and gloves, a hat, six neckcloths, and, in short, everything I could want; and when he had looked everything out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little room by itself. "Here," says he, "go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman;" and with that carried everything into the room, and, shutting the door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

In a little while after this came the overseer, and gave me joy of my new clothes, and told me I must go with him; so I was carried to another

plantation, larger than that where I worked before, and where there were two overseers, or clerks, one within doors and two without. This last was removed to another plantation, and I was placed there in his room; that is to say, as the clerk without doors, and my business was to look after the servants and negroes, and take care that they did their business, provide their food, and, in short, both govern and direct them.

I was elevated to the highest degree in my thoughts at this advancement, and it is impossible for me to express the joy of my mind upon this occasion; but there came a difficulty upon me that shocked me so violently, and went so against my very nature, that I really had almost forfeited my place about it, and, in all appearance, the favour of our master, who had been so generous to me; and this was, that when I entered upon my office, I had a horse given me, and a long horse-whip, like what we call in England a hunting-whip. The horse was to ride up and down all over the plantation to see the servants and negroes did their work, and the plantation being so large, it could not be done on foot, at least so often and so effectually as was required; and the horse-whip was given me to correct and lash the slaves and servants when they proved negligent or quarrelsome, or, in short, were guilty of any offence. This part turned the very blood within my veins, and I could not think of it with any temper, that I, who was but yesterday a servant or slave like them, and under the authority of the same lash, should lift up my hand to the cruel work which was my terror but the day before. This, I say, I could not do; insomuch that the negroes perceived it, and I had soon so much contempt upon my authority that we were all in disorder.

The ingratitude of their return for the compassion I showed them provoked me, I confess, and a little hardened my heart; and I began with the negroes, two of whom I was obliged to correct, and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I lashed them till every blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the work, the rogues laughed at me, and one of them had the impudence to say behind my back, that, if he had the whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a negro.

Well, however, I had no power to do it in such a barbarous manner as I found it was necessary to have it done, and the defect began to be a detriment to our master's business, and now I began indeed to see that the cruelty so much talked of used in Virginia and Barbadoes and other colonies, in whipping the negro slaves, was not so much owing to the tyranny and passion and cruelty of the English as had been reported; the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; but that it is owing to the brutality and obstinate temper of the negroes, who cannot be managed by kindness and courtesy, but must be ruled with a rod of iron, beaten with scorpions, as the Scripture calls it, and must be used as they do use them, or they would rise and murder all their masters, which, their numbers considered, would not be hard for them to do if they had arms and ammunition suitable to the rage and cruelty of their nature.

But I began to see at the same time that this brutal temper of the negroes was not rightly ma-

naged; that they did not take the best course with them to make them sensible either of mercy or punishment; and it was evident to me that even the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance without the lash, or, at least, without so much of it as they generally inflicted.

Our master was really a man of humanity himself, and was sometimes so full of tenderness that he would forbid the severities of his overseers and stewards; but he saw the necessity of it, and was obliged at last to leave it to the discretion of his upper servants; yet he would often bid them be merciful, and bid them consider the difference of the constitution of the bodies of the negroes; some being less able to bear the tortures of their punishment than others, and some of them less obstinate too than others.

However, somebody was so officious as to inform him against me upon this occasion; and let him know that I neglected his affairs, and that the servants were under no government; by which means his plantation was not duly managed, and that all things were in disorder.

This was a heavy charge for a young overseer, and his honour came like a judge, with all his attendants, to look into things, and hear the cause. However, he was so just to me, as that, before he censured me, he resolved to hear me fully, and that not only publicly but in private too; and the last part of this was my particular good fortune; for as he had formerly allowed me to speak to him with freedom, so I had the like freedom now, and had full liberty to explain and defend myself.

I knew nothing of the complaint against me till I had it from his own mouth; nor anything of his coming till I saw him in the very plantation, viewing his work, and viewing the several pieces of ground that were ordered to be new planted; and after he had rode all round, and seen things in the condition which they were to be seen in; how everything was in its due order, and the servants and negroes were all at work, and everything appearing to his mind, he went into the house.

As I saw him come up the walks I ran towards him, and made my homage, and gave him my humble thanks for the goodness he had showed me, in taking me from the miserable condition I was in before, and employing and entrusting me in his business; and he looked pleasant enough, though he did not say much at first, and I attended him through the whole plantation, gave him an account of everything as he went along, answered all his objections and inquiries everywhere in such a manner, as it seems, he did not expect, and, as he acknowledged afterwards, everything was very much to his satisfaction.

There was an overseer, as I observed, belonging to the same plantation, who was, though not over me, yet in a work superior to mine; for his business was to see the tobacco packed up, and deliver it either on board the sloops, or otherwise, as our master ordered, and to receive English goods from the grand warehouse, which was at the other plantation, because that was nearest the water side; and, in short, to keep the accompts.

This overseer, an honest and upright man, made no complaint to him of his business being

neglected, as above, or of anything like it, though he inquired of him about it, and that very strictly too.

I should have said, that as he rode over the plantation, he came in his round to the place where the servants were usually corrected, when they had done any fault; and there stood two negroes, with their hands tied behind them, as it were under sentence; and when he came near them, they fell on their knees, and made pitiful signs to him for mercy. "Alas! alas!" says he, turning to me, "why did you bring me this way? I do not love such sights, what must I do now? I must pardon them; prithee, what have they done?" I told him the particular offences which they were brought to the place for; one had stolen a bottle of rum, and had made himself drunk with it, and when he was drunk, had done a great many mad things, and had attempted to knock one of the white servant's brains out with a handspike; but that the white man had avoided the blow, and, striking up the negro's heels, had seized him, and brought him prisoner thither, where he had lain all night; and that I had told him he was to be whipped that day, and the next three days, twice every day.

"And could you be so cruel?" says his honour, "why you would kill the poor wretch; and so, besides the blood which you would have to answer for, you would lose me a lusty man negro, which cost me at least 30*l.* or 40*l.* and bring a reproach upon my whole plantation; nay, and more than that, some of them in revenge would murder me, if ever it was in their power."

"Sir," says I, "if those fellows are not kept under by violence, I believe you are satisfied nothing is to be done with them; and it is reported, in your works, that I have been rather their jest than their terror, for want of using them as they deserve; and I was resolved, how much soever it is against my own disposition, that your service should not suffer for my unseasonable forbearance; and therefore, if I had scourged him to death—"—"Hold," says he, "no, no, by no means, no such severity in my bounds; remember, young man, you were once a servant, deal as you would acknowledge it would be just to deal with you in his case, and mingle always some mercy; I desire it, and let the consequence of being too gentle be placed to my account."

This was as much as I could desire, and the more, because what passed was in public, and several, both negroes and white servants, as well as the particular persons who had accused me, heard it all, though I did not know it. "A cruel dog of an overseer," says one of the white servants behind, "he would have whipped poor bullet-head (so they called the negro that was to be punished) to death, if his honour had not happened to come to-day."

However, I urged the notorious crime this fellow was guilty of, and the danger there was in such forbearance, from the refractory and incorrigible temper of the negroes, and pressed a little the necessity of making examples; but he said, "Well, well, do it the next time, but not now;" so I said no more.

The other fellow's crime was trifling compared with this; and the master went forward, talking of it to me, and I following him, till we came to

the house; when, after he had been sat down a while, he called me to him; and, not suffering my accusers to come near, till he had heard my defence, he began with me thus.

Mast. "Hark ye, young man, I must have some discourse with you. Your conduct is complained of since I set you over this plantation; I thought your sense of the obligation I had laid on you would have secured your diligence and faithfulness to me."

Jack. "I am very sorry any complaint should be made of me, because the obligation I am under to your honour (and which I freely confess) does bind me to your interest in the strongest manner imaginable; and, however I may have mistaken my business, I am sure I have not willingly neglected it."

Mast. "Well, I shall not condemn you without hearing you, and therefore I called you in now to tell you of it."

Jack. "I humbly thank your honour; I have but one petition more, and that is, that I may know my accusation; and, if you please, my accusers."

Mast. "The first you shall, and that is the reason of my talking to you in private; and if there is any need of a further hearing, you shall know your accusers too. What you are charged with is just contrary to what appeared to me just now, and therefore you and I must come to a new understanding about it, for I thought I was too cunning for you, and now I think you have been too cunning for me."

Jack. "I hope your honour will not be offended that I do not fully understand you."

Mast. "I believe you do not; come, tell me honestly, did you really intend to whip the poor negro twice a day for four days together, that is to say, to whip him to death, for that would have been the English of it, and the end of it."

Jack. "If I may be permitted to guess, sir, I believe I know the charge that is brought against me; and that your honour has been told, that I have been too gentle with the negroes, as well as with other servants; and that when they deserved to be used with the accustomed severity of the country, I have not given them half enough; and that by this means they are careless of your business, and that your plantation is not well looked after, and the like."

Mast. "Well, you guess right; go on."

Jack. "The first part of the charge I confess, but the last I deny; and appeal to your honour's strictest examination into every part of it."

Mast. "If the last part could be true, I would be glad the first were: for it would be an infinite satisfaction to me that, my business not being neglected nor our safety endangered, those poor wretches could be used with more humanity; for cruelty is the aversion of my nature, and it is the only uncomfortable thing that attends me in all my prosperity."

Jack. "I freely acknowledge, sir, that at first it was impossible for me to bring myself to that terrible work. How could I, that was but just come out of the terror of it myself, and had but the day before been a poor, naked, miserable servant myself, and might be to-morrow reduced to the same condition again; how could I use this (showing a horsewhip) terrible weapon on the

naked flesh of my fellow-servants as well as fellow creatures? At least, sir, when my duty made it absolutely necessary, I could not do it without the utmost horror. I beseech you pardon me if I have such a tenderness in my nature, that though I might be fit to be your servant, I am incapable of being an executioner, having been an offender myself."

Mast. "Well, but how then can my business be done; and how will this terrible obstinacy of the negroes, who, they tell me, can be no otherwise governed, be kept from neglect of their work, or even insolence and rebellion?"

Jack. "This brings me, sir, to the latter part of my defence; and here I hope your honour will be pleased to call my accusers, or that you will give yourself the trouble of taking the exactest view of your plantation, and see, or let them show you, if anything is neglected, if your business has suffered in anything, or if your negroes or other servants are under less government than they were before; and if, on the contrary, I have found out that happy secret to have good order kept, the business of the plantation done, and that with diligence and dispatch, and that the negroes are kept in awe, the natural temper of them subjected, and the safety and peace of your family secured, as well by gentle means as by rough, by moderate correction as by torture and barbarity, by a due awe of just discipline as by the horror of insufferable torments, I hope your honour will not lay that sin to my charge."

Mast. "No, indeed; you would be the most acceptable manager that ever I employed; but how then does this consist with the cruel sentence you had passed on the poor fellow that is in your condemned hole yonder, who was to be whipped eight times in four days?"

Jack. "Very well, sir; first, sir, he remains under the terrible apprehensions of a punishment so severe as no negro ever had before; this fellow, with your leave, I intended to release to-morrow without any whipping at all, after talking to him in my way about his offence, and raising in his mind a sense of the value of pardon; and if this makes him a better servant than the severest whipping will do, then I presume you would allow I have gained a point."

Mast. "Ay, but what if it should not be so? for these fellows have no sense of gratitude."

Jack. "That is, sir, because they are never pardoned; if they offend, they never know what mercy is, and what then have they to be grateful for?"

Mast. "Thou art in the right indeed; where there is no mercy shown, there is no obligation laid upon them."

Jack. "Besides, sir, if they have at any time been let go, which is very seldom, they are not told what the case is; they take no pains with them to imprint principles of gratitude on their minds, to tell them what kindness is shown them, and what they are indebted for it, and what they might gain in the end by it."

Mast. "But do you think such usage would do? Would it make any impression? You persuade yourself it would, but you see 'tis against the received notion of the whole country."

Jack. "There are, it may be, public and na-

tional mistakes and errors in conduct, and this is one."

Mast. "Have you tried it? You cannot say it is a mistake till you have tried and proved it to be so."

Jack. "Your whole plantation is a proof of it. This very fellow had never acted as he did if he had not gotten rum in his head, and been out of the government of himself; so that indeed all the offence I ought to have punished him for had been that of stealing a bottle of rum, and drinking it all up; in which case, like Noah, he did not know the strength of it, and when he had it in his head he was a madman, he was as one raging and distracted; so that, for all the rest, he deserved pity rather than punishment."

Mast. "Thou art right, certainly right, and thou wilt be a rare fellow if thou canst bring these notions into practice: I wish you had tried it upon any one particular negro, that I might see an example; I would give 500*l.* it could be brought to bear."

Jack. "I desire nothing, sir, but your favour and the advantage of obliging you; I will show you an example of it among your own negroes, and all the plantation will acknowledge it."

Mast. "You make my very heart glad within me, Jack; if you can bring this to pass, I here give you my word I'll not only give you your own freedom, but make a man of you for this world as long as you live."

Upon this I bowed to him very respectfully, and told him the following story. There is a negro, sir, in your plantation, who has been your servant several years before I came; he did a fault that was of no great consequence in itself, but perhaps would have been worse if they had indeed gone farther, and I had him brought into the usual place and tied him by the thumbs for correction, and he was told that he should be whipped and pickled in a dreadful manner. After I had made proper impressions on his mind of the terror of his punishment, and found that he was sufficiently humbled by it, I went into the house and caused him to be brought out, just as they do when they go to correct the negroes on such occasions: when he was stripped and tied up, he had two lashes given him that were indeed very cruel ones, and I called to them to hold. "Hold," said I to the two men that had just begun to lay on upon the poor fellow, "hold," said I; "let me talk to him."

So he was taken down. Then I began and represented to him how kind you, that were his great master,* had been to him; that you had never done him any harm, that you had used him gently, and he had never been brought to this punishment in so many years, though he had done some faults before; that this was a notorious offence, for he had stolen some rum, and made himself and two other negroes drunk-mad,† and had abused two women negroes who had hus-

* So the negroes call the owner of the plantation, or at least so they called him, because he was a great man in the country, having three or four large plantations.

† To be drunk in a negro is to be mad; for when they get rum they are worse than raving, and fit to do any manner of mischief.

bands in our master's service, but in another plantation; and played several pranks, and for this I had appointed him this punishment.

He shook his head, and made signs that he was *muchee sorree*, as he called it. "And what will you say or do," said I, "if I should prevail with the great master to pardon you? I have a mind to go and see if I can beg for you." He told me he would lie down, let me kill him; "me will," says he, "run, go, fetch, bring for you as long as me live." This was the opportunity I had a mind to have, to try whether, as negroes have all the other faculties of reasonable creatures, they had not also some sense of kindness, some principles of natural generosity, which, in short, is the foundation of gratitude; for gratitude is the product of generous principles.

"You please me with the beginning of this story," says he; "I hope you have carried it on."

"Yes, sir," says I, "it has been carried on farther perhaps than you imagine, or will think has been possible in such a case."

But I was not so arrogant as to assume the merit to myself. "No, no," said I, "I do not ask you to go or run for me, you must do all that for our great master, for it will be from him entirely that you will be pardoned, if you are pardoned at all, for your offence is against him; and what will you say, will you be grateful to him, and run, go, fetch, bring, for him as long as you live, as you have said you would for me?"

"Yes, indeed," says he, "and *muchee do, muchee do*, for you too (he would not leave me out); you ask him for me."

Well, I put off all his promised gratitude to me from myself, as was my duty, and placed it to your account; told him I knew you was *muchee good, muchee pitiful*, and I would persuade you if I could; and so told him I would go to you, and he should be whipped no more till I came again. "But, hark ye, Mouchat," says I (that was the negro's name), "they tell me when I came hither, that there is no showing kindness to any of you negroes; that when we spare you from whipping, you laugh at us, and are the worse."

He looked very serious at me, and said, "O that no so; the masters say so, but no be so, no be so, indeede, indeede," and so we parleyed.—

Jack. "Why do they say so then? To be sure they have tried you all."

Negro. "No, no, they no try, they say so, but no try."

Jack. "I hear them all say so."

Negro. "Me tell you the true; they have no mercie, they beat us cruel, all cruel, they never have show mercie. How can they tell we be no better?"

Jack. "What! do they never spare?"

Negro. "Master, me speakee the true; they never give mercie, they always whippee, lashee, knockee down, all cruel: negro be muchee better man, do muchee better work, but they tell us no mercie."

Jack. "But, what, do they never show any mercy?"

Negro. "No never, no never; all whippee, all whippee, cruel, worse than they whippee de horse, whippee de dog."

Jack. "But would they be better if they did?"

Negro. "Yes, yes, negro be muchee better if

they be mercie; when they be whippee, whippee, negro muchee cry, muchee hate, would kill if they had de gun; but when they makee de mercie, then negro tell the great tankee, and love to worke, and do muchee worke, and because be good master to them."

Jack. "They say no, you would laugh at them, and mock when they show mercy."

Negro. "How! they say when they show mercie; they never show mercie, me never see them show one mercie since me live."

"Now, sir," said I, "if this be so, really they go, I dare say, contrary to your inclination; for I see you are but too full of pity for the miserable; I saw it in my own case; and upon a presumption that you had rather have your work done from a principle of love than fear, without making your servants bleed for every trifle, if it were possible,—I say, upon this presumption, I dealt with this Mouchat as you shall hear."

Mast. "I have never met with anything of this kind since I have been a planter, which is now above 40 years. I am delighted with the story; go on; I expect a pleasant conclusion."

Jack. "The conclusion, sir, will be, I believe, as much to your satisfaction as the beginning; for it every way answered my expectation, and will yours also; and show you how you might be faithfully served if you pleased, for 'tis certain you are not so served now."

Mast. "No, indeed; they serve me, but just as they do the devil, for fear I should hurt them; but 'tis contrary to an ingenuous spirit to delight in such service; I abhor it, if I could but know how to get any other."

Jack. "It is easy, sir, to show you that you may be served upon better principles, and consequently be better served, and more to your satisfaction; and I dare undertake to convince you of it."

Mast. "Well, go on with the story."

Jack. "After I had talked thus to him, I said, 'Well, Mouchat, I shall see how you will be afterward, if I can get our great master to be merciful to you at this time.'"

Negro. "Yes, you shall see, you muchee see, muchee see."

Upon this, I called for my horse, and went from him, and made as if I rode away to you, who, they told me, was in the next plantation, and having stayed four or five hours, I came back and talked to him again; told him that I had waited on you, and that you had heard of his offence, was highly provoked, and had resolved to cause him to be severely punished for an example to all the negroes in the plantation; but that I had told you how penitent he was, and how good he would be if you would pardon him, and had at last prevailed on you: that you had told me what all people said of the negroes; how, that to show them mercy, was to make them think you were never in earnest with them, and that you did but trifle and play with them. However, that I had told you what he had said of himself, and that it was not true of the negroes, and that the white men said it, but that they could not know, because they did never show any mercy, and therefore had never tried: that I had persuaded you to show mercy, to try whether kind-

ness would prevail as much as cruelty. "And now, Mouchat," said I, "you will be let go; pray let our great master see that I have said true." So I ordered him to be untied, gave him a dram of rum out of my pocket bottle, and ordered them to give him some victuals.

When the fellow was let loose, he came to me, and kneeled down to me, and took hold of my legs and of my feet, and laid his head upon the ground, and sobbed and cried like a child that had been corrected, but could not speak for his life; and thus he continued a long time. I would have taken him up, but he could not rise; but I cried as fast as he, for I could not bear to see a poor wretch lie on the ground to me, that was but a servant the other day like himself. At last, but not till a quarter of an hour, I made him get up, and then he spoke. "Me muchee know good great master, muchee good you master. No negro unthankful, me die for them, do me so muchee kind."

I dismissed him then, and bid him go to his wife, (for he was married,) and not work that afternoon; but, as he was going away, I called him again, and talked thus to him.

"Now, Mouchat," says I, "you see the white men can show mercy; now you must tell all the negroes what has been reported of them, that they regard nothing but the whip; that if they are used gently they are the worse, not the better; and that this is the reason why the white men show them no mercy; and convince them that they would be much better treated, and used kindlier, if they would shew themselves as grateful for kind usage as humble after torment; and see if you can work on them."

"Me go, me go," says he, "me muchee talk to them; they be muchee glad as me be, and do great work, to be used kind by de great master."

Mast. "Well, but now, what testimony have you of this gratitude you speak of? Have you seen any alteration among them?"

Jack. "I come next to that part, sir. About a month after this, I caused a report to be spread abroad in the plantation that I had offended you, the great master, and that I was turned out of the plantation, and was to be hanged. Your honour knows that some time ago you sent me upon your particular business into Potuxent river, where I was absent twelve days, then I took the opportunity to have this report spread about among the negroes to see how it would work."

Mast. "What! to see how Mouchat would take it?"

Jack. Yes, sir; and it made a discovery, indeed. The poor fellow did not believe it presently, but, finding I was still absent, he went to the head clerk, and standing at his door, said nothing, but looked like a fool of ten years old. After some time the upper overseer came out, and, seeing him stand there, at first said nothing, supposing he had been sent of some errand; but observing him to stand stock still, and that he was in the same posture and place, during the time that he had passed and repassed two or three times, he stops short the last time of his coming by. "What do you want," says he to him, "that you stand idle here so long?"

"Me speakee, me tell something," says he.

Then the overseer thought some discovery was

at hand, and began to listen to him. "What would you tell me?" says he.

"Me tell? Pray," says he, "where be de other master?"

He meant he would ask where he was. "What other master do you mean?" says the clerk. "What, do you want to speak with the great master? He can't be spoke by you. Pray, what is your business; cannot you tell it to me?"

"No, no, me no speakee, the great master, the other master," says Mouchat.

"What, the colonel?" says the clerk.

"Yes, yes, the colonel," says he.

"Why, don't you know that he is to be hanged to-morrow," says the clerk, "for making the great master angry?"

"Yes, yes," says Mouchat, "me know, me know; but me want speak, me tell something."

"Well, what would you say?" says the clerk.

"O! me no let him makee de great master angry;" with that he kneeled down to the clerk.

"What ails you?" says the clerk, "I tell you he must be hanged."

"No, no," says he, "no hang de master; me kneel for him to great master."

"You kneel for him!" says the clerk; "what, do you think the great master will mind you? He has made the great master angry, and must be hanged, I tell you; what signifies your begging?"

Negro. "O! me pray, me pray the great master for him."

Clerk. "Why, what ails you, that you would pray for him?"

Negro. "O! he beggee the great master for me, now me beggee for him; the great master muchee good, muchee good; he pardon me when the other master beggee me, now he pardon him when me beggee for him again."

Clerk. "No, no, your begging won't do. Will you be hanged for him? If you do that, something may be."

Negro. "Yes, yes, me be hang for de poor master that beggee for me: Mouchat shall hang, the great master shall hangee me, whippee me, anything to save the poor master that beggee me; yes, yes, indeed."

Clerk. "Are you in earnest, Mouchat?"

Negro. "Yes, indeed; me tellee de true, the great master shall know me tellee de true, for he shall see the white man hangee me Mouchat; poor negro Mouchat will be hangee, be whippee, anything for the poor master that beggee for me."

With this the poor fellow cried most pitifully, and there was no room to question his being in earnest; when on a sudden I appeared, for I was fetched to see all this transaction. I was not in the house at first, but was just come home from the business you sent me of, and heard it all, and indeed neither the clerk nor I could bear it any longer; so he came out to me,—"Go to him," says he; "you have made an example that will never be forgot, that a negro can be grateful; go to him," adds he, "for I can talk to him no longer." So I appeared, and spoke to him presently, and let him see that I was at liberty; but to hear how the poor fellow behaved your honour cannot but be pleased.

Mast. "Prithee go on, I am pleased with it all;

'tis all a new scene of negro life to me, and very moving."

Jack. "For a good while he stood as if he had been thunderstruck and stupid; but, looking steadily at me, though not speaking a word, at last he mutters to himself, with a kind of a laugh, —" Ay, ay," says he, "Mouchat see, Mouchat no see; me wakee, me no wakee; no hangee, no hangee; he live truly, very live;" and then on a sudden he runs to me, snatches me away as if I had been a boy of ten years old, and takes me up upon his back, and runs away with me, till I was fain to cry out to him to stop; then he sets me down, and looks at me again, then falls a dancing about me, as if he had been bewitched, just as you have seen them do about their wives and children when they are merry.

Well, then he began to talk with me, and told me what they had said to him, how I was to be hanged. "Well," says I, "Mouchat, and would you have been satisfied to be hanged to save me?" "Yes, yes," says he, "be truly hangee to beggee you."

"But why do you love me so well, Mouchat?" said I.

"Did you no beggee me," he says, "at the great master? You savee me, make great master muchee good, muchee kind, no whippee me; me no forget; me be whipped, be hanged, that you no be hanged; me die that you no die; me no let any bad be with you all while that me live."

Now, sir, your honour may judge whether kindness, well managed, would not oblige these people as well as cruelty; and whether there are principles of gratitude in them or no.

Mast. "But what, then, can be the reason that we never believed it to be so before?"

Jack. "Truly, sir, I fear that Mouchat gave the true reason."

Mast. "What was that, pray? that we were too cruel?"

Jack. "That they never had any mercy showed them; that they never tried them whether they would be grateful or no; that if they did a fault, they were never spared, but punished with the utmost cruelty; so that they had no passion, no affection to act upon, but that of fear, which necessarily brought hatred with it; but that, if they were used with compassion, they would serve with affection as well as other servants: nature is the same, and reason governs in just proportions in all creatures; but, having never been let taste what mercy is, they know not how to act from a principle of love."

Mast. "I am convinced it is so; but now, pray tell me, how did you put this in practice with the poor negroes now in bonds yonder, when you passed such a cruel sentence upon them, that they should be whipped twice a-day for four days together; was that showing mercy?"

Jack. "My method was just the same; and if you please to inquire of Mr —, your other servant, you will be satisfied that it was so; for we agreed upon the same measures as I took with Mouchat; namely, first to put them into the utmost horror and apprehensions of the cruelest punishment that they ever heard of, and thereby enhance the value of their pardon, which was to come as from yourself, but not without our great intercession; then I was to argue with

them, and work upon their reason, to make the mercy that was showed them sink deep into their minds, and give lasting impressions; explain the meaning of gratitude to them, and the nature of an obligation, and the like, as I had done with Mouchat."

Mast. "I am answered; your method is certainly right, and I desire you may go on with it; for I desire nothing on this side heaven more than to have all my negroes serve me from principles of gratitude for my kindness to them: I abhor to be feared like a lion, like a tyrant; it is a violence upon nature every way, and is the most disagreeable thing in the world to a generous mind."

Jack. "But, sir, I am doubtful that you may not believe that I intended to act thus with those poor fellows; I beseech you to send for Mr —, that he may tell you what we had agreed on, before I speak with him."

Mast. "What reason have I to doubt that?"

Jack. "I hope you have not; but I should be very sorry you should think me capable of executing such a sentence as you have heard me own I had passed on them, and there can be no way effectually to clear it up but this."

Mast. "Well, seeing you put so much weight upon it, he shall be called for."

He was accordingly called, and being ordered by the master to tell the measures that were concerted between us for the punishment or management of those negroes, he gave it just as I had done before.

Jack. "I hope, sir, you are now not only satisfied of the truth of the account I gave, relating to the method we had agreed on; but of its being so proper, and so likely to answer your end."

Mast. "I am fully satisfied, and shall be glad to see that it answers the end; for, as I have said, nothing can be more agreeable to me, nothing has so much robbed me of the comfort of all my fortunes, as the cruelty used, in my name, on the bodies of those poor slaves."

Jack. "It is certainly wrong, sir; it is not only wrong, as it is barbarous and cruel, but it is wrong too, as it is the worst way of managing and of having your business done."

Mast. "It is my aversion, it fills my very soul with horror; I believe, if I should come by while they were using those cruelties on the poor creatures, I should either sink down at the sight of it, or fly into a rage, and kill the fellow that did it, though it is done too by my own authority."

Jack. "But, sir, I dare say I shall convince you also that it is wrong in respect of interest; and that your business shall be better discharged, and your plantations better ordered, and more work done by the negroes, who shall be engaged by mercy and lenity, than by those who are driven and dragged by the whips and the chains of a merciless tormentor."

Mast. "I think the nature of the thing speaks for itself; doubtless it should be so, and I have often thought it would be so, and a thousand times wished it might be so; but all my English people pretended otherwise, and that it is impossible to bring the negroes to any sense of

kindness, and consequently not to any obedience of love."

Jack. "It may be true, sir, that there may be found here and there a negro of a senseless, stupid, sordid disposition, perfectly untractable, indocile, and incapable of due impressions; especially incapable of the generosity of principle which I am speaking of. You know very well, sir, there are such among the Christians, as well as among the negroes; whence else came the English proverb, That if you save a thief from the gallows, he shall be the first to cut your throat. But, sir, if such a refractory, indocile fellow comes in our way, he must be dealt with, first, by the smooth ways to try him, then by the violent way to break his temper, as they break a horse; and, if nothing will do, such a wretch should be sold off, and others bought in his room; for the peace of the plantation should not be broken for one devilish tempered fellow: and if this was done, I doubt not you would have all your plantation carried on, and your work done, and not a negro or a servant upon it, but what would not only work for you, but even die for you, if there was an occasion for it, as you see this poor Mouchat would have done for me."

Mast. "Well, go on with your measures, and may you succeed; I'll promise you I will fully make you amends for it; I long to have these cruelties out of use, in my plantation especially; as for others, let them do as they will."

CHAPTER X.

MY MASTER GIVES ME MY LIBERTY, AND PUTS ME INTO A PLANTATION FOR MYSELF—PROCEEDINGS AS A PLANTER—I GET MY BILL CASHED IN LONDON, AND A SORTED PARCEL OF GOODS SENT OUT FOR ITS AMOUNT—THE GREATEST PART OF THEM ARE LOST AT THE MOUTH OF THE BAY—REFLECTIONS.

OUR master being gone, I went to the prisoners, and, first, I suffered them to be told that the great master had been there, and that he had been inclined to pardon them, till he knew what their crime was; but then he said it was so great a fault that it must be punished. Besides, the man that talked to them told them that the great master said that he knew if he had pardoned them they would but be the worse, for that the negroes were never thankful for being spared, and that there were no other ways to make them obedient but by severity.

One of the poor fellows, more sensible than the other, answered, if any negro be badder for being kindly used, they should be whipped till they were muchee better; but that he never knew that, for that he never knew the negro be kindly use.

This was the same thing as the other had said, and, indeed, was but too true, for the overseers really knew no such thing as mercy; and that notion, of the negroes being no other way to be governed but by cruelty, had been the occasion that no other method was ever tried among them.

Again, if a slack hand had at any time been held upon them, it had not been done with discretion, or as a point of mercy, and managed with the assistance of argument to convince the

negroes of the nature and reason of it, and to show them what they ought to do in return for it; but it was perhaps the effect of negligence, ill conduct, and want of application to the business of the plantation; and then it was no wonder that the negroes took the advantage of it.

Well, I carried on the affair with these two negroes, just as I did with Mouchat, so I need not repeat the particulars; and they were delivered with infinite acknowledgments and thanks, even to all the extravagancies of joy usual in those people on such occasions; and such was the gratitude of those two pardoned fellows, that they were the most faithful and most diligent servants ever after that belonged to the whole plantation, Mouchat excepted.

In this manner I carried on the plantation fully to his satisfaction; and before a year more was expired, there was scarce any such thing as correction known in the plantation, except upon a few boys, who were incapable of the impressions that good usage would have made, even upon them too, till they had lived to know the difference.

It was some time after this conference that our great master, as we called him, sent for me again to his dwelling-house, and told me he had had an answer from England from his friend, to whom he had written about my bill. I was a little afraid that he was going to ask me leave to send it to London; but he did not say anything like that, but told me that his friend had been with the gentleman, and that he owned the bill, and that he had all the money in his hand that the bill had mentioned; but that he had promised the young man that had given him the money (meaning me) not to pay the money to anybody but himself, though they should bring the bill; the reason of which was, that I did not know who might get the bill away from me.

"But now, Colonel Jack," says he, "as you wrote him an account where you was, and by what wicked arts you were trepanned, and that it was impossible for you to have your liberty till you could get the money; my friend at London has written to me, that, upon making out a due copy of the bill here, attested by a notary, and sent to him, and your obligation likewise attested, whereby you oblige yourself to deliver the original to his order, after the money is paid, he will pay the money."

I told him I was willing to do whatever his honour directed; and so the proper copies were drawn, as I had been told were required.

"But now, what will you do with this money, Jack?" says he, smiling; "will you buy your liberty of me, and go to planting?"

I was too cunning for him now indeed, for I remembered what he had promised me; and I had too much knowledge of the honesty of his principles, as well as of the kindness he had for me, to doubt his being as good as his word; so I turned all this talk of his upon him another way. I knew that when he asked me if I would buy my liberty and go to planting, it was to try if I would leave him; so I said, "As to buying my liberty, sir, that is to say going out of your service, I had much rather buy more time in your service, and I am only unhappy that I have but two years to serve."

"Come, come, Colonel," says he, "don't flatter me; I love plain dealing; liberty is precious to everybody: if you have a mind to have your money brought over, you shall have your liberty to begin for yourself, and I will take care you shall be well used by the country, and get you a good plantation."

I still insisted that I would not quit his service for the best plantation in Maryland: that he had been so good to me, and I believed I was so useful to him, that I could not think of it; and at last I added, I hoped he could not believe but I had as much gratitude as a negro.

He smiled, and said he would not be served upon those terms; that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his plantation; and that he was resolved in the first place to give me my liberty: so he pulls out a piece of paper, and throws it to me: "There," says he, "there's a certificate of your coming on shore, and being sold to me for five years, of which you have lived three with me, and now you are your own master." I bowed, and told him that I was sure, if I was my own master, I would be his servant as long as he would accept of my service; and now we strained courtesies, and he told me I should be his servant still; but it should be on two conditions, 1st, that he would give me 30*l.* a year and my board, for my managing the plantation I was then employed in; and, 2dly, that at the same time he would procure me a new plantation to begin upon for my own account; "For, Colonel Jack," says he, smiling, "though you are but a young man, yet 'tis time you were doing something for yourself."

I answered, that I could do little at a plantation for myself, unless I neglected his business, which I was resolved not to do on any terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully, if he would accept of me, as long as he lived. "So you shall," says he again; "and serve yourself too." And thus we parted for that time.

Here I am to observe in the general, to avoid dwelling too long upon a story, that as the two negroes, who I delivered from punishment, were ever after the most diligent and laborious poor fellows in the whole plantation, as above, except Mouchat, of whom I shall speak more by and by, so they not only were grateful themselves for their good usage, but they influenced the whole plantation: so that the gentle usage and lenity, with which they had been treated, had a thousand times more influence upon them, to make them diligent, than all the blows and kicks, whippings, and other tortures could have, which they had been used to, and now the plantation was famous for it; so that several other planters began to do the same, though I cannot say it was with the same success, which might be for want of taking pains with them, and working upon their passions in a right manner. It appeared that negroes were to be reasoned into things as well as other people, and it was by thus managing their reason that most of the work was done.

However, as it was, the plantations in Maryland were the better for this undertaking, and they are to this day less cruel and barbarous to their negroes than they are in Barbadoes and Jamaica; and 'tis observed the negroes are not in these colonies so desperate, neither do they so often

run away, or so often plot mischief against their master, as they do in those.

I have dwelt the longer upon it, that, if possible, posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with those miserable creatures, and to use them with humanity; assuring them, that if they did so, adding the common prudence that every particular case would direct them to for itself, the negroes would do their work faithfully and cheerfully; they would not find any of that refractoriness and sullenness in their temper, that they pretend now to complain of; but they would be the same as their Christian servants, except that they would be the more thankful, and humble, and laborious, of the two.

I continued in this station between five and six years after this, and in all that time we had not one negro whipped, except, as I observed before, now and then an unlucky boy, and that only for trifles. I cannot say but we had some ill-natured, ungovernable negroes; but if at any time such offended they were pardoned the first time, in the manner as above; and the second time were ordered to be turned out of the plantation; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the apprehension of being turned away, more by a great deal than if they had been to be whipped, for then they were only sullen and heavy; nay, at length we found the fear of being turned out of the plantation had as much effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent than any torture would have done; and the reason was evident, namely, because in our plantation they were used like men, in the others like dogs.

My master owned the satisfaction he took in this blessed change, as he called it, as long as he lived; and as he was so engaged, by seeing the negroes grateful, he showed the same principle or gratitude to those that served him, as he looked for in those that he served; and particularly to me, and so I come briefly to that part. The first thing he did after giving me my liberty, as above, and making me an allowance, was to get the country bounty to me, that is to say, a quantity of land to begin and plant for myself.

But this he managed a way by himself; and, as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my name, about three hundred acres of land, in a more convenient place than it would have otherwise been allotted me; and this he did by his interest with the lord proprietor; so that I had an extent of ground marked out to me, not next, but very near one of his own plantations. When I made my acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly, that I was not beholden to him for it at all; for he did it that I might not be obliged to neglect his business for the carrying on my own, and on that account he would not reckon to me what money he paid, which, however, according to the custom of the country, was not a very great sum; I think about 40*l.* or 50*l.*

Thus he very generously gave me my liberty, advanced this money for me, put me into a plantation for myself, and gave me 30*l.* a year wages for looking after one of his own plantations.

"But, Colonel," says he to me, "giving you this plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it and to carry it on; and therefore I will give you credit for whatever is

needful to you for the carrying it on; such as tools, provisions for servants, and some servants to begin; materials to build out-houses, and conveniencies of all sorts for the plantation, and to buy hogs, cows, horses for stock, and the like, and I'll take it out of your cargo, which will come from London, for the money of your bill."

This was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appeared. In order to this, he sent two servants of his own, who were carpenters; as for timber, boards, planks, and all sorts of such things, in a country almost all made of wood, they could not be wanting: these run me up a little wooden house in less than three weeks' time, where I had three rooms, a kitchen, an out-house, and two large sheds at a distance from the house, for store-houses, almost like barns, with stables at the end of them; and thus I was set up in the world, and, in short, removed by the degrees that you have heard, from a pick-pocket to a kidnapped miserable slave in Virginia (for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance); then from a slave to a head officer or overseer of slaves, and from thence to a master planter.

I had now, as above, a house, a stable, two warehouses, and 300 acres of land; but, as we say, bare walls make giddy hussies, so I had neither axe nor hatchet to cut down the trees; horse nor hog, nor cow to put upon the land; not a hoe, or a spade, to break ground, nor a pair of hands, but my own, to go to work upon it.

But heaven and kind masters make up all those things to a diligent servant; and I mention it, because people who are either transported, or otherwise trepanned into those places, are generally thought to be rendered miserable, and undone; whereas, on the contrary, I would encourage them, upon my own experience, to depend upon it, that if their own diligence in the time of service gains them but a good character, which it will certainly do if they can deserve it, there is not the poorest and most despicable felon that ever went over, but may, after his time is served, begin for himself, and may in time be sure of raising a good plantation.

For example, I will now take a man in the meanest circumstances of a servant, who has served out his five or seven years (suppose a transported wretch for seven years): the custom of the place was then (what it is since I know not) that on his master's certifying that he had served his time out faithfully, he had fifty acres of land allotted him for planting, and on this plan he begins.

Some had a horse, a cow, and three hogs given, or rather lent them, as a stock for the land, which they made an allowance for at a certain time and rate.

Custom has made it a trade to give credit to such beginners as these, for tools, clothes-nails, iron-work, and other things necessary for their planting; and which the persons, so giving credit to them, are to be paid for, out of the crop of tobacco which they shall plant; nor is it in the debtor's power to defraud the creditor of payment in that manner; and as tobacco is their coin, as well as their product, so all things are to be purchased at a certain quantity of tobacco, the price being so rated.

Thus the naked planter has credit at his beginning, and immediately goes to work to cure the land and plant tobacco; and from this little beginning have some of the most considerable planters in Virginia, and in Maryland also, raised themselves; namely, from being without a hat, or a shoe, to estates of forty or fifty thousand pounds; and in this method, I may add, no diligent man ever miscarried, if he had health to work, and was a good man; for he every year increases a little, and every year adding more land and planting more tobacco, which is real money, he must gradually increase in substance, till at length he gets enough to buy negroes and other servants, and then never works himself any more.

In a word, every Newgate wretch, every desperate forlorn creature, the most despicable ruined man in the world, has here a fair opportunity put into his hands to begin the world again, and that upon a footing of certain gain, and in a method exactly honest; with a reputation that nothing past will have any effect upon: and innumerable people have raised themselves from the worst circumstances in the world, namely, from the cells in Newgate.

But I return to my own story: I was now a planter, and encouraged by a kind benefactor; for, that I might not be wholly taken up with my new plantation, he gave me freely, and without any consideration, my grateful negro Mouchat. He told me it was a debt due to the affection that poor creature had always had for me; and so indeed it was, for as the fellow would once have been hanged for me, so now, and to his last, he loved me so much, that it was apparent he did everything with pleasure that he did for me; and he was so overcome of joy when he heard that he was to be my negro, that the people in the plantation really thought it would turn his head, and that the fellow would go distracted.

Besides this, he sent me two servants more, a man and a woman, but these he put to my account, as above. Mouchat and these two fell immediately to work for me; and they began with about two acres of land, which had but little timber on it at first, and most of that was cut down by the two carpenters who built my house, or shed rather, for so it should be called.

These two acres I got in good forwardness, and most of it well planted with tobacco; though some of it we were obliged to plant with garden-stuff for food; such as potatoes, carrots, cabbages, pease, beans, &c.

It was a great advantage to me that I had so bountiful a master, who helped me out in every case; for in this very first year I received a terrible blow; for my bill, as I have observed, having been copied, and attested in form, and sent to London, my kind friend and custom-house gentleman paid me the money; and the merchant at London, by my good master's direction, had laid it all out in a sorted cargo of goods for me, such as would have made a man of me all at once; but, to my inexpressible terror and surprise, the ship was lost, and that just at the entrance into the capes, that is to say, the mouth of the bay; some of the goods were recovered, but spoiled, and in short, nothing but the nails, tools, and iron-work, were good for anything; and though the value

of them was pretty considerable in proportion to the rest, yet my loss was irreparably great, and, indeed, the greatness of the loss consisted in its being irreparable.

I was perfectly astonished at the first news of the loss, knowing that I was in debt to my patron or master so much, that it must be several years before I should recover it; and as he brought me the bad news himself, he perceived my disorder, that is to say, he saw I was in the utmost confusion, and a kind of amazement, and so indeed I was, because I was so much in debt; but he spoke cheerfully to me. "Come," says he, "be not so discouraged, you may make up this loss." "No, sir," says I, "that never can be, for it is my all, and I never shall be out of debt." "Well but," says he, "you have no creditor, however, but me; and now remember, I once told you I would make a man of you, and I will not disappoint you for this disaster."

I thanked him, and did it with more ceremony and respect than ever, because I thought myself more under the hatches than I was before. But he was as good as his word, for he did not baulk me in the least of anything I wanted; and as I had more iron-work saved out of the ship, in proportion, than I wanted, I supplied him with some part of it, and took up some linen and cloths, and other necessities, from him in exchange.

And now I began to increase visibly. I had a large quantity of land cured, that is, freed from timber; and a very good crop of tobacco in view, and I got three servants more, and one negro; so that I had five white servants, and two negroes, and with this my affairs went very well on.

The first year, indeed, I took my wages, or salary (that is to say) of 30*l.* a year, because I wanted it very much; but the second and third years I resolved not to take it, on any account whatsoever, but to leave it in my benefactor's hands, to clear off the debt I had contracted.

And now I must impose a short digression on the reader, to note, that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a most wretched education, yet now, when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the world, and to be arrived to an independent state, and to foresee, that I might be something considerable in time; I say, now I found different sentiments of things taking place in my mind; and, first, I had a solid principle of justice and honesty, and a secret horror at things past, when I looked back upon my former life: that original something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first meannesses of my youth, and used to dictate to me, when I was but a child, that I was to be a gentleman, continued to operate upon me now, in a manner I cannot describe; and I continually remembered the words of the ancient glass-maker, to the gentleman that he reproved for swearing, that to be a gentleman, was to be an honest man; that without honesty, human nature was sunk and degenerated; the gentleman lost all the dignity of his birth, and placed himself even below an honest beggar. These principles growing upon my mind in the present circumstances I was in, gave me a secret satisfaction that I can give no description of; it was an inexpressible joy to me,

that I was now like to be, not only a man, but an honest man; and it yielded me a greater pleasure, that I was ransomed from being a vagabond, a thief, and a criminal, as I had been from a child, than that I was delivered from slavery, and the wretched state of a Virginia sold servant: I had notion enough in my mind of the hardships of the servant, or slave, because I had felt it, and worked through it; I remembered it as a state of labour and servitude, hardship and suffering. But the other shocked my very nature, chilled my blood, and turned the very soul within me; the thought of it was like reflections upon hell and the damned spirits; it struck me with horror, it was odious and frightful to look back on, and it gave me a kind of a fit, a convulsion or nervous disorder, that was very uneasy to me.

But to look forward, to reflect how things were changed, how happy I was, that I could live by my own endeavours, and was no more under the necessity of being a villain, and of getting my bread at my own hazard, and the ruin of honest families; this had in it something more than commonly pleasing and agreeable, and, in particular, it had a pleasure that till then I had known nothing of: it was a sad thing to be under a necessity of doing evil to procure that subsistence which I could not support the want of, to be obliged to run the venture of the gallows rather than the venture of starving, and to be always wicked for fear of want.

I cannot say that I had any serious religious reflections, or that these things proceeded yet from the uneasiness of conscience, but from mere reasonings with myself, and from being arrived to a capacity of making a right judgment of things more than before; yet I own I had such an abhorrence of the wicked life I had led, that I was secretly easy, and had a kind of pleasure in the disaster that was upon me about the ship, and that, though it was a loss, I could not but be glad that those ill-gotten goods were gone, and that I had lost what I had stolen; for I looked on it as none of mine, and that it would be fire in my flax if I should mingle it with what I had now, which was come honestly by, and was (as it were) sent from heaven to lay the foundation of my prosperity, which the other would be only as a moth to consume.

At the same time my thoughts dictated to me, that though this was the foundation of my new life, yet that this was not the superstructure, and that I might still be born for greater things than these; that it was honesty and virtue alone that made men rich and great, and gave them a fame, as well as a figure in the world, and that therefore I was to lay my foundation in these, and expect what might follow in time.

To help these thoughts, as I had learned to read and write when I was in Scotland, so I began now to love books, and particularly I had an opportunity of reading some very considerable ones; such as Livy's Roman history, the history of the Turks, the English history of Speed, and others; the history of the Low Country wars, the history of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the history of the Spaniards' conquest of Mexico, with several others, some of which I bought at a planter's house, who was lately dead, and his goods sold, and others I borrowed.

I considered my present state of life to be my mere youth, though I was now above thirty years old, because in my youth I had learned nothing; and if my daily business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to school; however, fate, that had yet something else in store for me, threw an opportunity into my hand; namely, a clever fellow, that came over a transported felon from Bristol, and fell into my hands for a servant. He had led a loose life, that he acknowledged, and being driven to extremities, took to the highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hanged; but falling into some low-priced rogueries afterwards, for want of opportunity for worse, was caught, condemned, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

He was an excellent scholar, and I perceiving it, asked him one time, if he could give a method how I might learn the Latin tongue? He said, smilingly, yes, he could teach it me in three months, if I would let him have books, or even without books, if he had time. I told him a book would become his hands better than a hoe; and if he could promise to make me but understand Latin enough to read it, and understand other languages by it, I would ease him of the labour, which I was now obliged to put him to, especially if I was assured that he was fit to receive that favour of a kind master. In short, I made him to me, what my benefactor made me to him, and from him I gained a fund of knowledge, infinitely more valuable than the rate of a slave, which was what I paid for it: but of this hereafter.

With these thoughts I went cheerfully about my work. As I had now five servants, my plantation went on, though gently, yet safely, and increased gradually, though slowly; but the third year, with the assistance of my old benefactor, I purchased two negroes more, so that now I had seven servants; and having cured land sufficient for supply of their food, I was at no difficulty to maintain them; so that my plantation began now to enlarge itself; and as I lived without any personal expense, but was maintained at my old great master's, as we call him, and at his charge, with 30*l.* a year besides, so all my gain was laid up for increase.

CHAP. XI.

I ADVANCE RAPIDLY TO RICHES AND HONOUR FOR TWELVE YEARS—MY BENEFACTOR DIES—MY PEDAGOGUE RELATES SEVERAL PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE TO ME—I EMBARK FOR ENGLAND—AM TAKEN BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER—THE PRIVATEER TAKES ANOTHER ENGLISH SHIP—ACCOUNT OF HER CARGO.

IN this posture I went on for twelve years, and was very successful in my plantation, and had gotten, by means of my master's favour, who now I called my friend, a correspondent in London, with whom I traded, shipped over my tobacco to him, and received European goods in return, such as I wanted to carry on my plantation, and sufficient to sell to others also.

In this interval, my good friend and benefactor died, and I was left very disconsolate on account of my loss, for it was indeed a great loss

to me; he had been a father to me, and I was like a forsaken stranger without him, though I knew the country and the trade too, well enough, and had for some time chiefly carried on his whole business for him; yet I seemed now at a loss; my councillor and my chief supporter was gone, and I had no confidant to communicate with on all occasions, as formerly; but there was no remedy. I was however in a better condition to stand alone than ever; I had a very large plantation, and near seventy negroes, and other servants: In a word, I was grown really rich, considering my first circumstances, that began, as I may say, with nothing: that is to say, I had nothing of stock, but I had a great beginning, for I had such a man's friendship and support in my beginning, that indeed I needed no other stock, and if I had had 500*l.* to have begun with, and not the assistance, advice, and countenance of such a man, I had not been in a better condition; but he promised to make a man of me, and so he did, and in one respect, (I may say) I merited it of him; for I brought his plantation into such order, and the government of his negroes into such a regulation, that if he had given 500*l.* to have had it done, he would have thought his money well bestowed; his work was always in order, going forward to his mind, every thing was in a thriving posture, his servants all loved him, even negroes and all, and yet there was no such thing as a cruel punishment, or severities, known among them.

In my own plantation it was the same thing; I wrought so upon the reason and the affections of my negroes, that they served me cheerfully, and, by consequence, faithfully and diligently; when in my neighbour's plantation, there was not a week hardly passed without such horrible outcries, roarings and yellings of the servants, either under torture, or in fear of it, that their negroes would, in discourse with ours, wish themselves dead, and gone, (as it seems they believed they should after death) into their own country.

If I met with a sullen stupid fellow, as sometimes it was unavoidable, I always parted with him, and sold him off; for I would not keep any that sense of kind usage would not oblige; but I seldom met with such bad ones; for, by talking to them in a plain reasoning way, I found the temper of the roughest of them would break and soften; the sense of their own interest would prevail with them at first or last; and if it had not, the contrary temper was so general among my people, that their own fellows and countrymen would be against them, and that served to bring them to reason, as soon as any other thing; and this, those who think it worth their while, will easily find (*viz.*) that having prevailed effectually over one leading man among them to be tractable, and pleased, and grateful, he shall make them all like him, and that in a little while, with more ease than can be imagined.

I was now a planter, and also a student; my pedagogue, I mentioned above was very diligent, and proved an extraordinary man indeed; he taught me not only with application, but with admirable judgment in the teaching part; for I have seen it in many instances since that time, that every good scholar is not fitted for a school-master, and that the art of teaching is quite

different from that of knowing the language taught.

But this man had both, and proved of great use to me, and I found reason, in the worth of the person, to be very kind to him, the circumstances considered. I once took the liberty to ask him how it came to pass, that he, who must have had a liberal education, and great advantages to have advanced him in the world, should be capable of falling into such miserable circumstances as he was in, when he came over? I used some caution in entering upon an inquiry, which (as I said) might not be pleasant to him to relate; but that I would make him amends, by telling him that if he desired not to enter into it with me, I would readily excuse him, and would not take it ill at all. This I did, because to a man under such afflictions, one should always be tender, and not put them upon relating any thing of themselves, which is grievous to them, or which they had rather was concealed.

But he told me, that it was true, that to look back upon his past life was indeed *renovare dolorem*; but that such mortifications were now useful to him, to help forward that repentance which he hoped he was sincerely entered upon; and that though it was with horror he looked back upon misspent time, and ill-applied gifts, which a bountiful Creator had blessed him with, and spared to him for a better improvement; yet he thought he ought to load himself with as much of the shame, as it pleased God to make his lot, since he had already loaded himself with the guilt in a shameless manner; till God (he still hoped in mercy to him) had cut him short, and brought him to public disgrace, though he could not say he had been brought to justice, for then he had been sent into eternity in despair, and not been sent to Virginia, to repent of the wickedest life that ever man lived.—He would have gone on, but I found his speech interrupted by a passionate struggle within, between his grief and his tears.

I took no more notice of it, than to tell him, that I was sorry I had asked him about it, but that it was my curiosity. When I saw that ignorant, untaught, untractable creatures come into misery and shame, I made no inquiry after their affairs; but when I saw men of parts and learning take such steps, I concluded it must be occasioned by something exceeding wicked. So indeed, (said he) the judge said to me when I begged mercy of him in Latin; he told me, that when a man, furnished with such learning, falls into such crimes, he is more inexcusable than other men; because his learning recommending him, he could not want advantages, and had the less temptation to crimes.

"But, sir," said he, "I believe my case was what I find is the case of most of the wicked part of the world, viz. that to be reduced to necessity is to be wicked; for necessity is not only the temptation, but is such a temptation as human nature is not empowered to resist. How good then," says he, "is that God, which takes from you, sir, the temptation, by taking away the necessity?"

I was so sensible of the truth of what he said (knowing it by my own case) that I could not enter any farther upon the discourse; but he

went on voluntarily. "This, sir," says he, "I am so sensible of, that I think the case I am now reduced to much less miserable than the life which I lived before, because I am delivered from the horrid necessity of doing such ill things, which was my ruin and disaster then, even for my bread, and am not now obliged to ravish my bread out of the mouths of others by violence and disorder; but am fed, though I am made to earn it, by the hard labour of my hands, and I thank God for the difference." He paused here, but went on thus:

"How much is the life of a slave in Virginia to be preferred to that of the most prosperous thief in the world! Here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my body is punished, but my conscience is not loaded; and, as I used to say, that I had no leisure to look in, but I would begin when I had some recess, some time to spare, now God has found me leisure to repent." He run on in this manner a great while, giving thanks, I believe most heartily, for his being delivered from the wretched life he had lived, though his misery were to be tenfold as much as it was.

I was sincerely touched with his discourse on this subject; I had known so much of the real difference of the case, that I could not but be affected with it, though till now, I confess, I knew little of the religious part. I had been an offender as well as he, though not altogether in the same degree, but I knew nothing of the penitence; neither had I looked back upon any thing as a crime, but as a life dishonourable, and not like a gentleman, which run much in my thoughts, as I have several times mentioned.

"Well, but now," says I, "you talk penitently and I hope you are sincere; but what would be your case, if you were delivered from the miserable condition of a slave sold for money, which you are now in? Should you not, think you, be the same man?"

"Blessed be God," says he, "that if I thought I should, I would sincerely pray that I might not be delivered, and that I might for ever be a slave rather than a sinner."

"Well but," says I, "suppose you to be under the same necessity, in the same starving condition, should you not take the same course?"

He replied very sharply, "That shows us the need we have of the petition in the Lord's prayer, 'Lead us not into temptation;' and of Solomon's or Hagar's prayer, 'Give me not poverty, lest I steal.' I should ever beg of God not to be left to such snares as human nature cannot resist. But I have some hope, that I should venture to starve, rather than to steal; but I also beg to be delivered from the danger, because I know not my own strength."

This was honestly spoken, indeed; and there really were such visible tokens of sincerity in all his discourse, that I could not suspect him. On some of our discourses on this subject, he pulled out a little dirty paper book, in which he had wrote down such a prayer in verse, as I doubt few Christians in the world could subscribe to; and I cannot but record it, because I never saw any thing like it in my life: the lines are as follow:

Lord! whatsoever sorrows rack my breast,
Till crime removes too, let me find no rest;
How dark soe'er my state, or sharp my pain,
O! let not troubles cease, and sin remain.

For Jesus' sake remove not my distress,
Till free triumphant grace shall repossess
The vacant throne from whence my sins depart,
And make a willing captive of my heart;
Till grace completely shall my soul subdue,
Thy conquest full, and my subjection true.

There were more lines on the same subject, but these were the beginning; and these touching me so sensibly, I have remembered them distinctly ever since, and have, I believe, repeated them to myself a thousand times.

I pressed him no more, you may be sure, after an answer so very particular and affecting as this was; it was easy to see the man was a sincere penitent, not sorrowing for the punishment he was suffering under; for his condition was no part of his affliction, he was rather thankful for it, as above: but his concern was a feeling and affecting sense of the wicked and abominable life he had led, the abhorred crimes he had committed, both against God and man, and the little sense he had had of the condition he was in, and that even till he came to the place where he now was.

I asked him if he had no reflection of this kind after or before his sentence? He told me, Newgate (for the prison at Bristol is called so, it seems, as well as that at London) was a place that seldom made penitents, but often made villains worse, till they learnt to defy God and devil. But that, however, he could look back with this satisfaction, that he could say, he was not altogether insensible of it, even then; but nothing that amounted to a thorough serious looking-up to heaven: that he often indeed looked in, and reflected upon his past misspent life, even before he was in prison, when the intervals of his wicked practices gave some time for reflection, and he would sometimes say to himself, whither am I going? to what will all these things bring me at last? and where will they end? sin and shame follow one another, and I shall certainly come to the gallows; then said he, I would strike upon my breast, and say, O wicked wretch! when wilt thou repent? and would answer myself as often, Never! never! never! except it be in a gaol, or at a gibbet.

"Then," said he, "I would weep and sigh, and look back a little upon my wretched life, the history of which would make the world amazed; but, alas! the prospect was so dark, and it filled me with so much terror, that I could not bear it: then I would fly to wine and company for relief; that wine brought on excess, and that company being always wicked like myself, brought on temptation, and then all reflection vanished, and I was the same devil as before."

He spoke this with so much affection, that his face was ever smiling when he talked of it, and yet his eyes had tears standing in them, at the same time, and all the time; for he had a delightful sorrow, if that be a proper expression in speaking of it.

This was a strange relation to me, and began to affect me after a manner that I did not understand. I loved to hear him talk of it, and yet it always left a kind of a dead lump behind it upon my heart, which I could give no reason for, nor

imagine to what it tended. I had a heaviness on my soul, without being able to describe it, or to say what ailed me.

Well, he went on with his relation. "After this," says he, "I fell into the hands of a justice for a trifle, a piece of sport in our crime; and I, that for a hundred robberies, as well on the highway as otherwise, the particulars of which would fill a book to give an account of, ought, (when ever I was taken) to be hanged in chains, and who, if it had been public, could not have failed of having twenty people come in against me, was privately hurried into a country gaol, under a wrong name; tried for a small fact, within benefit of clergy, and in which I was not principally guilty, and by this means obtained the favour of being transported."

"And what think you," said he, "has most sensibly affected me, and brought on the blessed change that, I hope I may say, God has wrought in my soul? not the greatness of my crimes, but the wonders of that merciful Providence, which when it has mercy in store for a man, often brings him into the briers, into sorrow and misery for lesser sins, that men may be led to see how they are spared from the punishment due to them, for the greater guilt which they know lies upon them; do you think, that when I received the grant of transportation, I could be insensible what a miracle of divine goodness such a thing must be, to one who had so many ways deserved to be hanged, and must infallibly have died, if my true name had been known, or if the least notice had been given that it was such a notorious wretch as I that was in custody? There began the first motive of repentance; for certainly the goodness of our great Creator in sparing us, when we forfeit our lives to his justice, and his merciful bringing us out of the miseries which we plunge ourselves into, when we have no way to extricate ourselves; his bringing those very miseries to be the means of our deliverance, and working good to us out of evil, when we are working the very evil out of his good: I say, these things are certainly the strongest motives to repentance that are in the world; and the sparing thieves from the gallows, makes more penitents than the gallows itself."

"It is true," continued he, "that the terror of punishment works strongly upon the mind: in view of death, men are filled with horror of soul, and immediately they call that repentance, which I doubt is too often mistaken, being only a kind of anguish in the soul, which breeds a grief for the punishment that is to be suffered; an amazement founded upon the dreadful view of what is to follow: but the sense of mercy is quite another thing; this seizes all the passions, and all the affections, and works a sincere unfeigned abhorrence of the crime, as a crime; as an offence against our Benefactor, as an act of baseness and ingratitude to him who has given us life, and all the blessings and comforts of life; and who has conquered us by continuing to do us good, when he has been provoked to destroy us."

"This, sir," says he, "has been the fountain of that repentance which I so much rejoice in; this is the delightful sorrow," says he, "that I spoke of just now; and this makes smiles sit on my face, while tears run from my eyes, a joy

that I cannot otherwise express, than by telling you, sir, that I never lived a happy day since I came to an age of acting in the world, till I landed in this country, and worked in your plantation, naked and hungry, weary and faint, oppressed with cold in one season, and heat in the other; then I began to see into my own ways, and see the difference between the hardships of the body, and the torment of the mind. Before, I revelled in fullness, and here I struggled with hard fare; then I wallowed in sloth and voluptuous ease; here I laboured till nature sometimes was just sinking under the load; but with this difference in the felicity of either case, namely, that there I had a hell in my soul, was filled with horror and confusion, was a daily terror to myself, and always expected a miserable end; whereas here I had a blessed calm of soul, an emblem and forerunner of heaven, thankful and humble, adoring that mercy that had snatched me out of the jaws of the devil; these took up my thoughts, and made my most weary hours pleasant to me, my labour light, and my heart cheerful; I never lay down on my hard lodging, but I praised God with the greatest excess of affection, not only that it was not the condemned hole, and that I was delivered from the death I had deserved; but that it was not Shooter's hill, that I was not still a robber, a terror to just and honest men, a plunderer of the innocent and the poor, a thief, and a villain, that ought to be rooted out from the earth, for the safety of others; but that I was delivered from the horrid temptation of sinning, to support my luxury, and making one vice necessary to another; and this, I bear witness, is sufficient to sweeten the bitterest sorrow, and make any man be thankful for Virginia, or a worse place, if that can be."

He then entertained me with an opinion of his, that if it were possible for the face of heaven and hell to be disclosed and laid open, and that men could be made capable of seeing distinctly and separately, the joys and glory and utmost felicity of one, and the horrors of the other, and to make a judgment of both according to the power of human reasoning, the first would have a stronger and more powerful effect to reform the world than the latter: but this we had further discourses about on many occasions.

If it should be inquired, how I was capable of hearing all this, and having no impressions made upon my mind by it, especially when it so many ways suited my own case, and the condition of the former part of my life, I shall answer that presently by itself: however, I took no notice of it to him, for he had quite other notions of me than I had of myself; nor did I, as is usual in such cases, enter into any confidence with him on my own story, only that I took sometimes the occasion to let him know, that I did not come over to Virginia in the capacity of a criminal, or that I was not transported; which, considering how many of the inhabitants there were so, who then lived in good circumstances, was needful enough to be done.

But as to myself, it was enough that I was in condition now; 'twas no matter to anybody what I had been; and as it was grown pretty much out of memory from what original disaster I came into the country, or that I was ever a servant,

otherwise than voluntary, and that it was no business of mine to expose myself, so I kept that part close; but for all that, it was impossible for me to conceal the disorder I was in, as often as he talked of these things. I had hitherto gone on upon a notion of things founded only in their appearance, as they affected me with good or evil, esteeming the happy and unhappy part of life to be those that gave me ease or sorrow, without regarding, or indeed much understanding, how far those turns of life were influenced by the Giver of Life: or how far they were all directed by a sovereign God that governs the world, and all the creatures He had made.

As I had no education but as you have heard, so I had had no instruction, no knowledge of religion, or indeed of the meaning of it; and though I was now in a kind of search after religion, it was a mere looking, as it were, into the world to see what kind of a thing, or place, it was, and what had been done in it; but as to him that made it, there had truly been scarce a creature among all that he had made, with souls in them, that was so entirely without the knowledge of God as I was, and made so little inquiry about it.

But the serious, affectionate discourse of this young man began to have different effects upon me, and I began to say to myself, this man's reflections are certainly very just; but what a creature am I, and what have I been doing? I that never once did this in all my life; that never said so much as God, I thank thee, for all that I have been saved from, or all that I have been brought to in this world; and yet my life has been as full of variety, and I have been as miraculously delivered from dangers and mischiefs, and as many of them, as ever he has; and if it has all been brought to pass by an invisible hand in mercy to me, what have I been doing? and where have I lived? that I only should be the most thoughtless, and unthankful of all God's creatures!

This indeed began to grow upon me, and made me very melancholy; but as to religion, I understood so little about it, that if I had resolved upon any such thing as a new course of life, or to set about a religious change, I knew not at which end to begin, or what to do about it.

One day it happened that my tutor, for so I always called him, had the Bible in his hand, and was looking in it, as he generally did many times a day, though I knew not for what. Seeing the Bible, I took it out of his hands, and went to look into it, which I had done so little before, that I think I might safely say, I had never read a chapter in it all my life; he was talking of the Bible then as a book only, and where he had it, and how he brought it to Virginia, and in some ecstasy he took and kissed it; "this blessed book!" says he, "this was all the treasure I brought from out England with me, and a comfortable treasure it has been to me," added he; "I would not have been without it in my sorrows for any other treasure in the world," and so he went on at large.

I that had no notion of what he meant, only, as I have said above, some young infant thoughts about the works of Providence in the world, and its merciful dealings with me, took the book out

of his hand, and went to look into it, and the book opened at the Acts, xxvi, v. 28, where Felix says to St Paul, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' "I think," says I, "here's a line hits me to a tittle, upon the long account you have given of yourself, and I must say them to you, as the governor here said;" and so I read the words to him. He blushed at the text, and returns, "I could answer you in the very words the apostle returned to him in the next verse, 'I would thou wert both, I wish almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.'"

I was now more than 30 years old by my own account, and, as well as it was possible for me to keep a reckoning of my age, who had nobody left that ever knew my beginning; I was, I say, above 30 years old, and had gone through some variety in the world; but as I was perfectly abandoned in my infancy, and utterly without instruction in my youth, so I was entirely ignorant of everything that was worthy the name of religion in the world, and this was the first time that ever any notion of religious things entered into my heart. I was surprised at this man's talk, and that several ways, particularly, he talked so feelingly of his past circumstances, and they were so like my own, that every time he made a religious inference from his own condition, and argued from one condition of his to another, it struck into my thoughts like a bullet from a gun, that I had certainly as much to be thankful for, and to repent of, as he had, except only that I had no knowledge of better things to be thankful for, which he had; but, in return for that, I was delivered and set up in the world, made a master, and easy, and was in good circumstances, being raised from the very same low distressed condition as he was in, I mean a sold servant; but that he remained so still, so that if his sin had been greater than mine, so his distress was still greater.

This article of gratitude struck deep and lay heavy upon my mind; I remembered that I was grateful to the last degree to my old master, who had raised me from my low condition, and that I loved the very name of him, or, as might be said, the very ground he trod on; but I had not so much as once thought of any higher obligation, no, nor so much as, like the Pharisee, had said, "One God I thank thee," to him, for all the influence which his providence must have had in my whole affair.

It occurred to me presently, that if none of all these things befall us without the direction of a Divine Power, as my new instructor had told me at large, and that God had ordered every thing, the most minute and least transaction of life, inasmuch "that not a hair of our head shall fall to the ground without his permission:" I say, it occurred to me, that I had been a most unthankful dog to that Providence that had done so much for me; and the consequence of the reflection was immediately this, how justly may that power, so disobliged, take away again his wool and his flax with which I am now clothed, and reduce me to the misery of my first circumstances.

This perplexed me much, and I was very pensive and sad; in which, however, my new instructor was a constant comforter to me, and I learned every day something or other from him;

upon which I told him one morning, that I thought he must leave off teaching me Latin, and teach me religion.

He spoke with a great deal of modesty of his being incapable of informing me of anything that I did not know, and proposed to me to read the scriptures every day, as the sure and only fund of instruction. I answered that, in the words of the eunuch to St Philip, when the apostle asked him if he understood what he read? "How can I, unless some one guide me?"

We talked frequently upon this subject, and I found so much reason to believe he was a sincere convert, that I can speak of him as no other in all I have to say of him. However, I cannot say my thoughts were yet ripened for an operation of that kind; I had some uneasiness about my past life, and I lived now, and had done so before I knew him, a very regular, sober life, always taken up in my business, and running into no excesses; but as to commencing penitent, as this man had done, I cannot say I had any convictions upon me sufficient to bring it on, nor had I a fund of religious knowledge to support me in it; so it wore off again gradually, as such things generally do, where the first impressions are not deep enough.

In the meantime, as he read over long lectures of his own disasters to me, and applied them all seriously to me, so our discourse was always very solid and weighty, and we had nothing of levity between us, even when we were not concerned in religious discourses. He read history to me; and, where books were wanting, he gave me ideas of those things which had not been recorded by our modern histories, or at least, that our number of books would not reach. By these things he raised an unquenchable thirst in me after seeing something that was doing in the world; and the more, because all the world was at that time engaged, more or less, in the great war wherein the French king might be said to be engaged with and against all the powers of Europe.

Now, I looked upon myself as one buried alive in a remote part of the world, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen, and that little not till at least half a year after it was done, and sometimes a year or more; and, in a word, the old reproach often came in the way, namely, that even this was not yet the life of a gentleman.

It was true that this was much nearer to it than that of a pickpocket, and still nearer than that of a sold slave; but, in short, this would not do, and I could receive no satisfaction in it. I had now a second plantation, a very considerable one, and it went forward very well; I had on it almost 100 servants already of sundry sorts, and an overseer, that I had a great deal of reason to say I might depend upon, and but that I had a third in embryo, and newly begun, I had nothing to hinder me from going where I pleased.

However, I now began to frame my thoughts for a voyage to England; resolving then to act as I should see cause, but with a secret resolution to see more of the world if possible, and realize those things to my mind which I had hitherto only entertained remote ideas of, by the help of books.

Accordingly I pushed forward the settlement of my third plantation, in order to bring it to be in a

posture either to be let to a tenant, or left in trust with an overseer, as I should find occasion.

Had I resolved to leave it to an overseer or steward, no man in the world could have been fit for it like my tutor; but I could not think of parting with him, who was the cause of my desire of travelling, and who I concluded to make my partner in my travels.

It was three years after this before I could get things in order, fit for my leaving the country; in this time I delivered my tutor from his bondage, and would have given him his liberty, but, to my great disappointment, I found that I could not empower him to go to England till his time was expired, according to the certificate of his transportation, which was registered: so I made him one of my overseers, and thereby raised him gradually to a prospect of living in the same manner, and by the like steps, that my good benefactor raised me, only that I did not assist him to enter upon planting for himself as I was assisted, neither was I upon the spot to do it; but this man's diligence and honest application, even unassisted, delivered himself, any farther, than, as I say, by making him an overseer, which was only a present ease and deliverance to him from the hard labour and fare which he endured as a servant.

However, in this trust he behaved so faithfully and so diligently, that it recommended him in the country; and, when I came back, I found him in circumstances very different from what I left him in, besides his being my principal manager for near twenty years, as you shall hear in its place.

I mention these things the more at large, that if any unhappy wretch, who may have the disaster to fall into such circumstances as these may come to see this account, they may learn the following short lessons from these examples:

I. That Virginia, and a state of transportation, may be the happiest place and condition they were ever in for this life, as, by a sincere repentance, and a diligent application to the business they are put to, they are effectually delivered from a life of flagrant wickedness, and put in a perfect new condition, in which they have no temptation to the crimes they formerly committed, and have a prospect of advantage for the future.

II. That in Virginia, the meanest and most despicable creature, after his time of servitude is expired, if he will but apply himself with diligence and industry to the business of the country, is sure (life and health supposed) both of living well and growing rich.

As this is a foundation which the most unfortunate wretch alive is entitled to, a transported felon is, in my opinion, a much happier man than the most prosperous untaken thief in the nation; nor are those poor young people so much in the wrong as some imagine them to be, that go voluntarily over to those countries; and, in order to get themselves carried over, and placed there, freely bind themselves there; especially if the persons into whose hands they fall, do anything honestly by them; for, as it is to be supposed that those poor people knew not what course to take before, or had miscarried in their conduct before, here they are sure to be immediately provided for, and, after the expiration of their time, to be put in a condition to provide for them-

selves. But I return to my own story, which now begins a new scene.

I was now making provision for my going to England, after having settled my plantation in such hands as was fully to my satisfaction. My first work was to furnish myself with such a stock of goods and money as might be sufficient for my occasions abroad, and particularly might allow me to make large returns to Maryland, for the use and supply of all my plantations; but when I came to look nearer into the voyage, it occurred to me that it would not be prudent to put my cargo all on board the same ship that I went in; so I shipped at several times 500 hogsheads of tobacco in several ships for England, giving notice to my correspondent in London that I would embark about such a time, to come over myself, and ordering him to ensure for a considerable sum, proportioned to the value of my cargo.

About two months after this I left the place and embarked for England, in a stout ship, carrying 24 guns, and about 600 hogsheads of tobacco, and we left the capes of Virginia on the 1st of August. We had a very sour and rough voyage for the first fortnight, though it was in a season so generally noted for good weather.

After we had been about eleven days at sea, having the wind most part of the time blowing very hard at west, or between the west and north-west, by which we were carried a great way farther to the eastward than they usually go in their course for England, we met with a furious tempest, which held us five days, blowing most of the time excessive hard, and by which we were obliged to run away afore the wind, as the seamen call it, wheresoever it was our lot to go. By this storm our ship was greatly damaged, and some leaks we had, but not so bad but that, by the diligence of the seamen, they were stopped: however the captain, after having beaten up again as well as he could against the weather, and the sea going very high, at length he resolved to go away for the Bermudas.

I was not seaman enough to understand what the reason of their disputes was, but in their running for the islands, it seems they overshot the latitude, and could never reach the islands of Bermudas again; the master and the mate differed to an extremity about this, their reckonings being more than usually wide of one another, the storm having driven them a little out of their knowledge. The master being a positive man, insulted the mate about it, and threatened to expose him for it when he came to England; the mate was an excellent sea artist, and an experienced sailor, but withal a modest man; and though he insisted upon his being right, did it in respectful terms, and as it became him; but after several days' dispute, when the weather came to abate, and the heavens to clear up, that they could take their observations and know where they were, it appeared that the mate's account was right, and the captain was mistaken, for they were then in the latitude of 29 degrees, and quite out of the wake of the Bermudas.

The mate made no indecent use of the discovery at all, and the captain being convinced, carried it civilly to him, and so the heats were over among them; but the next question was, what

they should do next? Some were for going one way, some another, but all agreed they were not in a condition to go on the direct course for England, unless they could have a southerly or south-west wind, which had not been our fate since we came to sea.

Upon the whole, they resolved by consent to steer away to the Canaries, which was the nearest land they could make, except the Cape de Verd Islands, which were too much to the southward for us, if it could be avoided.

Upon this they stood away N. E., and the wind hanging still westerly, or to the northward of the west, we made good way, and in about 15 days sail we made the Pico Teneriffe, being a monstrous hill in one of the Canary islands. Here we refreshed ourselves, got fresh water, and some fresh provisions, and plenty of excellent wine, but no harbour to run into to take care of the ship, which was leaky and tender, having had so much very bad weather; so we were obliged to do as well as we could and put to sea again, after riding at the Canaries four days only.

From the Canaries we had tolerable weather and a smooth sea, till we came into the soundings, so they call the mouth of the British Channel, and the wind blowing hard at the N. and N. W. obliged us to keep a larger offing, as the seamen call it, at our entrance into the Channel, when, behold! in the grey of the morning a French cruizer or privateer of 26 guns appeared, and crowded after us with all the sail they could make. In short, our captain exchanged a broadside or two with them, which was terrible work to me, for I had never seen such before, the Frenchman's guns having raked us, and killed and wounded six of our best men.

In short, after a fight long enough to show us that if we would not be taken, we must resolve to sink by her side, for there was no room to expect deliverance, and a fight long enough to save the master's credit, we were taken, and the ship carried away to St Malo's.

I was not much concerned for the loss I had in the ship, because I knew I had sufficient in the world somewhere or other; but as I was effectually stripped of everything I had about me, and even almost my clothes from my back, I was in but a very indifferent condition; but somebody informed the captain of the privateer that I was a passenger and a merchant; he called for me and inquired into my circumstances, and coming to hear from myself how I had been used, obliged the seamen to give me a coat and hat, and a pair of shoes, which they had taken of me, and himself gave me a morning gown of his own, to wear while I was in his ship, and, to give him his due, treated me very well.

I had, however, besides my being taken, the mortification to be detained on board the cruizer, and seeing the ship I was in manned with Frenchmen, and sent away, as above, for St Malo's; and this was a great mortification to me afterwards, when, being brought into St Malo's, I heard that our ship was retaken, in her passage to St Malo's, by an English man-of-war, and carried to Portsmouth.

When our ship was sent away, the Rover cruized abroad again in the mouth of the Channel for some time, but met with no purchase; at last

they made a sail, which proved to be one of their nation, and one of their own trade, from whom they learned (the news having been carried to England that some French privateers lay off and on in the soundings) that three English men-of-war were come out from Plymouth, on purpose to cruize in the Channel, and that they would certainly meet with us. Upon this intelligence, the Frenchman, a bold brave fellow, far from shrinking from his work, steers away N. E. for St George's Channel, and in the latitude of 48 and a half, unhappily enough, meets with a large and rich English ship, bound home from Jamaica; it was in the grey of the morning, and very clear, when a man on the round-top cried out, *A la voile*, a sail. I was in hopes, indeed, it had been the English man-of-war, and, by the hurry and clatter they were in to get all ready for a fight, I concluded it was so, and got out of my hammock, for I had no cabin to lie in, that I might see what it was; but I soon found that my hopes were vain, and it was on the wrong side; for that being on our larboard bow, the ship lying then northward to make the coast of Ireland, by the time I was turned out, I could perceive they had all their sails bent and full, having begun to chace, and making great way; on the other hand, it was evident the ship saw them too, and knew what they were, and to avoid them stretched away, with all the canvass they could lay on, for the coast of Ireland, to run in there for harbour.

Our privateer, it was plain, infinitely outsailed her, running two feet for her one, and towards evening came up with them; had they been able to have held it but six hours longer, they would have got into Limerick river, or somewhere under shore, so that we should not have ventured upon them; but we came up with them, and the captain, when he saw there was no remedy, bravely brought to and prepared to fight. She was a ship of 30 guns, but deep in the sea, cumbered between decks with goods, and could not run out her lower deck guns, the sea also going pretty high, though at last she ventured to open her gun-room ports, and fire with three guns on a side; but her worst fate was, she sailed heavy, being deep laden, and the Frenchman had run up by her side, and poured in his broadside, and was soon ready again; however, as she was well manned too, and that the English sailors bestirred themselves, they gave us their broadsides, too, very nimbly and heartily, and I found the Frenchman had a great many men killed at the first brush; but the next was worse, for the English ship, though she did not sail so well as the Frenchman, was a bigger ship, and strong built, and as we (the French) bore down upon them again, the English run boldly on board us, and laid thwart our house, lashing themselves fast to us; then it was that the English captain run out his lower tier of guns, and indeed tore the Frenchman so that, had he held it, the privateer would have had the worst of it. But the Frenchmen, with admirable readiness, indeed, and courage, the captain appearing everywhere with his sword in his hand, bestirred themselves, and loosing themselves from the English ship, thrusting her off with booms, and pouring their small shot so thick, that the other could not appear upon deck: I say, clearing themselves thus, they came to lie

a broadside of each other, when, by long firing, the English ship was at length disabled, her mizenmast and bowsprit shot away, and, which was worst of all, her captain killed; so that, after a fight which held all night (for they fought in the dark) and part of the next day, they were obliged to strike.

I was civilly desired by the French captain to go down into the hold while the fight held, and, besides the civility of it, I found he was not willing I should be upon deck. Perhaps he thought I might have some opportunity to do hurt, though I know not how it could be: however, I was very ready to go down, for I had no mind to be killed, especially by my own friends; so I went down and sat by the surgeon, and had the opportunity to find, that the first broad-side the English fired, seven wounded men were brought down to the surgeon, and 33 more afterward; that is to say, when the English lay thwart their bow; and after they cleared themselves, there were about 11 more; so that they had 51 men wounded, and about 22 killed; the Englishman had 18 men killed and wounded, among whom was the captain.

The French captain, however, triumphed in this prize, for it was an exceeding rich ship, having abundance of silver on board; and after the ship was taken, and they had plundered all the great cabin afforded, which was very considerable, the mate promised the captain, that, if he would give him his liberty, he would discover 6,000 pieces of eight to him privately, which none of the men should know of. The captain engaged, and gave it under his hand to set him at liberty as soon as he came on shore: accordingly, in the night, after all was either turned in, as they call it, or employed on the duty of the watch, the captain and the mate of the prize went on board, and having faithfully discovered the money, which lay in a place made on purpose to conceal it, the captain resolved to let it lie till they arrived, and then he conveyed it on shore for his own use; so that the owners, nor the seamen, ever came to any share of it, which by the way was a fraud in the captain. But the mate paid his ransom by the discovery, and the captain gave him his liberty very punctually, as he had promised, and 200 pieces of eight to carry him to England, and to make good his losses.

When he had made this prize, the captain thought of nothing more than how to get safe to France with her; for she was a ship sufficient to enrich all his men, and his owners also. The account of her cargo, by the captain's books, of which I took a copy, was in general—

260 Hogsheads of sugar.
187 Smaller casks of sugar.
176 Barrels of indigo.
28 Casks of pimento.
42 Bags of cotton wool.
80 Cwt. of elephants' teeth.
60 Small casks of rum.
18,000 Pieces of eight, besides the 6,000 concealed.

Several parcels of drugs, tortoise-shell, sweet-meats, called succads, chocolate, lime-juice, and other things of considerable value.

This was a terrible loss among the English

merchants, and a noble booty for the rogues that took it; but as it was in open war, and by fair fighting, as they call it, there was no objection to be made against them, and, to give them their due, they fought bravely for it.

CHAPTER XII.

WE LAND AT BOURDEAUX, IN FRANCE—I GET RID OF MY CAPTAIN WITHOUT PAYING RANSOM, AND ARRIVE AT GHENT, WHERE I JOIN THE ARMY—PROCEEDINGS THERE—I ARRIVE IN LONDON, AND HEAR NEWS OF MAJOR JACK—I FALL IN LOVE—MY MISTRESS'S ARTS TO ENTRAP ME INTO MATRIMONY—I MARRY, AND REPENT IT.

THE captain was not so bold as to meet the English men-of-war before, but he was as wary now; for, having a prize of such value in his hands, he was resolved not to lose her again, if he could help it; so he stood away to the southward, and that so far, that I once thought he was resolved to go into the Streights, and home by Marseilles. But having sailed to the latitude of 45, 3 qrs. or thereabouts, he steered away east, into the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, and carried us all into the river of Bourdeaux, where, on notice of his arrival with such a prize, his owners or principals came overland to see him, and where they consulted what to do with her; the money they secured to be sure, and some of the cargo; but the ships sailed afterwards along the coast to St Malo, taking the opportunity of some French men-of-war, which were cruising on the coast, to be their convoy as far as Ushant.

Here the captain rewarded and dismissed the English mate, as I have said, who got a passage from thence to Dieppe by sea, and after that into England, by the help of a passport, through Flanders to Ostend; the captain, it seems, the more willingly shipped him off, that he might not discover to others what he had discovered to him.

I was now at Bourdeaux, in France, and the captain asked me one morning what I intended to do? I did not understand him at first, but he soon gave me to understand, that I was now either to be delivered up to the state as an English prisoner, and so be carried to Dinant, in Brittany, or to find means to have myself exchanged, or to pay my ransom, and this ransom he told me at first was 300 crowns.

I knew not what to do, but desired he would give me time to write to England to my friends; for that I had a cargo of goods sent to them by me from Virginia, but I did not know but it might have fallen into such hands as his were, and if it was, I knew not what would be my fate. He readily granted that, so I wrote by the post, and had the satisfaction, in answer to it, to hear that the ship I was taken in had been retaken, and carried into Portsmouth, which I doubted would have made my new master more strict, and perhaps insolent, but he said nothing of it to me, nor I to him, though, as I afterwards understood, he had advice of it before.

However, this was a help to me, and served to more than pay my ransom to the captain; and my correspondent in London hearing of my being alive, and at Bourdeaux, immediately sent me a letter of credit upon an English merchant at Bourdeaux for whatever I might have occasion

for. As soon as I received this, I went to the merchant, who honoured the letter of credit, and told me, I should have what money I pleased. But as I, who was before a mere stranger in the place, and knew not what course to take, had now, as it were, a friend to communicate my affairs to, and consult with; as soon as I told him my case, "Hold," says he, "if that be your case, I may perhaps find a way to get you off without a ransom."

There was, it seems, a ship bound home to France from Martinico, taken off Cape Finisterre, by an English man-of-war, and a merchant of Rochelle being a passenger, was taken on board, and brought into Plymouth. This man had made great solicitation by his friends to be exchanged, pleading poverty, and that he was unable to pay any ransom. My friend told me something of it, but not much, only bade me not be too forward to pay any money to the captain, but pretend I could not hear from England. This I did, till the captain appeared impatient.

After some time, the captain told me I had used him ill; that I had made him expect a ransom, and he had treated me courteously, and been at expence to subsist me, and that I held him in suspense, but that, in short, if I did not procure the money, he would send me to Dinant in ten days, to lie there as the king's prisoner till I should be exchanged. My merchant gave me my cue, and by his direction I answered, I was very sensible of his civility, and sorry he should lose what expences he had been at; but that I found my friends forgot me, and what to do I did not know, and that, rather than impose upon him, I must submit to go to Dinant, or where he thought fit to send me; but that if ever I obtained my liberty, and came into England, I would not fail to reimburse him what expence he had been at for my subsistence; and so, in short, made my case very bad in all my discourse. He shook his head, and said little, but the next day entered me in the list of English prisoners, to be at the king's charge, as appointed by the intendant of the place, and to be sent away into Brittany.

I was then out of the captain's power, and immediately the merchant, with two others, who were friends to the merchant prisoner at Plymouth, went to the intendant, and gained an order for the exchange, and my friend giving security for my being forthcoming, in case the other was not delivered, I had my liberty immediately, and went home with him to his house.

Thus we bilked the captain of his ransom money; but, however, my friend went to him, and letting him know that I was exchanged by the governor's order, paid him whatever he could say he was in disburse on my account; and it was not then in the captain's power to object, or to claim anything for a ransom.

I got passage from hence to Dunkirk, on board a French vessel; and, having a certificate of an exchanged prisoner from the intendant at Bourdeaux, I had a passport given me, to go into the Spanish Netherlands, and so whither I pleased.

Accordingly I came to Ghent, in April —, just as the armies were going to take the field; I had no dislike to the business of the army, but

I thought I was a little above it now, and had other things to look to; for that, in my opinion, nobody went into the field but those that could not live at home: and yet I resolved to see the manner of it a little too; so having made an acquaintance with an English officer, quartered at Ghent, I told him my intention, and he invited me to go with him, and offered me his protection as a volunteer, that I should quarter with him in his tent, and live as I would, and either carry arms or not, as I saw occasion.

The campaign was none of the hardest that had been, or were like to be; so that I had the diversion of seeing the service, as it was proper to call it, without much hazard; indeed, I did not see any considerable action, for there was not much fighting that campaign; as to the merit of the cause on either side, I knew nothing of it, nor had I suffered any of the disputes about it to enter into my thoughts. The Prince of Orange had been made king of England, and the English troops were all on his side; and I heard a great deal of swearing and damning for king William, among the soldiers; but as for fighting, I observed the French beat them several times, and particularly the regiment my friend belonged to, was surrounded in a village where they were posted, I knew not upon what occasion, and all taken prisoners. But by great good hap, I being not in service, and so not in command, was strolled away that day to see the country about; for it was my delight to see the strong towns, and observe the beauty of their fortifications; and while I diverted myself thus, I had the happy deliverance of not being taken by the French for that time.

When I came back I found the enemy possessed of the town, but as I was no soldier they did me no harm, and having my French passport in my pocket, they gave me leave to go to Nieuport, where I took the packet-boat, and came over to England, landing at Deal instead of Dover, the weather forcing us into the Downs, and thus my short campaign ended, and this was my second essay at the trade of soldiering.

When I came to London I was very well received by my friend to whom I had consigned my effects, and I found myself in very good circumstances; for all my goods, which, as above, by several ships, I had consigned to him, came safe to hand, and my overseers that I had left behind had shipped at several times 400 hhds. of tobacco to my correspondent in my absence, being the product of my plantation, or part of it, for the time of my being abroad; so that I had above a thousand pounds in my factor's hands, 200 hhds. of tobacco besides left in hand, not sold.

I had nothing to do now but entirely to conceal myself from all that had any knowledge of me before, and this was the easiest thing in the world to do, for I was grown out of everybody's knowledge, and most of those I had known were grown out of mine. My captain, who went with me, or, rather, who carried me away, I found by inquiring at the proper place, had been rambling about the world, came to London, fell into his own trade, which he could not forbear, and, growing an eminent highwayman, had made his exit at the gallows, after a life of fourteen years most exquisite and successful rogueries, the particulars of which

would make (as I observed) an admirable history. My other brother Jack, whom I called Major, followed the like wicked trade, but was a man of more gallantry and generosity, and having committed innumerable depredations upon mankind, yet had always so much dexterity as to bring himself off, till at length he was laid fast in Newgate, and loaded with irons, and would certainly have gone the same way as the captain, but he was so dexterous a rogue that no gaol, no fetters, would hold him; and he, with two more, found means to knock off their irons, worked their way through the wall of the prison, and let themselves down on the outside in the night; so escaping, they found means to get into France, where he followed the same trade, and with so much success that he grew famous by the name of Anthony, and had the honour, with three of his comrades, who he had taught the English way of robbing generously (as they called it) without murdering or wounding, or ill-using those they robbed, I say, he had the honour to be broke upon the wheel at the Grève in Paris.

All these things I found means to be fully informed of, and to have a long account of the particulars of their conduct from some of their comrades who had the good fortune to escape, and whom I got the knowledge of without letting them so much as guess at who I was or upon what account I inquired.

I was now at the height of my good fortune; indeed, I was in very good circumstances, and being of a frugal temper from the beginning, I saved things together as they came, and yet lived very well too; particularly I had the reputation of a very considerable merchant, and one that came over vastly rich from Virginia; and as I frequently bought supplies for my several families and plantations there, as they wrote to me for them, so I passed, I say, for a great merchant.

I lived single, indeed, and in lodgings, but I began to be very well known, and though I had subscribed my name only Jack to my particular correspondent, yet the French, among whom I lived near a year (as I have said), not understanding what Jack meant, called me Monsieur Jacque, and Colonel Jacques, and so gradually Colonel Jacque; so I was called in the certificate of exchanging me with the other prisoner, so that I went so also into Flanders; upon which, and seeing my certificate of exchange (as above), I was called Colonel Jacques in England by my friend whom I called correspondent; and thus I passed for a foreigner and a Frenchman, and I was infinitely fond of having everybody take me for a Frenchman; and, as I spoke French very well, having learned it by continuing so long among them, so I went constantly to the French church in London, and spoke French upon all occasions, as much as I could; and, to complete the appearance of it, I got me a French servant to do my business, I mean as to my merchandise, which only consisted in receiving and disposing of tobacco, of which I had about 500 to 600 hhds. a year from my own plantations, and in supplying my people with necessaries as they wanted them.

In this private condition I continued about two years more, when the devil, owing me a spleen ever since I refused being a thief, paid me home,

with my interest, by laying a snare in my way, which had almost ruined me.

There dwelt a lady in the house opposite to the house I lodged in, who made an extraordinary figure, indeed; she went very well dressed, and was a most beautiful person; she was well bred, sung admirably fine, and sometimes I could hear her very distinctly, the houses being over against one another, in a narrow court, not much unlike Three king court in Lombard street.

This lady put herself so often in my way that I could not in good manners forbear taking notice of her, and giving her the ceremony of my hat when I saw her at the window, or at the door, or when I passed her in the court, so that we became almost acquainted at a distance: Sometimes she also visited at the house I lodged at, and it was generally contrived that I should be introduced when she came, and thus by degrees we became more intimately acquainted, and often conversed together in the family, but always in public, at least for a great while.

I was a mere boy in the affair of love, and knew the least of what belonged to a woman of any man in Europe of my age; the thoughts of a wife, much less of a mistress, had never so much as taken the least hold of my head, and I had been till now as perfectly unacquainted with the sex, and as unconcerned about them as I was when I was ten years old, and lay in a heap of ashes at a glass-house.

But I know not by what witchcraft in the conversation of this woman, and her singling me out upon several occasions, I began to be ensnared, I knew not how, or to what end; and was on a sudden so embarrassed in my thoughts about her, that, like a charm, she had me always in her circle; if she had not been one of the subtlest women on earth, she could never have brought me to have given myself the least trouble about her; but I was drawn in by the magic of a genius capable to deceive a more wary capacity than mine, and it was impossible to resist her.

She attacked me without ceasing with the fineness of her conduct, and with arts, which were impossible to be ineffectual; she was ever, as it were, in my view, often in my company, and yet kept herself so on the reserve, so surrounded continually with obstructions, that for several months after she could perceive I sought an opportunity to speak to her, she rendered it impossible, nor could I ever break in upon her, she kept her guard so well.

This rigid behaviour was the greatest mystery that could be, considering, at the same time, that she never declined my seeing her, or conversing with me in public; but she held it on, she took care never to sit next me, that I might slip no paper into her hand, or speak softly to her; she kept somebody or other always between, that I could never come up to her; and thus, as if she was resolved really to have nothing to do with me, she held me at the bay several months.

All this while nothing was more certain than that she intended to have me, if she could catch, and it was indeed a kind of a catch, for she managed all by art, and drew me in by the most resolute backwardness, that it was almost impossible not to be deceived by it; on the other hand, she did not appear to be a woman despicable,

neither was she poor, or in a condition that should require so much art to draw any man in; but the cheat was really on my side, for she was unhappily told that I was vastly rich, a great merchant, and that she would live like a queen, which I was not at all instrumental in putting upon her, neither did I know that she went upon that motive.

She was too cunning to let me perceive how easy she was to be had; on the contrary, she ran all the hazards of bringing me to neglect her entirely, that one would think any woman in the world could do; and I have often wondered since how it was possible it should fail of making me perfectly averse to her; for as I had a perfect indifference for the whole sex, and never till then entertained any notion of them, they were no more to me than a picture hanging up against a wall.

As we conversed freely together in public, so she took a great many occasions to rally the men, and the weakness they were guilty of, in letting the women insult them as they did; she thought if the men had not been fools, marriage had been only treaties of peace between two neighbours, or alliances offensive or defensive, which must necessarily have been carried on sometimes by interviews and personal treaties, but oftener by ambassadors, agents, and emissaries on both sides; but that the women had outwitted us, and brought us upon our knees, and made us whine after them and lower ourselves, so as we could never pretend to gain our equality again.

I told her I thought it was a decency to the ladies to give them the advantage of denying a little that they might be courted, and that I should not like a woman the worse for denying me. "I expect it, madam," says I, "when I wait on you to-morrow," intimating that I intended it. "You shan't be deceived, sir," says she, "for I'll deny now before you ask me the question."

I was dashed so effectually with so malicious, so devilish an answer, that I returned with a little sullenness, "I shan't trespass upon you yet, madam, and I shall be very careful not to offend you when I do."

"It is the greatest token of your respect, sir," says she, "that you are able to bestow upon me, and the most agreeable too, except one, which I will not be out of hopes of obtaining of you in a little time."

"What is in my power to oblige you in, madam," said I, "you may command me in at any time, especially the way we are talking of." This I spoke still with a resentment very sincere.

"It is only, sir, that you would promise to hate me with as much sincerity as I will endeavour to make you a suitable return."

"I granted that request, madam, seven years before you asked it," said I, "for I heartily hated the whole sex, and scarce know how I came to abate that good disposition in compliment to your conversation; but I assure you that abatement is so little that it does no injury to your proposal."

"There's some mystery in that, indeed, sir," said she, "for I desired to assist your aversion to women in a more particular manner, and hoped it should never abate under my management."

We said a thousand ill-natured things after this,

but she outdid me, for she had such a stock of bitterness upon her tongue as no woman ever went beyond her, and yet all this while she was the pleasantest and most obliging creature in every part of our conversation that could possibly be, and meant not one word of what she said, no, not a word. But I must confess it no way answered her end, for it really cooled all my thoughts of her; and I, that had lived in so perfect an indifference to the sex all my days, was easily returned to that condition again, and began to grow very cold and negligent in my usual respects to her upon all occasions.

She soon found she had gone too far with me; and, in short, that she was extremely out in her politics; that she had to do with one that was not listed yet among the whining sort of lovers, and knew not what it was to adore a mistress in order to abuse her; and that it was not with me, as it was with the usual sort of men in love, that are warmed by the cold and rise in their passions as the ladies fall in their returns; on the contrary, she found that it was quite altered; I was civil to her as before, but not so forward; when I saw her at her chamber window I did not throw mine open, as I usually had done, to talk with her; when she sung in the parlour, where I could easily hear it, I did not listen; when she visited at the house where I lodged I did not always come down, or if I did, I had business which obliged me to go abroad; and yet all this while, when I did come into her company, I was as intimate as ever.

I could easily see that this madded her to the heart, and that she was perplexed to the last degree, for she found that she had all her game to play over again; that so absolute a reservedness, even to rudeness and ill-manners, was a little too much; but she was a mere posture mistress in love, and could put herself into what shapes she pleased.

She was too wise to show a fondness or forwardness that looked like kindness; she knew that was the meanest and last step a woman can take, and lays her under the foot of the man she pretends to; but she was not come to that neither. Thisameleon put on another colour, turned on a sudden the gravest, soberest, majestic madam, so that any one would have thought she was advanced in age in one week from two-and-twenty to fifty, and this she carried on with so much government of herself that it did not in the least look like art; but if it was a representation of nature only, it was so like nature itself, that nobody living can be able to distinguish; she sung very often in her parlour, as well by herself as with two young ladies who came often to see her; I could see by their books, and her guitar in her hand, that she was singing, but she never opened the window as she was wont to do. Upon my coming to my window she kept her own always shut; or if it was open, she would be sitting at work and not look up, it may be, once in half an hour.

If she saw me by accident all this while, she would smile and speak as cheerfully as ever, but it was but a word or two, and so make her honours and be gone; so that, in a word, we conversed just as we did after I had been there a week.

She tired me quite out at this work; for though

I began the strangeness indeed, yet I did not design the carrying it on so far; but she held it to the last, just in the same manner as she began it. She came to the house where I lodged as usual, and we were often together, supped together, played at cards together, danced together; for in France I accomplished myself with everything that was needful, to make me what I believed myself to be even from a boy, I mean a gentleman; I say we conversed together, as above, but she was so perfectly another thing to what she used to be in every part of her conversation, that it presently occurred to me that her former behaviour was a kind of a rant or fit; that either it was the effect of some extraordinary levity that had come upon her, or that it was done to mimic the coquets of the town, believing it might take with me, who she thought was a Frenchman, and that it was what I loved; but her new gravity was her real natural temper, and indeed it became her so much better, or, as I should say, she acted it so well, that it really brought me back to have, not as much only, but more mind to her, than ever I had before.

However it was a great while before I discovered myself, and I staid indeed to find out, if possible, whether this change was real or counterfeit; for I could not easily believe it was possible the gay humour she used to appear in could be a counterfeit; It was not, therefore, till a year and almost a quarter that I came to any resolution in my thoughts about her, when, on a mere accident, we came to a little conversation together.

She came to visit at our house as usual, and it happened all the ladies were gone abroad; but, as it fell out, I was in the passage, or entry of the house, going towards the stairs, when she knocked at the door; so stepping back, I opened the door, and she, without any ceremony, came in, and ran forward into the parlour, supposing the women had been there. I went in after her, as I could do no less, because she did not know that the family was abroad.

Upon my coming in, she asked for the ladies. I told her, I hoped she came to visit me now, for that the ladies were all gone abroad. "Are they?" said she, as if surprised (though I understood afterwards she knew it before, as also that I was at home), and then rises up to be gone. "No, madam," said I, "pray do not go; when ladies come to visit me, I do not use to tire them of my company so soon." "That's as ill-natured," says she, "as you could possibly talk; pray don't pretend I came to visit you; I am satisfied who I came to visit, and satisfied that you know it." "Yes, madam," said I, "but if I happen to be all of the family that's left at home, then you came to visit me."

"I never receive visits from those that I hate," says she.

"You have me there indeed," said I, "but you never gave me leave to tell you why I hated you; I hated you because you would never give me an opportunity to tell you I loved you; sure, you took me for some frightful creature, that you would never come near enough, so much as to let me whisper to you that I love you."

"I never care to hear anything so disagreeable," says she, "though it be spoken ever so softly."

We rallied thus for an hour; in short, she showed the abundance of her wit, and I an abundant deficiency of mine; for though three or four times she provoked me to the last degree, so that once I was going to tell her I had enough of her company, and, if she pleased, I would wait upon her to the door, yet she had always so much witchcraft on her tongue, that she brought herself off again; till, to make the story short, we came at last to talk seriously on both sides about matrimony, and she heard me freely propose it, and answered me directly upon many occasions. For example, she told me I would carry her away to France, or to Virginia, and that she could not think of leaving England, her native country; I told her, I hoped she did not take me for a kidnapper. By the way, I did not tell her how I had been kidnapped myself. She said no, but the consequence of my affairs, which were, it seems, mostly abroad, might oblige me to go, and she could never think of marrying any man that she could not be content to go all over the world with, if he had occasion to go himself. This was handsomely expressed indeed; I made her easy in that point, and thus we began the grand parley, which indeed she drew me into with the utmost art and subtilty, such as was peculiar to herself, but was infinitely her advantage in our treating of marriage: for she made me effectually court her, though at the same time in her design she courted me with the utmost skill, and such skill it was, that her design was perfectly impenetrable to the last moment.

In short, we came nearer and nearer every time we met, and after one casual visit more, in which I had the mighty favour of talking with her alone, I then waited on her every day at her own house, or lodgings rather, and so we set about the work to a purpose, and in about a month we gave the world the slip, and were privately married, to avoid ceremony and the public inconvenience of a wedding.

We soon found a house proper for our dwelling, and so went to housekeeping: we had not been long together, but I found that gay temper of my wife returned, and she threw off the mask of her gravity and good conduct, that I had so long fancied was her mere natural disposition, and now, having no more occasion for disguises, she resolved to seem nothing but what really she was, a wild, untamed colt, perfectly loose, and careless to conceal any part, no, not the worst of her conduct.

She carried on this air of levity to such an excess, that I could not but be dissatisfied at the expense of it, for she kept company that I did not like, lived beyond what I could support, and sometimes lost at play more than I cared to pay: upon which, one day, I took occasion to mention it, but lightly; and said to her, by way of railery, that we lived merrily, for as long as it would last; she turned very short upon me. "What do you mean?" says she; "why, you do not pretend to be uneasy, do ye?"—"No, no, madam, not I, by no means; it is no business of mine, you know," said I, "to inquire what my wife spends, or whether she spends more than I can afford, or less; I only desire the favour to know, as near as you can guess, how long you

will please to take to dispatch me, for I would not be too long a dying."

"I do not know what you talk of," says she; "you may die as leisurely, or as hastily as you please, when your time comes; I an't a going to kill you, as I know of."

"But you are a going to starve me, madam," said I, "and hunger is as leisurely a death as breaking upon the wheel."

"I starve you! Why, are not you a great Virginia merchant, and did not I bring you 1,500*l.*? What would you have? Sure, you can maintain a wife out of that, can't you?"

"Yes, madam," says I, "I could maintain a wife, but not a gamester, though you had brought me 1,500*l.* a-year; no estate is big enough for a box and dice."

She took fire at that, and flew out in a passion, and, after a great many bitter words, told me, in short, that she saw no occasion to alter her conduct; and as for my not maintaining her, when I could not maintain her longer she would find some way or other to maintain herself.

Some time after the first rattle of this kind she vouchsafed to let me know that she was pleased to be with child; I was at first glad of it, in hopes it would help to abate her madness; but it was all one, and her being with child only added to the rest, for she made such preparations for her lying-in, and the other appendices of a child's being born, that, in short, I found she would be downright distracted; and I took the liberty to tell her one day that she would soon bring herself and me to destruction, and entreated her to consider that such figures as those were quite above us, and out of our circle; and, in short, that I neither could nor would allow such expenses; that, at this rate, two or three children would effectually ruin me, and that I desired her to consider what she was doing.

She told me, with an air of disdain, that it was none of her business to consider anything of that matter; that if I could not allow it, she would allow it herself, and I might do my worst.

I begged her to consider things for all that, and not drive me to extremities; that I married her to love and cherish her, and use her as a good wife ought to be used, but not to be ruined and undone by her. In a word, nothing could mollify her, nor any argument persuade her to moderation, but withal she took it so heinously that I should pretend to restrain her that she told me in so many words she would drop her burthen with me, and then, if I did not like it, she would take care of herself, she would not live with me an hour; for she would not be restrained, not she, and talked a long while at that rate.

I told her, as to her child, which she called her burthen, it should be no burthen to me, as to the rest, she might do as she pleased; it might however do me this favour, that I should have no more lyings-in at the rate of 136*l.* at a time, as I found she intended it should be now. She told me she could not tell that; if she had no more by me, she hoped she should by somebody else. "Say you so, madam?" said I, "then they that get them shall keep them." She did not know that neither, she said, and so turned it off jeering, and, as it were, laughing at me.

This last discourse nettled me, I must confess,

and the more, because I had a great deal of it, and very often, till, in short, we began at length to enter into a friendly treaty about parting.

Nothing could be more criminal than the several discourses we had upon this subject; she demanded a separate maintenance, and, in particular, at the rate of 300*l.* a year, and I demanded security of her that she should not run me in debt; she demanded the keeping of the child, with an allowance of 100*l.* a year for that, and I demanded that I should be secured from being charged for keeping any she might have by some body else, as she had threatened me.

In the interval, and during these contests, she dropped her burthen (as she called it) and brought me a son, a very fine child.

She was content, during her lying-in, to abate a little, though it was but a very little indeed, of the great expense she had intended; and, with some difficulty and persuasion, was content with a suit of child-bed linen of 15*l.* instead of one she had intended of threescore; and this she magnified as a particular testimony of her condescension, and a yielding to my avaricious temper, as she called it.

But after she was up again, it was the same thing, and she went on with her humour to that degree, that in a little time she began to carry it on to other excesses, and to have a sort of fellows come to visit her, which I did not like, and once, in particular, staid abroad all night. The next day, when she came home, she began to cry out first; told me where (as she said) she lay, and that the occasion was a christening, where the company had a feast, and staid too late; that if I was dissatisfied, I might inform myself there of all the particulars, where she lay, and the like. I told her coldly, "Madam, you do well to suggest my being dissatisfied, for you may be sure I am, and you could expect no other; as to going to your haunts to inform myself, that is not my business; it is your business to bring testimonies of your behaviour, and to prove where you lay, and in what company; it is enough for me that you lay out of your own house, without your husband's knowledge or consent, and before you and I converse again I must have some satisfaction of the particulars."

She answered, with all her heart, she was as indifferent as I, and since I took so ill her lying at a friend's house on an extraordinary occasion, she gave me to understand that it was what she would have me expect, and what she would have the liberty to do when she thought fit.

"Well, madam," said I, "if I must expect what I cannot allow, you must expect I shall shut my doors by day against those that keep out of them at night."

She would try me, she said, very speedily, and if I shut the doors against her she would find a way to make me open them.

"Well, madam," says I, "you threaten me hard, but I would advise you to consider before you take such measures, for I shall be as good as my word. However, it was not long that we could live together upon these terms; for I found very quickly what company she kept, and that she took a course which I ought not to bear; so I began the separation first, and refused her my bed: we had indeed refrained all converse as

husband and wife for about two months before, for I told her very plainly I would father no brats that were not of my own getting; and matters coming thus gradually to an extremity, too great to continue as it was, she went off one afternoon and left me a line in writing, signifying that affairs were come to such a pass between us, that she did not think fit to give me the opportunity of shutting her out of doors, and that therefore she had retired herself to such a place, naming a relation of her own, as scandalous as herself; and that she hoped I would not give her the trouble to sue for her support in the ordinary course of law. but that, as her occasions required, she should draw bills upon me, which she expected I would not refuse.

CHAPTER XIII.

PART FROM MY WIFE—I AM INSULTED BY ONE OF HER EMISSARIES—WALKING OUT IN THE EVENING I AM WAYLAID AND WOUNDED—I OBTAIN A COMPANY IN A REGIMENT AND GO OVER TO FRANCE—ADVENTURES THERE.

I WAS extremely satisfied with this proceeding, and took care to let her hear of it, though I gave no answer at all to her letter, and as I had taken care before that whenever she played such a prank as this, she should not be able to carry much with her, so after she was gone I immediately broke up housekeeping, sold my furniture by public outcry, and in it everything in particular that was her own, and set a bill upon my door, giving her to understand by it that she had passed the Rubicon, that as she had taken such a step of her own accord, so there was no room left her ever to think of coming back again.

This was what any one may believe I should not have done if I had seen any room for a reformation; but she had given me such testimonies of a mind alienated from her husband in particular, espousing her own insufferable levity, that there was indeed no possibility of our coming afterwards to any terms again.

However I kept a couple of trusty agents so near her that I failed not to have a full account of her conduct, though I never let her know any thing of me but that I was gone over to France; as to her bills which she said she would draw upon me, she was as good as her word in drawing one of 30*l.* which I refused to accept, and never gave her leave to trouble me with another.

It is true, and I must acknowledge it, that all this was a very melancholy scene of life to me, and but that she took care by carrying herself to the last degree provoking, and continuing to insult me, I could never have gone on to the parting with so much resolution, for I really loved her very sincerely, and could have been anything but a beggar and a cuckold with her, but those were intolerable to me, especially as they were put upon me with so much insult and rudeness.

But my wife carried it at last to a point that made all things light and easy to me, for after above a year's separation, and keeping such company as she thought fit, she was pleased to be with child again, in which she had however so much honesty as not to pretend that she had had anything to do with me; what a wretched life she led after this, and how she brought herself to the

utmost extremity of misery and distress, I may speak of hereafter.

I had found, soon after our parting, that I had a great deal of reason to put myself into a posture at first, not to be imposed upon by her; for I found very quickly that she had run herself into debt in several places very considerably; and that it was upon a supposition that I was liable to those debts: but I was gone, and it was absolutely necessary I should do so, upon which she found herself obliged, out of her wicked gains, however, whatever she made of them, to discharge most of those debts herself.

As soon as she was delivered of her child, in which my intelligence was so good that I had gotten sufficient proof of it, I sued her in the ecclesiastical court in order to obtain a divorce; and, as she found it impossible to avoid it, so she declined the defence, and I gained a legal decree, or what they call it, of divorce, in the usual time of such process, and now I thought myself a freeman once again, and began to be sick of wedlock with all my heart.

I lived retired, because I knew she had contracted debts which I should be obliged to pay, and I was resolved to be gone out of her reach with what speed I could; but it was necessary that I should stay till the Virginia fleet came in, because I looked for at least 300 hhds. of tobacco from thence, which I knew would heal all my breaches; for, indeed, the extravagance of three years with this lady had sunk me most effectually, even far beyond her own fortune, which was considerable, though not quite 1,500*l.*, as she had called it.

But all the mischiefs I met with on account of this match were not over yet; for, when I had been parted with her about three months, and had refused to accept her bill of 30*l.*, which I mentioned above, though I was removed from my first lodgings too, and thought I had effectually secured myself from being found out, yet there came a gentleman well dressed to my lodgings one day, and was let in before I knew of it, or else I should scarce have admitted him.

He was led into a parlour, and I came down to him in my gown and slippers. When I came into the room, he called me as familiarly by my name as if he had known me twenty years, and pulling out a pocket-book, he shows me a bill upon me, drawn by my wife, which was the same bill for 30*l.* that I had refused before.

"Sir," says I, "this bill has been presented before, and I gave my answer to it then."

"Answer! sir," says he, with a kind of jeering, taunting air; "I do not understand what you mean by an answer; it is not a question, sir, it is a bill to be paid."

"Well, sir," says I, "it is a bill, I know that, and I gave my answer to it before."

"Sir, sir," says he, very saucily, "your answer! there is no answer to a bill, it must be paid; bills are to be paid, not to be answered; they say you are a merchant, sir, merchants always pay their bills."

I began to be angry too a little, but I did not like my man, for I found he began to be quarrelsome; however, I said, "Sir, I perceive you are not much used to presenting bills; sir, a bill is always first presented, and presenting is a ques-

tion, it is asking if I will accept, or pay the bill, and then whether I say yes or no, it is an answer one way or other; after it is accepted it indeed requires no more answer but payment when it is due: if you please to inform yourself, this is the usage which all merchants or tradesmen of any kind, who have bills drawn upon them, act by."

"Well, sir," says he, "and what then? What is this to the paying me the 30*l*.?"

"Why, sir," says I, "it is this to it, that I told the person that brought it I should not pay it."

"Not pay it!" says he, "but you shall pay it; ay, ay, you will pay it."

"She that draws it has no reason to draw any bills upon me, I am sure," said I, "and I shall pay no bills she draws, I assure you."

Upon this, he turns short upon me; "Sir, she that draws this bill is a person of too much honour to draw any bill without reason, and it is an affront to say so of her, and I shall expect satisfaction of you for that by itself; but first the bill, sir, the bill, you must pay the bill, sir."

I returned as short; "Sir, I affront nobody, I know the person as well as you I hope, and what I have said of her is no affront; she can have no reason to draw bills upon me, for I owe her nothing."

I omit intermingling the oaths he laced his speech with, as too foul for my paper, but he told me he would make me know she had friends to stand by her, that I had abused her, and he would let me know it, and do her justice; but first, I must pay his bill.

I answered, in short, I would not pay the bill, nor any bills she should draw.

With that he steps to the door and shuts it, and swore by G—d he would make me pay the bill before we parted, and laid his hand upon his sword, but did not draw it out.

I confess I was frightened to the last degree, for I had no sword, and if I had, I must own that, though I had learned a great many good things in France to make me look like a gentleman, I had forgot the main article of learning how to use a sword, a thing so universally practised there; and, to say more, I had been perfectly unacquainted with quarrels of this nature; so that I was perfectly surprised when he shut the door, and knew not what to say or do.

However, as it happened, the people of the house hearing us pretty loud, came near the door, and made a noise in the entry, to let me know they were at hand, and one of the servants going to open the door, and finding it locked, called out to me, "Sir, for God's sake open the door! what is the matter? shall we fetch a constable?" I made no answer, but it gave me courage, so I sat down composed in one of the chairs, and said to him, "Sir, this is not the way to make me pay the bill, you had much better be easy, and take your satisfaction another way."

He understood me of fighting, which, upon my word, was not in my thoughts, but I meant that he had better take his course at law.

"With all my heart," says he, "they say you are a gentleman, and they call you colonel; now, if you are a gentleman I accept your challenge, sir, and if you will walk out with me I will take

it for full payment of the bill, and will decide it as gentlemen ought to do."

"I challenge you, sir!" said I, "not I; I made no challenge, I said this is not the way to make me pay a bill that I have not accepted, that is, that you had better seek your satisfaction at law."

"Law!" says he, "law! gentleman's law is my law; in short, sir, you shall pay me or fight me;" and then, as if he had mistaken, he turns short upon me, "nay," says he, "you shall both fight me and pay me, for I will maintain her honour;" and in saying this he bestowed six or seven dammes and oaths, by way of parenthesis.

This interval delivered me effectually, for just at the word fights me, for I will maintain her honour, the maid had brought in a constable, with three or four neighbours to assist him.

He heard them come in, and began to be a little in a rage, and asked me if I intended to mob him instead of paying, and laying his hand on his sword, told me, if any man offered to break in upon him, he would run me through the first moment, that he might have the fewer to deal with afterwards.

I told him he knew I had called for no help, believing he could not be in earnest in what he had said, and that if anybody attempted to come in upon us, it was to prevent the mischief he threatened, and which he might see I had no weapons to resist.

Upon this the constable called, and charged us both in the king's name to open the door; I was sitting in a chair, and offered to rise; he made a motion as if he would draw, upon which I sat down again, and the door not being opened, the constable set his foot against it and came in.

"Well, sir," says my gentleman, "and what now? What is your business here?"—"Nay, sir," says the constable, "you see my business; I am a peace officer, all I have to do is to keep the peace, and I find the people of the house frightened for fear of mischief between you, and they have fetched me to prevent it."—"What mischief have they supposed you should find?" says he.—"I suppose," says the constable, "they were afraid you should fight."—"That is, because they did not know this fellow here, he never fights; they call him colonel," says he; "I suppose he might be born a colonel, for I dare say he was born a coward; he never fights, he dares not see a man; if he would have fought he would have walked out with me, but he scorns to be brave; they would never have talked to you of fighting if they had known him: I tell you, Mr Constable, he is a coward, and a coward is a rascal;" and with that he came to me and stroked his finger down my nose pretty hard, and laughed and mocked most horridly, as if I was a coward; now for ought I knew it might be true, but I was now what they call a coward made desperate, which is one of the worst of men in the world to encounter with, for being in a fury I threw my head in his face, and closing with him, threw him fairly on his back by main strength, and had not the constable stepped in and taken me off, I had certainly stamped him to death with my feet, for my blood was now all in a flame, and the people of the house were frightened now as much the other way last I should kill him, though I had no weapon at all in my hand.

The constable, too, reproved me in his turn ; but I said to him, "Mr Constable, do not you think I am sufficiently provoked? Can any man bear such things as these? I desire to know who this man is, and who sent him hither?"

"I am," says he, "a gentleman, and come with a bill to him for money, and he refuses to pay it."—"Well," says the constable very prudently, "that is none of my business, I am no justice of peace to hear the cause, be that among yourselves, but keep your hands off one another, and that is as much as I desire ; and therefore, sir," says the constable to him, "if I may advise you, seeing he will not pay the bill, and that must be decided between you as the law directs, I would have you leave it for the present, and go quietly away."

He made many impertinent harangues about the bill, and insisted that it was drawn by my own wife ; I said angrily, then it was drawn by a w—— ; he bullied me upon that, told me I durst not tell him so anywhere else ; so I answered, I would very soon publish her for a w—— to all the world, and cry her down, and thus we scolded for near half an hour, for I took courage when the constable was there, for I knew that he would keep us from fighting, which indeed I had no mind to, and so at length I got rid of him.

I was heartily vexed at this rencontre, and the more because I had been found out in my lodging, which I thought I had effectually concealed ; however I resolved to remove the next day, and in the meantime I kept within doors all that day till the evening, and then I went out in order not to return thither any more.

Being come out into Gracechurch street, I observed a man follow me, with one of his legs tied up in a string, and hopping along with the other, and two crutches ; he begged for a farthing, but I inclining not to give him anything, the fellow followed me still till I came to a court, when I answered hastily to him, "I have nothing for you. Pray do not be so troublesome ;" with which words he knocked me down with his crutches.

Being stunned with the blow, I knew nothing what was done to me afterwards ; but coming to myself again, I found I was wounded very frightfully in several places, and that among the rest my nose was slit upwards, one of my ears almost cut off, and a great cut with a sword on the side of the forehead, also a stab in the body, though not dangerous.

Who had been near me, or struck me, besides the cripple that struck me with his crutch I knew not, nor do I know to this hour, but I was terribly wounded, and lay bleeding on the ground some time, till coming to myself I got strength to cry out for help, and people coming about me, I got some hands to carry me to my lodging, where I lay by it more than two months before I was well enough to go out of doors, and when I did go out I had reason to believe that I was waited for by some rogues, who watched an opportunity to repeat the injury I had met with before.

This made me very uneasy, and I resolved to get myself out of danger if possible, and to go over to France, or home, as I called it, to Virginia ; so to be out of the way of villains and assassinations, for every time I stirred out here, I thought I went in danger of my life, and therefore, as be-

fore, I went out at night, thinking to be concealed, so now I never went out but in open day that I might be safe, and never without one or two servants to be my life-guard.

But I must do my wife a piece of justice here too, and that was, that hearing of what had befallen me, she wrote me a letter, in which she treated me more decently than she had been wont to do ; she said she was very sorry to hear how I had been used, and the rather because she understood it was on presenting her bill to me ; she said she hoped I could not in my worst dispositions think so hardly of her as to believe it was done by her knowledge or consent, much less by her order or direction ; that she abhorred such things, and protested, if she had the least knowledge or so much as a guess at the villains concerned, she would discover them to me ; she let me know the person's name to whom she gave the bill, and where he lived, and left it to me to oblige him to discover the person who had brought it, and used me so ill, and wished I might find him and bring him to justice, and have him punished with the utmost severity of the law.

I took this so kindly of my wife, that I think in my conscience had she come after it herself, to see how I did, I had certainly taken her again ; but she satisfied herself with the civility of another letter, and desiring me to let her know as often as I could how I was, adding that it would be infinitely to her satisfaction to hear I was recovered of the hurt I had received, and that he was hanged at Tyburn who had done it.

She used some expressions, signifying, as I understood them, her affliction at our parting, and her continued respect for me, but did not make any motion towards returning ; then she used some arguments to move me to pay her bills, intimating that she had brought me a large fortune, and now had nothing to subsist on, which was very severe.

I wrote her an answer to this letter, though I had not to the other, letting her know how I had been used ; that I was satisfied upon her letter that she had no hand in it, that it was not in her nature to treat me so, who had never injured her, used any violence with her, or been the cause or desire of our parting ; that, as to her bill, she could not but know how much her expensive way of living had straitened and reduced me, and would, if continued, have ruined me ; that she had, in less than three years, spent more than as much as she brought to me, and would not abate her expensive way, though calmly entreated by me with protestations that I could not support so great an expense, but chose rather to break up her family and go from me, than to restrain herself to reasonable limits, though I used no violence with her, but entreaties and earnest persuasions, backed with good reason ; letting her know how my estate was, and convincing her that it must reduce us to poverty at last ; that, however, if she would recal her bill, I would send her 30*l.*, which was the sum mentioned in her bill, and, according to my ability, would not let her want, if she pleased to live within due bounds ; but then I let her know also that I had a very bad account of her conduct, and that she kept company with a scandalous fellow, whom I named to her ; that I was loth to believe such things of

her, but that, to put an entire end to the report, and restore her reputation, I let her know that still, after all I had heard, if she would resolve to live without restraints, within the reasonable bounds of my capacity, and treat me with the same kindness, affection, and tenderness as I always had treated her, and ever would, I was willing to receive her again, and would forget all that was past; but that, if she declined me now, it would be for ever; for if she did not accept my offer, I was resolved to stay here no longer, where I had been so ill-treated on many occasions, but was preparing to go into my own country, where I would spend my days in quiet, and in a retreat from the world.

She did not give such an answer to this as I expected; for though she thanked me for the 30*l.*, yet she insisted upon her justification in all other points; and, though she did not refuse to return to me, yet she did not say she accepted it, and, in short, said little or nothing to it, only a kind of claim to a reparation of her injured reputation and the like.

This gave me some surprise at first, for I thought, indeed, any woman in her circumstances would have been very willing to have put an end to all her miseries, and to the reproach which was upon her, by a reconciliation; especially, considering she subsisted at that time but very meanly. But there was a particular reason which prevented her return, and which she could not plead to in her letter, yet was a good reason against accepting an offer which she would otherwise have been glad of, and this was, that, as I have mentioned above, she had fallen into bad company, and had prostituted her virtue to some of her flatterers, and, in short, was with child; so that she durst not venture to accept my offer.

However, as I observed above, she did not absolutely refuse it, intending (as I understood afterwards) to keep the treaty of it on foot till she could drop her burthen, as she called it before; and, having been delivered privately, have accepted my proposal afterwards; and, indeed, this was the most prudent step she could take, or, as we may say, the only step she had left to take. But I was too many for her here too, my intelligence about her was too good for her to conceal such an affair from me, unless she had gone away before she was visibly big, and unless she had gone further off too than she did, for I had an account to a tittle of the time when, and place where, and the creature of which she was delivered, and then my offers of taking her again were at an end, though she wrote me several penitent letters, acknowledging her crime, and begging me to forgive her; but my spirit was above all that now, nor could I ever bear the thoughts of her after that, but pursued a divorce, and accordingly obtained it, as I have mentioned already.

Things being at this pass, I resolved, as I have observed above, to go over to France, after I had received my effects from Virginia, and accordingly I came to Dunkirk in the year 1700, and here I fell into company with some Irish officers of the regiment of Dillon, who, by little and little, entered me into the army, and, by the help of Lieutenant General Connor, an Irishman, and some

money, I obtained a company in his regiment and so went into the army directly.

I was exceedingly pleased with my new circumstances, and now I used to say to myself, I was come to what I was born to, and that I had never till now lived the life of a gentleman.

Our regiment, after I had been some time in it, was commanded into Italy, and one of the most considerable actions that I was in, was the famous attack upon Cremona, in the Milanese, where the Germans being privately, and by treachery, let into the town in the night through a kind of common sewer, surprised the town, and got possession of the greatest part of it, surprising the Mareschal Duke de Villeroy, and taking him prisoner as he came out of his quarters, and beating the few French troops which were left in the citadel; but were in the middle of their victory so boldly and resolutely attacked by two Irish regiments, who were quartered in the street leading to the river Po, and who kept possession of the water-gate, or Po gate, of the town, by which the German reinforcements should have come in, that, after a most desperate fight, the Germans had their victory wrung out of their hands, and not being able to break through us to let in their friends, were obliged at length to quit the town again, to the eternal honour of those Irish regiments, and indeed of their whole nation, and for which we had a very handsome compliment from the King of France.

I now had the satisfaction of knowing, and that for the first time too, that I was not that cowardly low-spirited wretch that I was when the fellow bullied me in my lodging about the bill of 30*l.*; had he attacked me now, though in the very same condition, I should, naked and unarmed as I was, have flown in the face of him, and trampled him under my feet; but men never know themselves till they are tried, and courage is acquired by time and experience of things.

Philip de Comines tells us, that, after the battle of Montlheri, the Count de Charolois, who till then had an utter aversion to war, and abhorred it, and every thing that belonged to it, was so changed by the glory he obtained in that action, and by the flattery of those about him, that afterwards the army was his mistress, and the fatigues of the war his chief delight; it is too great an example for me to bring in my own case, but so it was, that they flattered me so with my bravery, as they called it, on the occasion of this action, that I fancied myself brave, whether I was so or not, and the pride of it made me bold and daring to the last degree on all occasions; but what added to it was, that somebody gave a particular account to the court of my being instrumental to the saving the city, and the whole Cremonese, by my extraordinary defence of the Po gate, and by my managing that defence after the lieutenant-colonel, who commanded the party where I was posted, was killed; upon which the king sent me a public testimony of his accepting my service, and sent me a brevet to be a lieutenant-colonel, and the next courier brought me actually a commission for lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of —.

I was in several skirmishes and petty encounters before this, by which I gained the reputa-

tion of a good officer, but I happened to be in some particular posts too, by which I got somewhat that I liked much better, and that was a good deal of money.

Our regiment was sent from France to Italy by sea; we embarked at Toulon, and landed at Savona, in the territory of Genoa, and marched from thence to the duchy of Milan. At the first town we were sent to take possession of, which was Alexandria, the citizens rose upon our men in a most furious manner, and drove the whole garrison, which consisted of eight hundred men, that is, French, and soldiers in the French service, quite out of the town.

I was quartered in a burgher's house, just by one of the ports, with eight of my men and a servant, where, calling a short council with my men, we were resolved to maintain the house we were in, whatever it cost, till we received orders to quit it from the commanding officer: upon this, when I saw our men could not stand their ground in the street, being pressed hard by the citizens, I turned out of doors all the family, and kept the house as a castle, which I was governor in; and as the house joined to the city gate, I resolved to maintain it, so as to be the last that should quit the place, my own retreat being secured by being so near the port.

Having thus emptied the house of the inhabitants, we made no scruple of filling our pockets with whatever we could find there; in a word, we left nothing we could carry away, among which it came to my lot to dip into the burgher's cabinet, whose house it was where we were, and there I took about the quantity of two hundred pistoles in money and plate, and other things of value. There was great complaint made to Prince Vaudemont, who was then governor of the Milanese, of this violence; but as the repulse the citizens gave us was contrary to his order, and to the general design of the prince, who was then wholly in the interest of king Philip, the citizens could obtain nothing, and I found, that if we had plundered the whole city, it would have been the same thing; for the governor had orders to take our regiment in, and it was an act of open rebellion to resist us as they did: however, we had orders not to fire upon the burghers, unless constrained to it by evident necessity, and we rather chose to quit the place as we did, than dispute it with a desperate body of fellows, who wanted no advantage of us except only that of having possession of two bastions, and one port of our retreat; first, they were treble our number, for the burghers, being joined by seven companies of the regular troops, made up above one thousand six hundred men, besides rabble, which were many more, whereas we were about eight hundred in all; they also had the citadel, and several pieces of cannon, so that we could have made nothing of it, if we had attacked them; but they submitted three or four days after to other forces, the soldiers within turning upon them, and taking the citadel from them.

After this, we lay still in quarters eight months, for the prince having secured the whole Milanese for king Philip, and no enemy appearing for some time, had nothing to do but to receive the auxiliary troops of France; and as they

came, extend himself every way as he could, in order to keep the imperialists (who were preparing to fall into Italy with a great army) as much at a distance as possible, which he did, by taking possession of the city of Mantua, and of most of the towns on that side, as far as the lake De la Garda and the river Adige.

We lay in Mantua some time, but were afterwards drawn out, by order of the Count de Tesse, (afterwards Marshal of France,) to form the French army, till the arrival of the Duke de Vendôme, who was to command in chief. Here we had a severe campaign, *anno* 1701, having Prince Eugene of Savoy, and an army of forty thousand Germans, all old soldiers, to deal with; and though the French army was more numerous than the enemy by twenty-five thousand men, yet, being on the defensive, and having so many posts to cover, not knowing exactly where the Prince of Savoy, who commanded the imperial army, would attack us, it obliged the French to keep their troops so divided, and so remote from one another, that the Germans pushed on their design with great success, as the histories of those times more fully relate.

I was at the action at Carpi, July 1701, where we were worsted by the Germans indeed, were forced to quit our encampment, and give up to the prince the whole river of Adige, and where our regiment sustained some loss; but the enemies got little by us, and Monsieur Catinat, who commanded at that time, drew up in order of battle the next day in sight of the German army, and gave them a defiance, but they would not stir, though we offered them battle two days together; for, having gained the passage over the Adige, by our quitting Rivoli, which was then useless to us, their business was done.

Finding they declined a decisive action, our generals pressed them in their quarters, and made them fight for every inch of ground they gained, and at length, in the September following, we attacked them in their entrenched posts of Chiar. Here we broke into the very heart of their camp, where we made a very terrible slaughter; but I know not by what mistake among our generals, or defect in the execution of their orders, the brigade of Normandy and our Irish brigade, who had so bravely entered the German entrenchments, were not supported as we should have been, so that we were obliged to sustain the shock of the whole German army, and at last to quit the advantage we had gained, and that not without loss; but, being timely reinforced by a great body of horse, the enemy were in their turn beaten off too, and driven back into their very camp: the Germans boasted of having a great victory here, and indeed in repulsing us after we had gained their camp: they had the advantage, but had Monsieur de Tesse succoured us in time, as old Catinat said he ought to have done, with twelve thousand foot which he had with him, that day's action had put an end to the war, and Prince Eugene must have been glad to have gone back to Germany in more haste than he came, if, perhaps, we had not cut him short by the way.

But the fate of things went another way, and the Germans continued all that campaign to

push forward and advance one post after another, till they beat us quite out of the Milanese.

The latter part of this campaign we made only a party war, the French, according to their volatile temper, being every day abroad, either foraging or surprising the enemy's foragers, plundering or circumventing the plunders of the other side; but they very often came short home; for the Germans had the better of them on several occasions, and indeed so many lost their lives upon these petty encounters, that I think, including those who died of distempers gotten by hard service, and bad quarters, lying in the field even till the middle of December, among rivers and bogs, in a country so full of canals and rivers, as that part of Italy is known to be, I say, we lost more men, and so did the enemy also, than would have been lost in a general decisive battle.

The Duke of Savoy, to give him his due, pressed earnestly to put it to a day, and come to a battle with Prince Eugene; but the Duke de Villeroy, Monsieur Catinat, and the Count de Tesse, were all against it, and the principal reason was, that they knew the weakness of the troops who had suffered so much on so many occasions, that they were in no condition to give battle to the Germans; so after, as I say, about three months harassing one another with parties, we went into winter quarters.

Before we marched out of the field, our regiment, with a detachment of dragoons of 600, and about 250 horse, went out with a design to intercept Prince Commercy, a general of note under Prince Eugene of Savoy; the detachment was intended to be only horse and dragoons; but because it was the imperialists' good luck to beat many of our parties, and, as was given out, many more than we beat of theirs; and because it was believed that the prince, who was an officer of good note among them, would not go abroad, but in very little company, the Irish regiment of foot was ordered to be added, that if possible, they might meet with their match.

I was commanded, about two hours before, to pass about 200 foot and 50 dragoons at a small wood, where our general had intelligence that that prince would post some men to secure his passage, which accordingly I did; but Count Tesse, not thinking our party strong enough, had marched himself with 1000 horse and 300 grenadiers to support us, and it was very well he did so, for Prince Commercy having intelligence of the first party, came forward sooner than they expected, and fell upon them, and had entirely routed them had not the count (hearing the firing) advanced with the thousand horse he had, with such expedition as to support his men in the very heat of the action, by which means the Germans were defeated and forced to retire; but the prince made a pretty good retreat, and, after the action, came on to the wood where I was posted, but the surprise of his defeat had prevented his sending a detachment to secure the pass at the wood, as he intended.

The Count de Tesse, understanding that we were sent (as above) to the wood, followed them close at the heels to prevent our being cut off, and, if it were possible that we should give them any check at the wood, to fall in and have ano-

ther brush with them; it was near night before they came to the wood, by which means they could not discern our number; but when they came up to the wood 50 dragoons advanced to discover the pass and see if all was clear; these we suffered to pass a great way into the defile or lane that went through the wood, and then clapping in between them and the entrance, cut off their retreat so effectually, that when they discovered us and fired, they were instantly surrounded and cut in pieces; the officers who commanded them and eight dragoons only being made prisoners.

This made the prince halt, not knowing what the case was, or how strong we were; and, to get better intelligence, sent 200 horse to surround or skirt the wood and beat up our quarter, and in the interim, the Count de Tesse appeared in his rear: we found the strait he was in by the noise of our own troops at a distance, so we resolved to engage the 200 horse immediately; accordingly, our little troop of horse drew up in the entrance of the lane and offered to skirmish, and our foot lying behind the hedge, which went round the wood, stood ready to act as occasion should offer; the horse being attacked, gave way, and retired into the lane; but the Germans were too old for us there; they contented themselves to push us to the entrance, but would not be drawn into a narrow pass without knowing whether the hedges were lined or no.

But the prince finding the French in his rear, and not being strong enough to engage again, resolved to force his way through, and commanded his dragoons to alight, and enter the wood to clear the hedges on either side the lane, that he might pass with his cavalry; this they did so vigorously, and were so much too strong for us, that though we made good our ground a long time, yet our men were almost half of them cut in pieces. However, we gave time to the French cavalry to come up, and to fall on the prince's troops, and cut them off and take a great many prisoners, and then retreated in our turn, opening a gap for our own horse to break in; 300 of the dragoons were killed and 200 of them taken prisoners.

In the first heat of this action, a German officer of dragoons, well followed, had knocked down three men that stood next me; and offering me quarter, I was obliged to accept it, and gave him my sword, for our men were upon the point of quitting their post, and shifting every one as they could; but the scale was turned, for our cavalry breaking in (as above), the dragoons went to wreck, and the officer who had me prisoner, turning to me, said, "We are lost." I asked him if I could serve him? "Stand still a little," says he; for his men fought most desperately indeed, but about 200 French horse appearing in his rear too, he said to me in French, "I will be your prisoner," and returning me my sword, gave me also his own; a dragoon that stood near him was just going to do the like, when he was shot dead, and the horse coming up, the field was cleared in an instant; but Prince Commercy went off with the rest of his party, and was pursued no farther.

There were 16 or 17 of our men released, as I was, from being taken, but they had not the luck I had, to take the officer that had them in

keeping; he had been so generous to me, as not to ask what money I had about me, though I had not much, if he had; but I lost by his civility, for then I could not have the assurance to ask him for his money, though I understood he had near a hundred pistoles about him; but he very handsomely at night, when we came to our tents, made me a present of twenty pistoles, and in return, I obtained leave for him to go to Prince Eugene's camp upon his parole, which he did, and so got himself exchanged.

It was after this campaign that I was quartered at Cremona, when the action happened there, of which I have spoken already, and where our Irish regiment did such service that they saved the town from being really surprised, and indeed beat the Germans out again, after they had been masters of three quarters of the town six hours, and by which they gained a very great reputation.

CHAPTER XIV.

FURTHER OPERATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.—I AM QUARTERED AT TRENT, AND MARRY MY LANDLORD'S DAUGHTER.—I SELL MY COMPANY, AND EMBARK IN THE FRENCH FLEET.—PARTICULARS OF THEIR EXPEDITION.—I RETURN UNEXPECTEDLY TO PARIS, AND MAKE A DISAGREEABLE DISCOVERY RELATING TO MY WIFE.—I CHALLENGE AND WOUND HER GALLANT.

BUT I hasten on to my own history, for I am not writing a journal of the wars, in which I had no long share.

The summer after this our two Irish regiments were drawn out into the field, and had many a sore brush with the Germans; for Prince Eugene, a vigilant general, gave us little rest, and gained many advantages by his continual moving up and down, harassing his own men and ours too; and whoever will do the French justice, and knew how they behaved, must acknowledge they never declined the Germans, but fought them upon all occasions, with the utmost resolution and courage; and though it cost the blood of an infinite number of fine gentlemen, as well as private soldiers, yet the Duke de Vendôme, who now commanded, though King Philip was himself in the army this campaign, made the Prince of Savoy a full return in his own kind, and drove him from post to post, till he was just at the point of quitting the whole country of Italy; all that gallant army Prince Eugene brought with him into Italy, which was the best without doubt, for the goodness of the troops, that ever were there, laid their bones in that country, and many thousands more after them; till the affairs of France declining in other places, they were forced in their turn to give way to their fate, as may be seen in the histories of those times, as above; but it is none of my business.

The part that I bore in these affairs was but short and sharp; we took the field about the beginning of July, 1702, and the Duke de Vendôme ordered the whole army to draw the sooner together, in order to relieve the city of Mantua, which was blocked up by the imperialists.

Prince Eugene was a politic, and indeed a for-

tunate prince, and had the year before pushed our army upon many occasions; but his good fortune began to fail him a little this year, for our army was not only more numerous than his, but the duke was in the field before him; and as the prince had held Mantua closely blocked up all the winter, the duke resolved to relieve the town, cost what it would: as I said, the duke was first in the field, the prince was in no condition to prevent his raising the blockade by force; so he drew off his troops, and leaving several strong bodies of troops to protect Bersello, which the Duke de Vendôme threatened, and Borgo-Forte, where his magazine lay, he drew all the rest of his forces together, to make head against us; by this time the King of Spain was come into the army, and the Duke de Vendôme lay, with about thirty-five thousand men, near Luzara, which he had resolved to attack, to bring Prince Eugene to a battle: the Prince of Vaudemont lay entrenched with twenty thousand more at Rivalto, behind Mantua, to cover the frontiers of Milan, and there were near twelve thousand in Mantua itself; and Monsieur Pracental lay with ten thousand men just under the cannon of one of the forts which guard the causeway which leads into the city of Mantua: so that had all these joined, as they could have done in a few days more, the prince must have been put to his shifts, and would have had enough to do to have maintained himself in Italy; for he was master of no one place in the country that could have held out a formal siege of fifteen days, and he knew all this very well; and therefore, it seems, while the Duke of Vendôme resolved, if possible, to bring him to a battle, and to that end made dispositions to attack Luzara; we were surprised to find, the 15th of June, 1702, the whole imperial army appeared in Bataalia, and in full march to attack us.

As it happened, our army was all marching in columns towards them, as we had done for two days before, and I should have told you, that three days before, the duke having notice that General Visconti, with three imperial regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, was posted at San-Victoria, on the Tessona; he resolved to attack them, and this design was carried so secretly, that while Monsieur Visconti, though our army was three leagues another way, was passing towards the Modenese, he found himself unexpectedly attacked by six thousand horse and dragoons of the French army: he defended himself very bravely for near an hour; when being overpowered, and finding he should be forced into disorder, he sounded a retreat; but the squadrons had not faced about to make their retreat scarce a quarter of an hour, when they found themselves surrounded by a great body of infantry, who had entirely cut off their retreat, except over the bridge of Tessona, which being thronged with their baggage, they could neither get backward nor forward; so they thrust and tumbled over one another, in such a manner, that they could preserve no kind of order; but abundance fell into the river, and were drowned, many were killed, and more taken prisoners; so that, in a word, the whole three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, were entirely defeated.

This was a great blow to the prince, because they were some of the choicest troops of his whole army: we took about four hundred prisoners, and all their baggage, which was a very considerable booty, and about eight hundred horses; and no doubt these troops were very much wanted in the battle that ensued on the 15th, as I have said: our army being in full march (as above) to attack Luzara, a party of Germans appeared, being about six hundred horse, and in less than an hour more, their whole army in order of battle.

Our army formed immediately, and the duke posted the regiments as they came up, so much to their advantage, that Prince Eugene was obliged to alter his dispositions, and had this particular inconvenience upon his hands, viz. to attack an army superior to his own, in all their most advantageous posts; whereas, had he thought fit to have waited but one day, we should have met him half way; but this was owing to the pride of the German generals, and their being so opinionated of the goodness of their troops; the royal army was posted with the left to the great river Po, on the other side of which the Prince of Vaudemont's army lay, cannonading the entrenchments which the imperialists had made at Borgo-Forte; and hearing that there was like to be a general battle, he detached twelve battalions, and about one thousand horse, to reinforce the royal army; all which, to our great encouragement, had time to join the army, while Prince Eugene was making his new dispositions for the attack; and yet it was the coming of these troops which caused Prince Eugene to resolve to begin the fight, expecting to have come to an action before they could come up, but he was disappointed in the reason of fighting, and yet was obliged to fight too, which was an error in the prince, that it was too late to retrieve.

It was five o'clock in the evening before he could bring up his whole line to engage; and then, after having cannonaded us to no great purpose for half an hour, his right, commanded by the Prince de Commercy, attacked our left wing with great fury: our men received them so well, and seconded one another so punctually, that they were repulsed with a very great slaughter, and the Prince de Commercy being (unhappily for them) killed in the first onset, the regiments, for want of orders, and surprised with the fall of so great a man, were pushed into disorder, and one whole brigade was entirely broke.

But their second line advancing, under General Herbeville, restored things in the first; the battalions rallied, and they came boldly on to charge a second time, and being seconded with new reinforcements from their main body, our men had their turn, and were pushed to a canal, which lay on their left flank, between them and the Po, behind which they rallied, and being supported by new troops, as well horse as foot, they fought on both sides with the utmost obstinacy, and with such courage and skill, that it was not possible to judge who should have had the better, could they have been able to have fought it out.

On the right of the royal army was posted the

flower of the French cavalry; namely, the *gens-d'armes*, the royal carabineers, and the queen's horse-guards, with four hundred horse more, and next them the infantry, among which were our brigade; the horse advanced first to charge, and they carried all before them sword in hand, receiving the fire of two imperial regiments of cuirassiers, without firing a shot, and falling in among them, bore them down by the strength of their horses, putting them into confusion, and left so clear a field for us to follow, that the first line of our infantry stood drawn up upon the ground which the enemy at first possessed.

In this first attack the Marquis de Crequi, who commanded the whole right wing, was killed; a loss which fully balanced the death of the Prince de Commercy, on the side of the Germans; after we had thus pushed the enemy's cavalry (as above), their troops, being rallied by the dexterity of their generals, and supported by three imperial regiments of foot, came on again to the charge with such fury that nothing could withstand them; and here two battalions of our Irish regiments were put into disorder, and abundance of our men killed; and here also I had the misfortune to receive a musquet-shot, which broke my left arm; and that was not all, for I was knocked down by a giant-like German soldier, who, when he thought he had killed me, set his foot upon me, but was immediately shot dead by one of my men, and fell just upon me, which, my arm being broken, was a very great mischief to me; for the very weight of the fellow, who was almost as big as a horse, was such that I was not able to stir.

Our men were beaten back after this from the place where they stood, and so I was left in possession of the enemy, but was not their prisoner (that is to say, was not found) till the next morning, when a party being sent, as usual, with surgeons to look after the wounded men, among the dead found me, almost smothered with the dead Germans, and others that lay near me; however, to do them justice, they used me with humanity, and the surgeons set my arm very skilfully and well; and after four or five days I had liberty to go to Parma upon my parole.

Both the armies continued fighting, especially on our left, till it was so dark that it was impossible to know who they fired at, or for the generals to see what they did; so they abated firing gradually, and, as it may be truly said, the night parted them.

Both sides claimed the victory, and both concealed their losses as much as was possible; but it is certain, that never battle was fought with greater bravery and obstinacy than this was; and had there been day-light to have fought it out, doubtless there would have been many thousand more men killed on both sides.

All the Germans had to entitle them to the victory was, that they made our left retire, as I have said, to the canal, and to the high banks or mounds on the edge of the Po; but they had so much advantage in the retreat—they fired from thence among the thickest of the enemy, and could never be forced from their posts.

The best testimony the royal army had of the

victory, and which was certainly the better of the two, was, that two days after the fight they attacked Guastalla, as it were in view of the German army, and forced the garrison to surrender, and to swear not to serve again for six months, which, they being one thousand five hundred men, was a great loss to the Germans, and yet Prince Eugene did not offer to relieve it; and after that we took several other posts which the imperialists had possession of, but were obliged to quit them upon the approach of the French army, not being in a condition to fight another battle that year.

My campaign was now at an end, and though I came off lame, I came off much better than abundance of gentlemen; for in that bloody battle we had above four hundred officers killed or wounded, whereof three were general officers.

The campaign held on till December, and the Duke de Vendôme took Borgo-Forte, and several other places, from the Germans, who, in short, lost ground every day in Italy; I was a prisoner a great while, and there being no cartel settled, Prince Eugene ordered the French prisoners to be sent into Hungary, which was a cruelty that could not be reasonably exercised on them; however, a great many, by that banishment, found means to make their escape to the Turks, by whom they were kindly received, and the French ambassador at Constantinople took care of them, and shipped them back again into Italy at the king's charge.

But the Duke de Vendôme now took so many German prisoners, that Prince Eugene was tired of sending his prisoners to Hungary, and was obliged to be at the charge of bringing some of them back again whom he had sent thither, and come to agree to a general exchange of prisoners.

I was, as I have said, allowed for a time to go to Parma, upon my parole, where I continued, for the recovery of my wound and broken arm, forty days, and was then obliged to render myself to the commanding officer at Ferrara, where Prince Eugene coming soon after, I was, with several other prisoners of war, sent away into the Milanese, to be kept for an exchange of prisoners.

It was in the city of Trent that I continued about eight months; the man in whose house I quartered was exceedingly civil to me, and took a great deal of care of me, and I lived very easy. Here I contracted a kind of familiarity, perfectly undesigned by me, with the daughter of the burgher, at whose house I had lodged, and I know not by what fatality that was upon me, I was prevailed with afterward to marry her: this was a piece of honesty on my side which I must acknowledge I never intended to be guilty of; but the girl was too cunning for me; for she found means to get some wine into my head more than I used to drink, and though I was not so disordered with it but that I knew very well what I did, yet in an unusual height of good humour I consented to be married. This impolitic piece of honesty put me to many inconveniences, for I knew not what to do with this new clog which I had loaded myself with; I could neither stay with her, nor take her with me, so that I was exceedingly perplexed.

The time came soon after that I was released by the cartel, and so was obliged to go to the regiment, which then was in quarters in the Milanese, and from thence I got leave to go to Paris, upon my promise to raise some recruits in England for the Irish regiments, by the help of my correspondents there. Having thus leave to go to Paris, I took a passport from the enemy's army, to go to Trent, and making a long circuit, I went back thither, and very honestly packed up my baggage, wife and all, and brought her away through Tyrol, into Bavaria, and so through Suabia, and the Black Forest, into Alsace, from thence I came into Lorraine, and so to Paris.

I had now a secret design to quit the war, for I really had had enough of fighting; but it was counted so dishonourable a thing to quit while the army was in the field, that I could not dispense with it; but an intervening accident made that part easy to me: the war was now renewed between France, and England, and Holland, just as it was before; and the French king meditating nothing more than how to give the English a diversion, fitted out a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, at Dunkirk, on board of which he embarked a body of troops, of about six thousand five hundred men, besides volunteers; and the new king, as we called him, though more generally he was called the Chevalier de St George, was shipped along with them, and all for Scotland.

I pretended a great deal of zeal for this service, and that if I might be permitted to sell my company in the Irish regiment I was in, and have the chevalier's brevet for a colonel, in case of raising troops for him in Great Britain, after his arrival, I would embark volunteer and serve at my own expense: the latter gave me a great advantage with the chevalier; for now I was esteemed as a man of consideration, and one that must have a considerable interest in my own country; so I obtained leave to sell my company, and having had a good round sum of money remitted me from London, by the way of Holland, I prepared a very handsome equipage, and away I went to Dunkirk to embark.

I was very well received by the chevalier; and, as he had an account that I was an officer in the Irish brigade, and had served in Italy, and consequently was an old soldier, all this added to the character which I had before, and made me have a great deal of honour paid me, though at the same time I had no particular attachment to his person or to his cause; nor indeed did I much consider the cause of one side or other; if I had, I should hardly have risked, not my life only, but effects too, which were all, as I might say, from that moment, forfeited to the English government, and were too evidently in their power to confiscate at their pleasure.

However, having just received a remittance from London, of 300*l.* sterling, and sold my company in the Irish regiment for very near as much, I was not only insensibly drawn in, but was perfectly volunteer in that dull cause, and away I went with them at all hazards; it belongs very little to my history to give an account of that fruitless expedition, only to tell you, that, being so closely and effectually chased by the English

fleet, which was superior in force to the French, I may say, that in escaping them I escaped being hanged.

It was the good fortune of the French that they overshot the port they aimed at, and intending for the frith of Forth, or, as it is called, the frith of Edinburgh, the first land they made was as far north as a place called Montrose, where it was not their business to land, and so they were obliged to come back to the frith, and were gotten to the entrance of it, and came to an anchor for the tide; but this delay or hinderance gave time to the English, under Sir George Byng, to come to the frith, and they came to an anchor just as we did, only waiting to go up the frith with the flood.

Had we not overshot the port, as above, all our squadron had been destroyed in two days, and all we could have done had been to have gotten into the pier or haven at Leith, with the smaller frigates, and have landed the troops and ammunition; but we must have set fire to the men of war, for the English squadron was not above 24 hours behind us, or thereabouts.

Upon this surprise the French admiral set sail from the north point of the frith where we lay, and crowding away to the north, got the start of the English fleet, and made their escape with the loss of one ship only, which being behind the rest, could not get away. When we were satisfied the English left chasing us, which was not till the third night, when we altered our course, and lost sight of them, we stood over to the coast of Norway, and keeping that shore on board all the way to the mouth of the Baltic, we came to an anchor again, and sent two scouts abroad to learn news, to see if the sea was clear, and being satisfied that the enemy did not chase us, we kept on with an easier sail, and came all back again to Dunkirk, and glad I was to set my foot on shore again; for all the while we were thus flying for our lives, I was under the greatest terror imaginable, and nothing but halters and gibbets run in my head, concluding that if I had been taken I should certainly have been hanged.

But the care was now over, I took my leave of the chevalier and of the army, and made haste to Paris: I came so unexpectedly to Paris, and to my own lodgings, that it was my misfortune to make a discovery relating to my wife which was not at all to my satisfaction; for I found her ladyship had kept some company that I had reason to believe were not such as an honest woman ought to have conversed with, and as I knew her temper, by what I had found of her myself, I grew very jealous and uneasy about her; I must own it touched me very nearly, for I began to have an extraordinary value for her, and her behaviour was very taking, especially after I had brought her into France; but having a vein of levity, it was impossible to prevent her running into such things in a town so full of what they call gallantry as Paris.

It vexed me also to think that it should be my fate to be a cuckold both abroad and at home, and sometimes I would be in such a rage about it that I had no government of myself when I thought of it; whole days, and, I may say, sometimes whole nights, I spent musing and

considering what I should do to her, and especially what I should do to the villain, whoever he was, that had thus abused and supplanted me: here indeed I committed murder more than once, or indeed than a hundred times, in my imagination; and as the devil is certainly an apparent prompter to wickedness, if he is not the first mover of it in our minds, he seized me night and day, with proposals to kill my wife.

This horrid project he carried up so high, by raising fierce thoughts, and fomenting the blood upon my contemplation of the word cuckold, that, in short, I left debating whether I should murder her or no, as a thing out of the question and determined; and my thoughts were then taken up only with the management how I should kill her, and how to make my escape after I had done it.

All this while I had no sufficient evidence of her guilt, neither had I so much as charged her with it, or let her know I suspected her, otherwise than as she might perceive it in my conduct and in the change of my behaviour to her, which was such, that she could not but perceive that something troubled me, yet she took no notice of it to me, but received me very well, and showed herself to be glad of my return; nor did I find she had been extravagant in her expenses while I was abroad; but jealousy, as the wise man says, is the wrath of a man; her being so good a housewife of what money I had left her gave my distempered fancy an opinion that she had been maintained by other people, and so had had no occasion to spend.

I must confess she had a difficult point here upon her, though she had been really honest; for as my head was prepossessed of her dishonesty, if she had been lavish, I should have said she had spent it upon her gentlemen; and as she had been frugal, I said, she had been maintained by them: thus, I say, my head was distempered; I believed myself abused, and nothing could put it out of my thoughts night or day.

All this while, it was not visibly broken out between us; but I was so fully possessed with the belief of it, that I seemed to want no evidence, and I looked with an evil eye upon everybody that came near her, or that she conversed with: there was an officer of the garde du corps, that lodged in the same house with us, a very honest gentleman and a man of quality; I happened to be in a little drawing-room adjoining to a parlour where my wife sat at that time, and this gentleman came into the parlour, which, as he was one of the family, he might have done without offence, but he not knowing that I was in the drawing-room, sat down and talked with my wife; I heard every word they said, for the door between us was open, nor could I say that there passed anything between them but cursory discourse; they talked of casual things, of a young lady, a burgher's daughter of nineteen, that had been married the week before to an advocate in the parliament of Paris, vastly rich, and about thirty-six: and of another, a widow lady of fortune in Paris, that had married her deceased husband's valet de chambre, and of such casual matters, that I could find no fault with her now at all.

But it filled my head with jealous thoughts, and fired my temper; now I fancied he used too much freedom with her, then that she used too much freedom to him, and once or twice I was upon the point of breaking in upon them, and affronting them both, but I restrained myself; at length he talked something merrily of the lady throwing away her maidenhead, as I understood it, upon an old man; but still it was nothing indecent; but I, who was all on fire already, could bear it no longer, but started up, and came into the room, and catching at my wife's words, "Say you so, madam," said I; "was he too old for her?" and giving the officer a look that I fancy was something akin to the face on the sign called the Bull and Mouth, within Aldersgate, I went out into the street.

The marquis, so he was styled, a man of honour and of spirit too, took it as I meant it, and followed me in a moment, and hemm'd after me in the street; upon which I stopped, and he came up to me. "Sir," said he, "our circumstances are very unhappy in France, that we cannot do ourselves justice here without the most severe treatment in the world; but, come on it what will, you must explain yourself to me on the subject of your behaviour just now."

I was a little cooled as to the point of my conduct to him in the very few moments that had passed, and was very sensible that I was wrong to him, and I said, therefore, to him, very frankly, "Sir, you are a gentleman, whom I know very well, and I have a very great respect for you; but I had been disturbed a little about the conduct of my wife, and, were it your own case, what would you have done less?"

"I am sorry for any dislike between you and your wife," says he; "but what is that to me? Can you charge me with any indecency to her, except my talking so and so (at which he repeated the words), and, as I knew you were in the next room, and heard every word, and that all the doors were open, I thought no man could have taken amiss so innocent an expression."

"I could no otherwise take it amiss," said I, "than as I thought it implied a farther familiarity, and that you cannot expect should be borne by any man of honour; however, sir," said I, "I spoke only to my wife; I said nothing to you, but gave you my hat as I passed you."

"Yes," said he, "and a look as full of rage as the devil; are there no words in such looks?"

"I can say nothing to that," said I, "for I cannot see my own countenance; but my rage, as you call it, was at my wife, not at you."

"But hark you, sir," said he (growing warm as I grew calm), "your anger at your wife was for her discourse with me, and I think that concerns me too, and I ought to resent it."

"I think not, sir," said I; "nor, had I found you in bed with my wife, would I have quarrelled with you; for if my wife will let you lie with her, it is she is the offender, what have I to do with you? You could not lie with her if she was not willing, and if she is willing to be a w—e, I ought to punish her; but I should have no quarrel with you; I will lie with your wife if I can, and then I am even with you."

I spoke this all in good-humour, and in order to pacify him, but it would not do; but he would

have me give him satisfaction, as he called it. I told him I was a stranger in the country, and perhaps should find little mercy in their course of justice; that it was not my business to fight any man in his vindicating his keeping company with my wife, for that the injury was mine, in having a bad woman to deal with; that there was no reason in the thing, that after any man should have found the way into my bed, I, who am injured, should go and stake my life upon an equal hazard against the man who has abused me.

Nothing would prevail with this person to be quiet for all this; but I had affronted him, and no satisfaction could be made him but that at the point of the sword; so we agreed to go away together to Lisle in Flanders. I was now soldier enough not to be afraid to look a man in the face, and as the rage at my wife inspired me with courage, so he let fall a word that fired and provoked me beyond all patience; for, speaking of the distrust I had of my wife, he said, unless I had good information I ought not to suspect my wife: I told him, if I had good information, I should be past suspicion; he replied, if he was the happy man that had so much of her favour, he would take care then to put me past the suspicion; I gave him as rough an answer as he could desire, and he returned in French, *nous verrons à Lisle*, that is to say, we will talk further of it at Lisle.

I told him I did not see the benefit either to him or me of going so far as Lisle to decide this quarrel, since now I perceived he was the man I wanted, that we might decide this quarrel, *au champ*, upon the spot, and whoever had the fortune to fell the other, might make his escape to Lisle, as well afterwards as before.

Thus we walked on, talking very ill-naturedly on both sides, and yet very mannerly, till we came clear of the suburbs of Paris, and on the way to Charenton; when, seeing the way clear, I told him, under those trees was a very fit place for us, pointing to a row of trees adjoining to Monsieur —'s garden wall; so we went thither, and fell to work immediately; after some fencing, he made a home thrust at me, and run me, into my arm, a long slanting wound, but at the same time received my point into his body, and soon after fell; he spoke some words before he dropped; first, he told me I had killed him; then he said, he had indeed wronged me, and as he knew it, he ought not to have fought me; he desired I would make my escape immediately, which I did into the city, but no farther, nobody as I thought, having seen us together. In the afternoon, about six hours after the action, messengers brought news, one on the heels of another, that the marquis was mortally wounded, and carried into a house at Charenton; that account, saying he was not dead, surprised me a little, not doubting but that, concluding I had made my escape, he would own who it was; however, I discovered nothing of my concern, but going up into my chamber, I took out of a cabinet there what money I had, which indeed was so much as I thought would be sufficient for my expenses; but having an accepted bill for 2,000 livres, I walked sedately to a merchant who knew me, and got 50 pistoles of him upon my

bill, letting him know my business called me to England and I would take the rest of him when he had received it.

CHAPTER XV.

DISTRESS OF MY WIFE—I CAST HER OFF, AND TAKE HORSE FOR LORRAINE—I ARRIVE SAFELY IN LONDON—NEWS OF MY WIFE, TO WHOM I SEND A SMALL SUM OF MONEY—HER GALLANT RECOVERS, AND CLEARS MY HANDS OF HER—I MEET WITH A YOUNG WIDOW IN A STAGE COACH, WITH WHOM I FALL IN FANCY, AND MARRY WITH EVERY PROSPECT OF HAPPINESS—SHE TAKES TO DRINKING AND DIES.

HAVING furnished myself thus, I provided me a horse for my servant, for I had a very good one of my own, and once more ventured home to my lodging, where I heard again that the marquis was not dead. My wife all this while covered her concern for the marquis so well, that she gave me no room to make any remark upon her; but she saw evidently the marks of rage and deep resentment in my behaviour after some little stay, and perceiving me making preparations for a journey, she said to me, "Are you going out of town?"—"Yes, madam," says I, "that you may have room to mourn for your friend the marquis;" at which she started, and showed she was indeed in a most terrible fright, and making a thousand crosses about herself, with a great many callings upon the Blessed Virgin, and her country saints, she burst out at last, "Is it possible! Are you the man that killed the marquis? Then you are undone, and I too."

"You may, madam, be a loser by the marquis being killed, but I'll take care to be as little a loser by you as I can; it is enough the marquis has honestly confessed your guilt, and I have done with you;" she would have thrown herself into my arms, protesting her innocence, and told me she would fly with me, and would convince me of her fidelity by such testimonies as I could not but be satisfied with, but I thrust her violently from me; "*allez infame!*" said I, "go, infamous creature, and take from me the necessity I should be under if I stayed, of sending you to keep company with your dear friend the marquis." I thrust her away with such force, that she fell backward upon the floor and cried out most terribly, and indeed she had reason, for she was very much hurt.

It grieved me indeed to have thrust her away with such force, but you must consider me now in the circumstances of a man enraged, and, as it were, out of himself, furious and mad. However, I took her up from the floor and laid her on the bed, and calling up her maid, bid her go and take care of her mistress: and going soon after out of doors, I took horse and made the best of my way, not towards Calais or Dunkirk, or towards Flanders, whither it might be suggested I was fled, and whither they did pursue me the same evening, but I took the direct road for Lorraine, and riding all night, and very hard, I passed the Maine the next day at night at Chalons, and came safe into the Duke of Lorraine's dominions the third day, where I rested one day, only to consider what course to take,

for it was still a most difficult thing to pass any way, but that I should either be in the King of France's dominions, or be taken by the French allies as a subject of France; but getting good advice from a priest at Bar-le-Duc, who, though I did not tell him the particulars of my case, yet guessed how it was, it being, as he said, very usual for gentlemen in my circumstances to fly that way. Upon this supposition, this kind *padre* got me a church pass, that is to say, he made me a purveyor for the abbey of —, and, as such, got me a passport to go to Deux-ponts, which belonged to the King of Sweden. Having such authority there, and the priest's recommendation to an ecclesiastic in the place, I got passports from thence in the King of Sweden's name to Cologne, and then I was thoroughly safe; so making my way to the Netherlands, without any difficulty I came to the Hague, and from thence, though very privately, and by several names, I came to England; and thus I got clear of my Italian wife, w—e I should have called her; for, after I had made her so myself, how should I expect any other of her?

Being arrived at London, I wrote to my friend at Paris, but dated my letter from the Hague, where I ordered him to direct his answers; the chief business of my writing was, to know if my bill was paid him, to inquire if any pursuit was made after me, and what other news he had about me, or my wife, and particularly how it had fared with the marquis.

I received an answer in a few days, importing that he had received the money on my bill, which he was ready to pay as I should direct; that the marquis was not dead, "but," said he, "you have killed him another way, for he has lost his commission in the guards, which was worth to him 20,000 livres, and he is yet a close prisoner in the Bastile;" that pursuit was ordered after me upon suspicion; that they had followed me to Amiens, on the road to Dunkirk, and to Chateau de Cambresis, on the way to Flanders; but, missing me that way, had given it over; that the marquis had been too well instructed to own that he had fought with me, but said that he was assaulted on the road, and, unless I could be taken, he would take his trial and come off for want of proof; that my flying was a circumstance indeed that moved strongly against him, because it was known that we had had some words that day, and were seen to walk together; but that nothing being proved on either side, he would come off with the loss of his commission, which, however, being very rich, he could bear well enough.

As to my wife, he wrote me word she was inconsolable, and had cried herself to death almost; but he added (very ill-natured indeed), and whether it was for me, or for the marquis, that he could not determine; he likewise told me she was in very bad circumstances, and very low, so that if I did not take some care of her, she would come to be in very great distress.

The latter part of this story moved me indeed, for I thought, however it was, I ought not to let her starve; and besides, poverty was a temptation which a woman could not easily withstand, and I ought not to be the instrument to drive her to a horrid necessity of crime, if I could prevent it.

Upon this I wrote to him again, to go to her, and talk with her, and learn as much as he could of her particular circumstances; and that, if he found she was really in want, and particularly, that she did not live a scandalous life, he should give her twenty pistoles, and tell her, if she would engage to live retired and honestly, she should have so much annually, which was enough to subsist her.

She took the first twenty pistoles, but bade him tell me that I had wronged her, and unjustly charged her, and I ought to do her justice; and I had ruined her by exposing her in such a manner as I had, having no proof of my charge, or ground for any suspicion; that, as to twenty pistoles a-year, it was a mean allowance to a wife that had travelled over the world as she had done with me, and the like; and so expostulated with him to obtain forty pistoles a-year of me, which I consented to; but she never gave me the trouble of paying above one year; for, after that, the marquis was so fond of her again, that he took her away to himself; and, as my friend wrote me word, had settled 400 crowns a-year on her, and I never heard any more of her.

I was now in London, but was obliged to be very retired, and change my name, letting nobody in the nation know who I was, except my merchant, by whom I corresponded with my people in Virginia; and particularly, that my tutor, who was now become the head manager of my affairs, and was in very good circumstances himself also by my means, but he deserved all I did, or could do for him, for he was a most faithful friend, as well as servant, as ever man had, in that country at least.

I was not the easiest man alive in the retired solitary manner I now lived in; and I experienced the truth of the text, that it is not good for man to be alone, for I was extremely melancholy and heavy, and indeed knew not what to do with myself, particularly, because I was under some restraint, that I was, too, afraid to go abroad; at last I resolved to go quite away, and go to Virginia again, and there live retired as I could.

But when I came to consider that part more narrowly, I could not prevail with myself to live a private life; I had got a wandering kind of taste, and knowledge of things begat a desire of increasing it, and an exceeding delight I had in it, though I had nothing to do in the armies or in war, and did not design ever to meddle with it again; yet I could not live in the world, and not inquire what was doing in it, nor could I think of living in Virginia, where I was to hear my news twice a-year, and read the public accounts of what was just then upon the stocks, as the history of things past.

This was my notion; I was now in my native country, where my circumstances were easy; and, though I had ill luck abroad, for I brought little money home with me, yet, by a little good management, I might soon have money by me. I had nobody to keep but myself, and my plantations in Virginia generally returned me from 400*l.* to 600*l.* a-year, one year above 700*l.*, and to go thither, I concluded, was to be buried alive; so I put off all thoughts of it, and resolved to settle somewhere in England, where I might know everybody, and nobody know me. I was not long

in concluding where to pitch, for, as I spoke the French tongue perfectly well, having been so many years among them, it was easy for me to pass for a Frenchman; so I went to Canterbury, called myself an Englishman among the French, and a Frenchman among the English; and on that score was the more perfectly concealed, going by the name of Monsieur Charnot with the English, and Mr Charnock among the French.

Here indeed I lived perfectly incog.; I made no particular acquaintance so as to be intimate, and yet I knew everybody, and everybody knew me; I discoursed in common, talked French with the Walloons, and English with the English; lived retired and sober, and was well enough received by all sorts; but, as I meddled with nobody's business, so nobody meddled with mine; I thought I lived pretty well.

But I was not fully satisfied; a settled family life was the thing I loved; I had made two pushes at it as you have heard, but with ill success; yet the miscarriage of what was passed did not discourage me at all, but I resolved to marry; I looked out for a woman as suitable as I could, but always found something or other to shock my fancy, except once a gentleman's daughter of good fashion, but I met with so many repulses of one kind or another, that I was forced to give it over, and indeed, though I might be said to be a lover in this suit, and had managed myself so well with the young lady that I had no difficulty left but what would soon have been adjusted; yet her father was so difficult, made so many objections, was to-day not pleased one way, to-morrow another, that he would stand by nothing that he himself had proposed, nor could he ever be brought to be of the same mind two days together; so that we at last put an end to the pretensions, for she would not marry without her father's consent, and I would not steal her, and so that affair ended.

I cannot say but I was a little vexed at the disappointment of this, so I left the city of Canterbury, and went to London in the stage coach; here I had an odd scene presented as ever happened of its kind.

There was in the stage coach a young woman and her maid; she was sitting in a very melancholy posture, for she was in the coach before me, and sighed most dreadfully all the way, and whenever her maid spoke to her, she burst out into tears; I was not long in the coach with her before, seeing she made such a dismal figure, I offered to comfort her a little, and inquired into the occasion of her affliction, but she would not speak a word; but her maid, with a force of crying too, said her master was dead, at which word the lady burst out again into a passion of crying, and, between mistress and maid, this was all I could get for the morning part of that day. When we came to dine, I offered the lady, that seeing, I supposed, she would not dine with the company, if she would please to dine with me I would dine in a separate room, for the rest of the company were foreigners: her maid thanked me in her mistress's name, but her mistress could eat nothing, and desired to be private.

Here, however, I had some discourse with the

maid, from whom I learned that the lady was wife to a captain of a ship, who was outward bound to somewhere in the Streights, I think it was to Zante and Venice; that, being gone no farther than the Downs, he was taken sick, and, after about ten days' illness, had died at Deal; that his wife, hearing of his sickness, had gone to Deal to see him, and had come but just time enough to see him die; had stayed there to bury him, and was now coming to London in a sad disconsolate condition indeed.

I heartily pitied the young gentlewoman indeed, and said some things to her in the coach to let her know I did so, which she gave no answer to, but, in civility, now and then made a bow, but never gave me the least opportunity to see her face, or so much as to know whether she had a face or no, much less to guess what form of a face it was; it was winter time, and the coach put up at Rochester, not going through in a day, as was usual in summer; and a little before we came to Rochester I told the lady I understood she had eat nothing to-day, that such a course would but make her sick, and, doing her harm, could do her deceased husband no good; and therefore I entreated her, that, as I was a stranger, and only offered a civility to her, in order to abate her severely afflicting herself, she would yield so far to matters of ceremony as let us sup together as passengers; for as to the strangers, they did not seem to understand the custom, or to desire it.

She bowed, but gave no answer; only after pressing her by arguments, which she could not deny was very civil and kind, she returned, she gave me thanks, but she could not eat. "Well, madam," said I, "do but sit down, though you think you cannot eat, perhaps you may eat a bit; indeed you must eat, or you will destroy yourself at this rate of living, and upon the road too: in a word, you will be sick indeed." I argued with her; the maid put in a word, and said, "Do, madam, pray try to divert yourself a little." I pressed her again, and she bowed to me very respectfully, but still said no, and she could not eat; the maid continued to importune her, and said, "Dear madam, do; the gentleman is a civil gentleman, pray madam, do;" and then, turning to me, said, "My mistress will, sir, I hope;" and seemed pleased, and indeed was so.

However, I went on to persuade her; and, taking no notice of what her maid said, that I was a civil gentleman, I told her, "I am a stranger to you, madam; but if I thought you were shy of me on any account as to civility, I will send my supper up to you in your chamber, and stay below myself." She bowed then to me twice, and looked up, which was the first time, and said, she had no suspicion of that kind; that my offer was so civil, that she was as much ashamed to refuse it as she should be ashamed to accept it, if she was where she was known; that she thought I was not quite a stranger to her, for she had seen me before; that she would accept my offer, so far as to sit at table, because I desired it; but she could not promise me to eat, and that she hoped I would take the other as a constraint upon her, in return to so much kindness.

She startled me when she said she had seen me before, for I had not the least knowledge of her, nor did I remember so much as to have heard of her name, for I had asked her name of her maid; and indeed it made me almost repent my compliment, for it was many ways essential to me not to be known. However, I could not go back, and, besides, if I was known, it was essentially necessary to me to know who it was that knew me, and by what circumstances; so I went on with my compliment.

We came to the inn but just before it was dark; I offered to hand my widow out of the coach, and she could not decline it; but though her hoods were not then much over her face, yet, being dark, I could see little of her then; I waited on her then to the stair-foot, and led her up the inn stairs to a dining-room, which the master of the house offered to show us, as if for the whole company; but she declined going in there, and said, she desired rather to go directly to her chamber, and, turning to her maid, bade her speak to the innkeeper to show her to her lodging-room; so I waited on her to the door, and took my leave, telling her I would expect her at supper.

In order to treat her moderately well, and not extravagantly, for I had no thoughts of anything farther than civility, which was the effect of mere compassion, for the unhappiness of the most truly disconsolate woman that I ever met with; say, in order to treat her handsomely, but not extravagantly, I provided what the house afforded, which was a couple of partridges, and a very good dish of stewed oysters; they brought us up afterward a neat's tongue, and a nam, that was almost cut quite down; but we eat none of it, for the other was fully enough for us both, and the maid made her supper of the oysters we had left, which were enough.

I mention this, because it should appear I did not treat her as a person I was making any court to, for I had nothing of that in my thoughts; but merely in pity to the poor woman, who I saw in a circumstance that was indeed very unhappy.

When I gave her maid notice that supper was ready, she fetched her mistress, coming in before her with a candle in her hand, and then it was that I saw her face, and, being in her dishabille, she had no hoods over eyes, or black upon her head, when I was truly surprised to see one of the most beautiful faces upon earth; I saluted her, and led her to the fire side, the table, though spread, being too far from the fire, the weather being cold.

She was now something sociable, though very grave, and sighed often on account of her circumstances; but she so handsomely governed her grief, yet so artfully made it mingle itself with all her discourse, that it added exceedingly to her behaviour, which was every way most exquisitely genteel. I had a great deal of discourse with her, and upon many subjects, and by degrees took her name, that is to say, from herself, as I had done before from her maid, also the place where she lived, viz. near Ratcliff, or rather Stepney, where I asked her leave to pay her a visit, when she thought fit to admit company, which she seemed to intimate would not be a great while.

It is a subject too surfeiting to entertain people

with the beauty of a person they will never see ; let it suffice to tell them she was the most beautiful creature of her sex that I ever saw before or since, and it cannot be wondered if I was charmed with her the very first moment I saw her face ; her behaviour was likewise a beauty in itself, and was so extraordinary, that I cannot say I can describe it.

The next day she was much more free than she was the first night, and I had so much conversation as to enter into particulars of things on both side ; also she gave me leave to come and see her house, which, however, I did not do under a fortnight, or thereabouts, because I did not know how far she would dispense with the ceremony, which it was necessary to keep up at the beginning of the mourning.

However, I came as a man that had business with her relating to the ship her husband was dead out of, and the first time I came was admitted, and, in short, the first time I came I made love to her ; she received that proposal with disdain ; I cannot indeed say she treated me with any disrespect, but she said she abhorred the offer, and would hear no more of it.

How I came to make such a proposal to her, I scarce knew then, though it was very much my intention from the first.

In the meantime I inquired into her circumstances and her character, and heard nothing but what was very agreeable of them both ; and, above all, I found she had the report of the best humoured lady, and the best bred of all that part of the town ; and now I thought I had found what I had so often wished for to make me happy, and had twice miscarried in, and resolved not to miss her, if it was possible to obtain her.

It came indeed a little into my thoughts, that I was a married man, and had a second wife alive, who, though she was false to me, and a whore, yet I was not legally divorced from her, and that she was my wife for all that ; but I soon got over that part ; for, first, as she was a whore, and the marquis had confessed it to me, I was divorced in law, and I had a power to put her away ; but having had the misfortune of fighting a duel, and being obliged to quit the country, I could not claim the legal process which was my right, and therefore might conclude myself as much divorced as if it had been actually done, and so that scruple vanished.

I suffered now two months to run without pressing my widow any more, only I had kept a strict watch to find if any one else pretended to her ; at the end of two months I visited her again, when I found she received me with more freedom, and we had no more sighs and sobs about the last husband ; and though she would not let me press my former proposal so far as I thought I might have done, yet I found I had leave to come again, and it was the article of decency which she stood upon as much as any thing ; that I was not disagreeable to her, and that my using her so handsomely upon the road had given me a great advantage in her favour.

I went on gradually with her, and gave her leave to stand off for two months more ; but then I told her the matter of decency, which was but a ceremony, was not to stand in competition with the matter of affection ; and, in short, I could

not bear any longer delay ; but that, if she thought fit, we might marry privately, and to cut the story short, as I did my courtship, in about five months I got her in the mind, and we were privately married, and that with so very exact a concealment, that her maid, that was so instrumental in it, yet had no knowledge of it for near a month more.

I was now, not only in my imagination, but in reality, the most happy creature in the world, as I was infinitely satisfied with my wife, who was indeed the best humoured woman in the world, a most accomplished, beautiful creature indeed, perfectly well-bred, and had not one ill quality about her ; and this happiness continued without the least interruption for about six years.

But I, that was to be the most unhappy fellow alive in the article of matrimony, had at last a disappointment of the worst sort, even here ; I had three fine children by her, and in her time of lying-in with the last, she got some cold, that she did not in a long time get off ; and, in short, she grew very sickly. In being so continually ill, and out of order, she very unhappily got a habit of drinking cordials and hot liquors ; drink, like the devil, when it gets hold of any one, though but a little, it goes on by little and little to their destruction ; so in my wife, her stomach being weak and faint, she first took this cordial, then that, till, in short, she could not live without them, and from a drop to a sup, from a sup to a dram, from a dram to a glass, and so on to two, till at last she took, in short, to what we call drinking.

As I likened drink to the devil in its gradual possession of the habits and person, so it is yet more like the devil in its encroachment on us, where it gets hold of our senses ; in short, my beautiful, good-humoured, modest, well-bred wife, grew a beast, a slave to strong liquor, and would be drunk at her own table, nay, in her own closet by herself, till, instead of a well-made, fine shape, she was as fat as an hostess ; her fine face, bloated and blotched, had not so much as the ruins of the most beautiful person alive, nothing remained but a good eye ; that indeed she held to the last : in short, she lost her beauty, her shape, her manners, and at last her virtue ; and, giving herself up to drinking, killed herself in about a year and a half after she first began that cursed trade, in which time she twice was exposed in the most scandalous manner with a captain of a ship, who, like a villain, took the advantage of her being in drink, and not knowing what she did ; but it had this unhappy effect, that, instead of her being ashamed, and repenting of it when she came to herself, it hardened her in the crime, and she grew as void of modesty at last as of sobriety.

O ! the power of intemperance, and how it encroaches on the best dispositions in the world ! how it comes upon us gradually and insensibly, and what dismal effects it works upon our morals, changing the most virtuous, regular, well-instructed, and well-inclined tempers into worse than brutal. That was a good story, whether real or invented, of the devil tempting a young man to murder his father :—" No," he said, " that was unnatural."—" Why, then," says the devil, " go and lie with your mother."—" No," says he, " that is abominable."—" Well, then," says

the devil, "if you will do nothing else to oblige me, go and get drunk.—" Ay, ay," says the fellow, "I will do that;" so he went and made himself drunk as a swine; and when he was drunk, he murdered his father and lay with his mother.

Never was a woman more virtuous, modest, chaste, sober: she never so much as desired to drink anything strong; it was with the greatest entreaty that I could prevail with her to drink a glass or two of wine, and rarely, if ever, above one or two at a time; even in company she had no inclination to it; not an immodest word ever came out of her mouth, nor would she suffer it in any one else in her hearing, without resentment and abhorrence; but upon that weakness and illness, after her last lying-in as above, the nurse pressed her, whenever she found herself faint, and a sinking of her spirits, to take this cordial, and that dram, to keep up her spirits, till it became necessary even to keep her alive, and gradually increased to a habit, so that it was no longer her physic but her food; her appetite sunk and went quite away, and she eat little or nothing, but came at last to such a dreadful height, that, as I have said, she would be drunk in her own dressing-room by eleven o'clock in the morning, and, in short, at last was never sober.

In this life of hellish excess, as I have said, she lost all that was before so valuable in her; and a villain if it be proper to call a man by such a name, who was an intimate acquaintance, coming to pretend to visit her, made her and her maid so drunk together, that he abused both. Let any one judge what was my case now; I that for six years thought myself the happiest man alive, was now the most miserable distracted creature: as to my wife, I loved her so well, and was so sensible of the disaster of her drinking being the occasion of it all, that I could not resent it to such a degree as I had done in her predecessor, but I pitied her heartily; however, I put away all her servants, and almost locked her up, that is to say, I set new people over her, who would not suffer any one to come near her without my knowledge.

CHAPTER XVI.

I MEET AND FIGHT HER CAPTAIN, AND THRASH HIM HEARTILY — MY WIFE'S DEATH — ENTERTAIN THOUGHTS OF A FOURTH WIFE—COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE WITH MY FACTOR'S DAUGHTER—SHE MAKES ME AN EXCELLENT WIFE, BUT DIES AT THE END OF FOUR YEARS—I RETURN TO VIRGINIA, AND MEET WITH A WONDERFUL SURPRISE.

BUT what to do with the villain that had thus abused both her and me, that was the question that remained; to fight him upon equal terms, I thought was a little hard; that, after a man had treated me as he had done, he deserved no fair play for his life; so I resolved to wait for him in Stepney fields, and which way he often came home pretty late, and pistol him in the dark, and, if possible, to let him know what I killed him for before I did it: but when I came to consider of this, it shocked my temper too as well as principle, and I could not be a murderer, whatever else I could be, or whatever I was provoked to be.

However, I resolved, on the other hand, that I would severely correct him for what he had done, and it was not long before I had an opportunity; for, hearing one morning that he was walking cross the fields from Stepney to Shadwell, which way I knew he often went, I waited for his coming home again, and fairly met him.

I had not many words with him, but told him I had long looked for him; that he knew the villainy he had been guilty of in my family, and he could not believe, since he knew also that I was fully informed of it, but that I must be a great coward as well as a cuckold, or that I would resent it, and that it was now a very proper time to call him to account for it, and therefore bade him, if he durst show his face to what he had done, and defend the name of a captain of a man-of-war, as they said he had been, to draw.

He seemed surprised at the thing, and began to parley, and would lessen the crime of it, but I told him it was not a time to talk that way, since he could not deny the fact; and to lessen the crime was to lay it the more upon the woman, who, I was sure, if he had not first debauched with wine, he could never have brought to the rest; and, seeing he refused to draw, I knocked him down with my cane at one blow, and I would not strike him again while he lay on the ground, but waited to see him recover a little, for I saw plainly he was not killed; in a few minutes he came to himself again, and then I took him fast by one wrist, and caned him as severely as I was able, and as long as I could hold it for want of breath, but forbore his head, because I was resolved he should feel it; in this condition at last he begged for mercy, but I was deaf to all pity a great while, till he roared out like a boy soundly whipped; then I took his sword from him, and broke it before his face, and left him on the ground, giving him two or three kicks on the backside, and bade him go and take the law of me if he thought fit.

I had now as much satisfaction as indeed could be taken of a coward, and had no more to say to him: but, as I knew it would make a great noise about the town, I immediately removed my family, and that I might be perfectly concealed, went into the north of England, and lived in a little town called —, not far from Lancaster, where I lived retired, and was no more heard of for about two years. My wife, though more confined than she used to be, so kept up from the lewd part which, I believe, in the intervals of her intemperance, she was truly ashamed of and abhorred, yet retained the drinking part, which, becoming (as I have said) necessary for her subsistence, she soon ruined her health, and, in about a year and a half after my removal into the north, she died.

Thus I was once more a free man, and, as one would think, should by this time have been fully satisfied that matrimony was not appointed to be a state of felicity to me.

I should have mentioned that the villain of a captain, who I had drubbed (as above) pretended to make a great stir about my assaulting him on the highway, and that I had fallen upon him with three ruffians, with an intent to murder him, and this began to obtain belief among the people in the neighbourhood: I sent him word of so much of it

as I had heard, and told him I hoped it did not come from his own mouth, but, if it did, I expected he would publicly disown it, he himself declaring he knew it to be false, or else I should be forced to act the same thing over again till I had disciplined him into better manners; and that he might be assured, that if he continued to pretend that I had anybody with me when I caned him, I would publish the whole story in print, and besides that would cane him again wherever I met him, and, as often as I met him, till he thought fit to defend himself with his sword like a gentleman.

He gave me no answer to this letter, and the satisfaction I had for that was, that I gave twenty or thirty copies of it about among the neighbours, which made it as public as if I had printed it (that is, as to his acquaintance and mine) and made him so hissed at and hated, that he was obliged to remove into some other part of the town, whither I did not inquire.

My wife being now dead, I knew not what course to take in the world, and I grew so disconsolate and discouraged, that I was next door to being distempered, and sometimes, indeed, I thought myself a little touched in the head. But it proved nothing but vapours, and the vexation of this affair, and in about a year's time, or thereabouts, it wore off again.

I had rambled up and down in a most discontented unsettled posture after this, I say, about a year, and then I considered I had three innocent children, and I could take no care of them, and that I must either go away and leave them to the wide world, or settle here and get somebody to look after them, and that better a mother-in-law than no mother, for to live such a wandering life it would not do; so I resolved I would marry as anything offered, though it was mean, and the meaner the better, I concluded my next wife should be only taken as an upper servant, that is to say, a nurse to my children, and house-keeper to myself, and let her be whore or honest woman, said I, as she likes best, I am resolved I will not much concern myself about that, for I was now one desperate, that valued not how things went.

In this careless, and indeed rash, foolish, humour, I talked to myself thus: If I marry an honest woman my children will be taken care of; if she be a slut and abuses me, as I see everybody does, I will kidnap her and send her to Virginia, to my plantations there, and there she shall work hard enough, and fare hard enough to keep her chaste, I'll warrant her.

I knew well enough at first that these were mad, hare-brained notions, and I thought no more of being serious in them than I thought of being a man in the moon; but I know not how it happened to me, I reasoned and talked to myself in this wild manner so long, that I brought myself to be seriously desperate; that is, to resolve upon another marriage, with all the suppositions of unhappiness that could be imagined to fall out.

And yet even this rash resolution of my senses did not come presently to action, for I was half a year after this before I fixed upon anything; at last, as he that seeks mischief shall certainly find it, so it was with me; there happened to be a young or rather a middle-aged woman in the next town, which was but half a mile off, who

usually was at my house, and among my children every day, when the weather was tolerable; and though she came but merely as a neighbour, and to see us, yet she was always helpful in directing and ordering things for them, and mighty handy about them, as well before my wife died as after.

Her father was one that I employed often to go to Liverpool, and sometimes to Whitehaven, and do business for me; for having, as it were, settled myself in the northern parts of England, I had ordered part of my effects to be shipped, as occasion of shipping offered, to either of those two towns, to which (the war continuing very sharp) it was safer coming, as to privateers, than about through the channel to London.

I took a mighty fancy at last that this girl would answer my end, particularly that I saw she was mighty useful among the children; so, on the other hand, the children loved her very well, and I resolved to love her too, flattering myself mightily that, as I had married two gentlewomen and one citizen, and they proved all three w——s, I should now find what I wanted in an innocent country wench.

I took up a world of time in considering of this matter; indeed, scarce any of my matches were done without very mature consideration; the second was the worst in that article, but in this I thought of it, I believe, four months most seriously before I resolved, and that very prudence spoiled the whole thing; however, at last being resolved, I took Mrs Margaret one day as she passed by my parlour-door, called her in, and told her I wanted to speak with her; she came readily in, but blushed mightily when I bade her sit down, for I bade her sit down in a chair just by me.

I used no great ceremony with her, but told her that I had observed she had been mighty kind to my children, and was very tender to them, and that they all loved her, and that if she and I could agree about it, I intended to make her their mother, if she was not engaged to somebody else; the girl sat still and said never a word till I said those words, "if she was not engaged to somebody else;" when she seemed struck; however, I took no notice of it other than this,—“Look ye, Moggy,” said I (so they call them in the country), “if you have promised yourself you must tell me;” for we all knew that a young fellow, a good clergyman's wicked son, had hung about her a great while, two or three years, and made love to her, but could never get the girl in the mind, it seems, to have him.

She knew I was not ignorant of it, and therefore, after her first surprise was over, she told me Mr —— had, as I knew, often come after her, but she had never promised him anything, and had for several years refused him; her father always telling her that he was a wicked fellow, and that he would be her ruin if she had him.

“Well, Moggy, then,” says I, “what dost say to me, art thou free to make me a wife?” She blushed and looked down upon the ground, and would not speak a good while; but when I pressed her to tell me, she looked up and said she supposed I was but jesting with her; well, I got over that, and told her I was in very good earnest with her, and I took her for a sober, honest, modest girl, and, as I said, one that my

children loved mighty well, and I was in earnest with her; if she would give me her consent, I would give her my word that I would have her, and we would be married to-morrow morning. She looked up again at that, and smiled a little, and said, "No, that was too soon to say yes;" she hoped I would give her some time to consider of it, and to talk with her father about it.

I told her she needed not much time to consider about it; but, however, I would give her till to-morrow morning, which was a great while. By this time I had kissed Moggy two or three times, and she began to be freer with me; and, when I pressed her to marry me the next morning, she laughed, and told me it was not lucky to be married in her old clothes.

I stopped her mouth presently with that, and told her she should not be married in her old clothes, for I would give her some new. "Ay, it may be afterwards," says Moggy, and laughed again. "No, just now," says I; "come along with me, Moggy;" so I carried her up stairs into my wife's room that was, and showed her a new morning gown of my wife's, that she had never worn above two or three times, and several other fine things. "Look you there, Moggy," says I, "there is a wedding gown for you; give me your hand now that you will have me to-morrow morning; and as to your father, you know he is gone to Liverpool on my business, but I will answer for it he shall not be angry when he comes home to call his master son-in-law, and I ask him no portion; therefore give me thy hand for it, Moggy," says I, very merrily to her, and kissed her again, and the girl gave me her hand, and very pleasantly too, and I was mightily pleased with it, I assure you.

There lived, about three doors from us, an ancient gentleman who passed for a doctor of physic, but who was really a Romish priest in orders, as there are many in that part of the country, and in the evening I sent to speak with him. He knew that I understood his profession, and that I had lived in popish countries, and, in a word, believed me a Roman too, for I was such abroad. When he came to me, I told him the occasion for which I sent for him, and that it was to be to-morrow morning; he readily told me if I would come and see him in the evening, and bring Moggy with me, he would marry us in his own study, and that it was rather more private to do it in the evening than in the morning; so I called Moggy again to me and told her since she and I had agreed the matter for to-morrow, it was as well to be done over night, and told her what the doctor had said.

Moggy blushed again, and said she must go home first; that she could not be ready before to-morrow. "Look ye, Moggy," says I, "you are my wife now, and you shall never go away from me a maid; I know what you mean, you would go home to shift you. Come, Moggy," says I, "come along with me again up stairs." So I carried her to a chest of linen, where were several new shifts of my last wife's, which she had never worn at all, and some that had been worn. "There is a clean smock for you, Moggy," says I, "and to-morrow you shall have all the rest." When I had done this, "Now Moggy," says I, "go and dress you;" so I locked her in, and went

down stairs; "knock," says I, "when you are dressed."

After some time, Moggy did not knock, but down she came into my room, completely dressed, for there were several other things that I bade her take, and the clothes fitted her as if they had been made for her; it seems she slipped the lock back. "Well, Moggy," says I, "now you see you shall not be married in your old clothes;" so I took her in my arms and kissed her, and well pleased I was as ever I was in my life, or with anything I ever did in my life. As soon as it was dark, Moggy slipped away beforehand, as the doctor and I had agreed, to the old gentleman's housekeeper, and I came in about half an hour after, and there we were married in the doctor's study, that is to say, in his oratory, or chapel, a little room within his study, and we stayed and supped with him afterwards.

Then, after a short stay more, I went home first, because I would send the children all to bed, and the other servants out of the way, and Moggy came some time after, and so we lay together that night. The next morning I let all the family know that Moggy was my wife, and my three children were rejoiced at it to the last degree. And now I was a married man a fourth time; and, in short, I was really more happy in this plain country girl than with any of all the wives I had had. She was not young, being about thirty-three, but she brought me a son the first year; she was very pretty, well shaped, and of a merry, cheerful disposition, but not a beauty; she was an admirable family manager, loved my former children, and used them not at all the worse for having some of her own; in a word, she made me an excellent wife; but lived with me but four years, and died of a hurt she got of a fall while she was with child, and in her I had a very great loss indeed.

And yet such was my fate in wives, that, after all the blushing and backwardness of Mrs Moggy at first, Mrs Moggy had, it seems, made a slip in her younger days, and was got with child ten years before, by a gentleman of great estate in that country, who promised her marriage, and afterwards deserted her; but, as that had happened long before I came into the country, and the child was dead and forgotten, the people were so good to her, and so kind to me, that, hearing I had married her, nobody ever spoke of it, neither did I ever hear of it, or suspect it, till after she was in her grave, and then it was of small consequence to me one way or other, and she was a faithful, virtuous, obliging wife to me. I had a very severe affliction, indeed, while she lived with me, for the small-pox, a frightful distemper in that country, broke into my family and carried off three of my children and a maid-servant; so that I had only one of my former wife's, and one by my Moggy, the first a son, the last a daughter.

While these things were in agitation, came on the invasion of the Scots, and the fight at Preston, and I have cause to bless the memory of my Moggy, for I was all on fire on that side, and just going away with horse and arms to join the Lord Derwentwater; but Moggy begged me off (as I may call it), and hung about me so with her

tears and importunities, that I sat still and looked on, for which I had reason to be thankful.

I was really a sorrowful father, and the loss of my children stuck close to me, but the loss of my wife stuck closer to me than all the rest; nor was my grief lessened, or my kindest thoughts abated in the least, by the account I heard of her former miscarriage, seeing they were so long before I knew her, and were not discovered by me, or to me, in her life-time.

All these things put together made me very comfortless. And now I thought heaven summoned me to retire to Virginia, the place, and (as I may say) the only place, I had been blessed at, or had met with anything that deserved the name of success in, and where, indeed, my affairs being in good hands, the plantations were increased to such a degree, that some years my return here made up eight hundred pounds, and one year almost a thousand; so I resolved to leave my native country once more, and taking my son with me, and leaving Moggy's daughter with her grandfather, I made him my principal agent, left him a considerable sum in his hands for the maintenance of the child, and left my will in his hand, by which, if I died before I should otherwise provide for her, I left her 2,000*l.* portion, to be paid by my son out of the estate I had in Virginia, and the whole estate, if he died unmarried.

I embarked for Virginia, in the year —, at the town of Liverpool, and had a tolerable voyage thither, only that we met with a pirate ship in the latitude of 48 degrees, who plundered us of every thing they could come at that was for their turn, that is to say, provisions, ammunition, small arms, and money; but, to give the rogues their due, though they were the most abandoned wretches that were ever seen, they did not use us ill; and as to my loss, it was not considerable; the cargo which I had on board was in goods, and was of no use to them; nor could they come at those things without rumaging the whole ship, which they did not think worth their while.

I found all my affairs in very good order at Virginia; my plantations prodigiously increased, and my manager, who first inspired me with travelling thoughts, and made me master of any knowledge worth naming, received me with a transport of joy, after a ramble of four-and-twenty years.

I ought to remember it, to the encouragement of all faithful servants, that he gave me an account, which, I believe, was critically just, of the whole affairs of the plantations, each by themselves, and balanced in years, every year's produce being fully transmitted, charges deducted, to my order at London.

I was exceedingly satisfied, as I had good reason indeed, with his management; and with his management, as much in its degree, of his own, I can safely say it. He had improved a very large plantation of his own at the same time, which he began upon the foot of the country's allowance of land, and the encouragement he had from me.

When he had given me all this pleasing, agreeable account, you will not think it strange that I had a desire to see the plantations, and to view all the servants, which, in both the works, were upwards of three hundred; and, as my tutor gene-

rally bought some every fleet that came from England, I had the mortification to see two or three of the Preston gentlemen there, who, being prisoners of war, were spared from the public execution and sent over to that slavery, which to gentlemen must be worse than death.

I do not mention what I did or said relating to them here; I shall speak at large of it when the rest of them came over, which more nearly concerned me.

But one circumstance occurred to me here that equally surprised me and terrified me to the last degree. Looking over all the servants, as I say above, and viewing the plantations narrowly and frequently, I came one day by a place where some women were at work by themselves: I was seriously reflecting on the misery of human life when I saw some of these poor wretches: thought I, they have perhaps lived gay and pleasantly in the world, notwithstanding, through a variety of distresses, they may have been brought to this; and if a body was to hear the history of some of them now, it would perhaps be as moving and as seasonable a sermon as any minister in the country could preach.

While I was musing thus and looking at the women, on a sudden I heard a combustion among other of the women servants, who were almost behind me in the same work, and help was called loudly for, one of the women having swooned away. They said she would die immediately if something was not done to relieve her. I had nothing about me but a little bottle, which we always carried about us there with rum, to give any servant a dram that merited that favour; so I turned my horse and went up towards the place; but as the poor creature was lying flat on the the ground, and the rest of the women-servants about her, I did not see her, but gave them the bottle, and they rubbed her temples with it, and, with much ado, brought her to life, and offered her a little to drink; but she could drink none of it, and was exceeding ill afterwards, so that she was carried to the infirmary (so they call it in the religious houses in Italy), where the sick nuns or friars are carried; but here, in Virginia, I think they should call it the condemned hole, for it really was only a place just fit for people to die in, not a place to be cured in.

The sick woman refusing to drink, one of the women-servants brought me the bottle again, and I bade them drink it among them, which had almost set them together by the ears for the liquor, there being not enough to give every one a sup.

I went home to my house immediately, and, reflecting on the miserable provision was wont to be made for poor servants when they are sick, I inquired of my manager if it was so still. He said he believed mine was better than any in the country; but he confessed it was but sad lodging; however, he said he would go and look after it immediately, and see how it was.

He came to me about an hour after and told me the woman was very ill and frightened with her condition; that she seemed to be very penitent for some things in her past life, which lay heavy upon her mind, believing she should die; that she asked him if there were no ministers to comfort poor dying servants; and he told her that

she knew they had no minister nearer than such a place; but that, if she lived till morning, he should be sent for. He told me also, that he had removed her into a room where their chief workman used to lodge; that he had given her a pair of sheets, and everything he could that he thought she wanted, and had appointed another woman-servant to attend her, and sit up with her.

"Well," says I, "that is well, for I cannot bear to have poor creatures lie and perish by the mere hardship of the place they are in, when they are sick and want help; besides," said I, "some of those unfortunate creatures they call convicts may be people that have been tenderly brought up." "Really, sir," says he, "this poor creature I always said had something of a gentlewoman in her; I could see it by her behaviour; and I have heard the other women say that she lived very great once, and that she had fifteen hundred pounds to her portion, and I dare say she has been a handsome woman in her time, and she has a hand as fine as a lady's now, though it be tanned with the weather; I dare say she was never brought up to labour as she does here, and she says to the rest that it will kill her."

"Truly," says I, "it may be so, and that may be the reason that she faints under it; and," I added, "is there nothing you can put her to within doors that may not be so laborious, and expose her to so much heat and cold?" He told me yes, there was; he could set her to be the house-keeper, for the woman that lately was such was out of her time, and was married and turned planter. "Why, then, let her have it," said I, "if she recovers, and in the meantime go," said I, "and tell her so; perhaps the comfort of it may help to restore her."

He did so, and with that, taking good care of her, and giving her good warm diet, the woman recovered, and in a little time was abroad again; for it was the mere weight of labour, and being exposed to hard lodging and mean diet, to one so tenderly bred, that struck her, and she fainted at her work.

When she was made house-keeper, she was quite another body; she put all the household into such excellent order, and managed their provisions so well, that my tutor admired her conduct, and would be every now and then speaking of her to me, that she was an excellent manager. "I'll warrant," says he, "she has been bred a gentlewoman, and she has been a fine woman in her time too." In a word, he said so many good things of her, that I had a mind to see her; so one day I took occasion to go to the plantation-house, as they called it, and into a parlour, always reserved for the master of the plantation; there she had opportunity to see me before I could see her, and as soon as she had seen me, she knew me; but, indeed, had I seen her a hundred times, I should not have known her; she was, it seems, in the greatest confusion and surprise at seeing who I was, that it was possible for any one to be; and when I ordered my manager to bring her into the room, he found her crying, and begged him to excuse her, that she was frightened, and should die away if she came near me.

I not imagining anything, but that the poor creature was afraid of me (for masters in Virginia

are terrible things), bade him tell her she need to be under no concern at my calling for her, for it was not for any hurt, nor for any displeasure, but that I had some orders to give her; so having, as he thought encouraged her (though her surprise was of another kind), he brought her in; when she came in, she held a handkerchief in her hand, wiping her eyes, as if she had cried. "Mrs. House-keeper," said I (speaking cheerfully to her), "don't be concerned at my sending for you; I have had a very good account of your management, and I called for you, to let you know I am very well pleased with it; and if it falls in my way to do you any good, if your circumstances will allow it, I may be willing enough to help you out of your misery."

She made low courtesies, but said nothing however, she was so far encouraged that she took her hand from her face, and I saw her face fully, and I believe she did it, desiring I should discover who she was, but I really knew nothing of her, any more than if I had never seen her in my life; but went on, as I thought, to encourage her, as I used to do with any that I saw deserved it.

In the meantime my tutor, who was in the room, went out on some business or other, I know not what. As soon as he was gone, she burst out into a passion, and fell down on her knees just before me: "O! sir," says she, "I see you don't know me; be merciful to me, I am your miserable divorced wife!"

I was astonished, I was frightened, I trembled like one in an ague, I was speechless; in a word, I was ready to sink, and she fell flat on her face, and lay there as if she had been dead. I was speechless, I say, as a stone; I had only presence of mind enough to step to the door and fasten it, that my tutor might not come in; then, going back to her, I took her up and spoke comfortably to her, and told her I no more knew her than if I had never seen her.

"O! sir," said she, "afflictions are dreadful things; such as I have suffered have been enough to alter my countenance; but forgive," said she, "for God's sake, the injuries I have done you. I have paid dear for all my wickedness; and it is just, it is righteous, that God should bring me to your foot, to ask your pardon for all my brutish doings. Forgive me, sir," said she, "I beseech you, and let me be your slave or servant for it as long as I live; it is all I ask;" and with those words she fell upon her knees again, and cried so vehemently that it was impossible for her to stop it, or to speak a word more. I took her up again, made her sit down, desired her to compose herself and to hear what I was going to say, though indeed it touched me so sensibly that I was hardly able to speak any more than she was.

First I told her it was such a surprise to me that I was not able to say much to her, and indeed the tears ran down my face almost as fast as they did on hers; I told her that I should only tell her now that, as nobody had yet known anything that had passed, so it was absolutely necessary not a word of it should be known; that it should not be the worse for her that she was thus thrown into my hands again; but that I could do nothing for her if it was known, and therefore that her future good or ill fortune would depend upon her entire concealing it; that, as my ma-

nager would come in again presently, she should go back to her part of the house, and go on in the business as she did before; that I would come to her, and talk more at large with her in a day or two; so she retired, after assuring me that not a word of it should go out of her mouth, and indeed she was willing to retire before my tutor came again, that she might not see the agony she was in.

I was so perplexed about this surprising incident that I hardly knew what I did or said all that night, nor was I come to any settled resolution in the morning what course to take in it. However, in the morning I called my tutor, and told him that I had been exceedingly concerned about the poor distressed creature, the housekeeper: that I had heard some of her story, which was very dismal; that she had been in very good circumstances, and was bred very well, and that I was glad he had removed her out of the field into the house; but still she was almost naked, and that I would have him go to the warehouse and give her some linen, especially head-clothes and all sorts of small things, such as hoods, gloves, stockings, shoes, petticoats, &c., and to let her choose for herself; also a morning-gown of calico, and a mantua of a better kind of calico; that is to say, to new clothe her, which he did; but he brought me word that he found her all in tears, and that she had cried all night long, and, in short, he believed she would indeed cry herself to death; that all the while she was receiving the things he gave her she cried; that now and then she would struggle with and stop it, but that then, upon another word speaking, she would burst out again, so that it grieved everybody that saw her.

I was really affected with her case very much, but struggled hard with myself to hide it, and turned the discourse to something else; in the meantime, though I did not go to her the next day, nor till the third day, yet I studied day and night how to act, and what I should do in this remarkable case.

When I came to the house, which was the third day, she came into the room I was in, clothed all over with my things which I had ordered her, and told me she thanked God she was now my servant again, and wore my livery; thanked me for the clothes I had sent her, and said it was much more than she had deserved from me.

I then entered into discourses with her, nobody being present but ourselves, and first I told her she should name no more of the unkind things that had passed; for she had humbled herself more than enough on that subject, and I would never reproach her with anything that was past; I found that she had been the deepest sufferer by far; I told her it was impossible for me, in my present circumstances, to receive her there as a wife who came over as a convict, neither did she know so little as to desire it; but I told her I might be instrumental to put an end to her misfortunes in the world, and especially to the miserable part of it, which was her present load, provided she could effectually keep her own counsel, and never let the particulars come out of her mouth, and that from the day she did she might date her irrecoverable ruin.

She was as sensible of the necessity of that

part as I was, and told me all she could claim of me would be only to deliver her from her present calamity, that she was not able to support; and that then, if I pleased, she might live such a life as that she might apply the residue of what time she should have wholly to repentance; that she was willing to do the meanest offices in the world for me; and though she should rejoice to hear that I would forgive her former life, yet that she would not look any higher than to be my servant as long as she lived, and in the meantime I might be satisfied she would never let any creature so much as know that I had ever seen her before.

I asked her if she was willing to let me into any part of the history of her life since she and I parted, but I did not insist upon it otherwise than as she thought convenient. She said, as her breach with me began first in folly and ended in sin, so her whole life afterward was a continued series of calamity, sin, and sorrow, sin and shame, and last misery; that she was deluded into gay company, and to an expensive way of living, which betrayed her to several wicked courses to support the expenses of it; that after a thousand distresses and difficulties, being not able to maintain herself, she was reduced to extreme poverty.

That she would many times have humbled herself to me in the lowest and most submissive manner in the world, being sincerely penitent for her first crime, but that she never could hear of me, nor which way I was gone; that she was by that means so abandoned that she wanted bread, and those wants and distresses brought her into bad company of another kind, and that she fell in among a gang of thieves, with whom she herded for some time, and got money enough a great while, but under the greatest dread and terror imaginable, being in the constant fear of coming to shame; that afterwards, what she feared was come upon her, and for a very trifling attempt, in which she was not principal but accidentally concerned, she was sent to this place. She told me her life was such a collection of various fortunes, up and down, in plenty and in misery, in prison and at liberty, at ease and in torment, that it would take up a great many days to give me a history of it; that I was come to see the end of it, as I had seen the best part of the beginning; that I knew she was brought up tenderly, and fared delicately; but that now she was, with the prodigal, brought to desire husks with swine, and even to want that supply. Her tears flowed so strongly upon this discourse, that they frequently interrupted her, so that she could not go on without difficulty, and at last could not go on at all; so I told her I would excuse her telling any more of her story at that time; that I saw it was but a renewing of her grief, and that I would rather contribute to her forgetting what was past, and desired her to say no more of it, so I broke off that part.

In the meantime I told her, since Providence had thus cast her upon my hands again, I would take care that she should not want, and that she should not live hardly neither, though I could go no farther at present; and thus she parted for that time, and she continued in the business of housekeeper, only that to ease her I gave her an assistant; and though I would not have it called so, it was neither more nor less than a servant to

wait on her, and to do everything for her, and I told her too that it was so.

CHAP. XVII.

MY TUTOR FALLS IN LOVE WITH MY QUONDAM WIFE
—DIFFICULTIES THEREUPON—I TAKE HER AGAIN
TO WIFE MYSELF—A RETROSPECT ATTENDED
WITH DISAGREEABLE CONSEQUENCES—I FREIGHT
A SLOOP, AND EMBARK FOR THE MADEIRAS.

AFTER she had been some time in this place she recovered her spirits and grew cheerful; her fallen flesh plumped up, and the sunk and hollow parts filled again; so that she began to recover something of that brightness and charming countenance which was once so very agreeable to me; and sometimes I could not help having warm desires towards her, and of taking her into her first station again; but there were many difficulties occurred, which I could not get over a great while.

But in the meantime another odd accident happened, which put me to a very great difficulty, and more than I could have thought such a thing could be capable of; my tutor, a man of wit and learning, and full of generous principles, who was at first moved with compassion for the misery of this gentlewoman, and even then thought there were some things more than common in her, as I have hinted. Now when, as I say, she was recovered, and her sprightly temper restored and comforted, he was charmed so with her conversation that, in short, he fell in love with her.

I hinted, in my former account of her, that she had a charming tongue, was mistress of abundance of wit, and she sung incomparably fine, and was perfectly well bred; these all remained with her still, and made her a very agreeable person; and, in short, he came to me one evening, and told me that he came to ask my leave to let him marry the housekeeper.

I was exceedingly perplexed at this proposal, but, however, I gave him no room to perceive that; I told him I hoped he had considered well of it before he brought it so far as to offer it to me, and supposed that he had agreed that point so that I had no consent to give, but as she had almost four years of her time to serve.

He answered, "No," he paid such a regard to me that he would not so much as take one step in such a thing without my knowledge, and assured me he had not so much as mentioned it to her. I knew not what answer indeed to make to him, but at last I resolved to put it off from myself to her, because then I should have opportunity to talk with her beforehand; so I told him he was perfectly free to act in the matter as he thought fit; that I could not say either one thing or another to it, neither had I any right to meddle in it. As to serving out her time with me, that was a trifle, and not worth naming, but I hoped he would consider well every circumstance before he entered upon such an affair as that.

He told me he had fully considered it already, and that he was resolved, seeing I was not against it, to have her, whatever came of it, for he believed he should be the happiest man alive with her. Then he ran on in his character of her, how clever a woman she was in the management

of all manner of business, what admirable conversation she had, what a wit, what a memory, what a vast share of knowledge, and the like; all which I knew to be the truth, and yet short of her just character too; for as she was all that formerly when she was mine, she was vastly improved in the school of affliction, and was all the bright part, with a vast addition of temper, prudence, judgment, and all that she formerly wanted.

I had not much patience, as you may well imagine, till I saw my honest housekeeper, to communicate this secret to her, and to see what course she would steer on so nice an occasion; but I was suddenly taken so ill with a cold, which held for two days, that I could not stir out of doors; and in this time the matter was all done and over, for my tutor had gone the same night and made his attack, but was coldly received at first, which very much surprised him, for he made no doubt to have her consent at first word; however, the next day he came again, and again the third day, when finding he was in earnest, and yet that she could not think of anything of that kind, she told him, in few words, that she thought herself greatly obliged to him for such a testimony of his respect to her, and should have embraced it willingly, as anybody would suppose one in her circumstances should do, but that she would not abuse him so much, for that she must acknowledge to him she was under obligations that prevented her, that was, in short, that she was a married woman, and had a husband alive.

This was so sincere, but so effectual an answer, that he could have no room to reply one word to it; but that he was very sorry, and that it was a very great affliction to him, and as great a disappointment as ever he met with.

The next day after he had received this repulse I came to the plantation-house, and, sending for the housekeeper, I began with her, and told her that I understood she would have a very advantageous proposal made to her, and that I would have her consider well of it, and then told her what my tutor had said to me.

She immediately fell a-crying, at which I seemed to wonder very much. "O! sir," says she, "how can you name such a thing to me?" I told her that I could name it the better to her, because I had been married myself since I parted from her. "Yes, sir," says she, "but the case alters; the crime being on my side, I ought not to marry; but," says she, "that is not the reason at all, but I cannot do it." I pretended to press her to it (though not sincerely, I must acknowledge, for my heart had turned toward her for some time, and I had fully forgiven her in my mind all her former conduct), but, I say, I seemed to press her to it, at which she burst out in a passion. "No, no," says she, "let me be your slave rather than the best man's wife in the world." I reasoned with her upon her circumstances, and how such a marriage would restore her to a state of ease and plenty, and none in the world might ever know or suspect who or what she had been, but she could not bear it; but with tears again raising her voice, that I was afraid she would be heard. "I beseech you," says she, "do not speak of it any more; I was once yours, and I will never belong to any man else in the

world; let me be as I am, or anything else you please to make me, but not a wife to any man alive but yourself."

I was so moved with the passion she was in at speaking this, that I knew not what I said or did for some time; at length I said to her, "It is a great pity that you had not long ago been as sincere as you are now, it had been better for us both; however, as it is, you shall not be forced to anything against your mind, nor shall you be the worse treated for refusing; but how will you put him off? No doubt he expects you will receive his proposal as an advantage, and as he sees no further into your circumstances, so it is." "O! sir," says she, "I have done all that already; he has his answer, and is fully satisfied; he will never trouble you any more on that head;" and then she told me what answer she had given him.

From that minute I resolved that I would certainly take her again to be my wife as before; I thought she had fully made me amends for her former ill conduct, and she deserved to be forgiven; and so indeed she did, if ever woman did, considering also what dreadful penance she had undergone, and how long she had lived in misery and distress; and that providence had, as it were, cast her upon me again; and, above all, had given her such an affection to me, and so resolved a mind, that she could refuse so handsome an offer of deliverance, rather than be farther separated from me.

As I resolved this in my mind, so I thought it was cruel to conceal it any longer from her; nor, indeed, could I contain myself any longer, but I took her in my arms. "Well," says I, "you have given me such a testimony of affection in this, that I can no longer withstand; I forgive you all that ever was between us on this account; and since you will be nobody's but mine, you shall be mine again as you were at first."

But this was too much for her the other way, and now she was so far overcome with my yielding to her, that, had she not got vent to her passion by the most vehement crying, she must have died in my arms, and I was forced to let her go, and set her down a chair, where she cried for a quarter of an hour before she could speak a word.

When she was come to herself enough to talk again, I told her we must consider of a method how to bring this to pass; and that it must not be done by publishing there that she was my wife before, for that would expose us both, but that I would openly marry her again. This she agreed was very rational, and accordingly, about two months after, we were married again, and no man in the world ever enjoyed a better wife, or lived more happy than we both did for several years after.

And now I began to think my fortunes were settled for this world, and I had nothing before me but to finish a life of infinite variety, such as mine had been, with a comfortable retreat, being both made wiser by our sufferings and difficulties, and able to judge for ourselves what kind of life would be best adapted to our present circumstances, and what station we might look upon ourselves to be most completely happy.

But man is a short-sighted creature at best, and in nothing more than in that of fixing his own

felicity, or, as we may say, choosing for himself. One would have thought, and so my wife often suggested to me, that the state of life that I was now in was as perfectly calculated to make a man completely happy as any private station in the world could be. We had an estate more than sufficient, and daily increasing, for the supporting any state or figure that in that place we could propose to ourselves, or even desire to live in. We had everything that was pleasant and agreeable, without the least mortification in any circumstances of it; every sweet thing, and nothing to embitter it; every good, and no mixture of evil with it; nor any gap open where we could have the least apprehensions of any evil breaking out upon us; nor indeed was it easy for either of us, in our phlegmatic melancholy notions, to have the least imagination how anything disastrous could happen to us in the common course of things, unless something should befall us out of the ordinary way of providence, or of its acting in the world.

But an unseen mine blew up all this apparent tranquillity at once; and, though it did not remove my affairs there from me, yet it effectually removed me from them, and sent me a wandering into the world again; a condition full of hazards, and always attended with circumstances dangerous to mankind, while he is left to choose his own fortunes, and be guided by his own short-sighted measures.

I must now return to a circumstance of my history which had been past for some time, and which relates to my conduct while I was last in England.

I mentioned how my faithful wife Moggy, with her tears and her entreaties, had prevailed with me not to play the madman, and openly join in the rebellion with the late Lord Derwentwater and his party when they entered Lancashire, and thereby, as I may say, saved my life. But my curiosity prevailed so much at last, that I gave her the slip when they came to Preston, and at least thought I would go and look at them, and see what they were likely to come to.

My former wife's importunities, as above, had indeed prevailed upon me from publicly embarking in that enterprise, and joining openly with them in arms; and by this, as I have observed, she saved my life to be sure, because, had I then publicly espoused the rebellion, and had been known to have been among them, which might have been as fatal to me afterwards, though I had not been taken in the action as if I had.

But when they advanced and came nearer to us to Preston, and there appeared a greater spirit among the people in their favour, my old doctor, who I mentioned before, who was a Romish priest, and had married us, inspired me with new zeal, and gave me no rest till he obliged me, with only a good horse and arms, to join them the day before they entered Preston, he himself venturing in the same posture with me.

I was not so public here as to be very well known, at least by any one that had knowledge of me in the country where I lived; and this was indeed my safety afterward, as you will soon hear; but yet I was known, too, among the men, especially among the Scots, with some of whom I had been acquainted in foreign service; with

these I was soon particularly conversant, and passed for a French officer. I talked to them of making a select detachment to defend the pass between Preston and the river and bridge, upon maintaining which, as I insisted, depended the safety of the whole party.

It was with some warmth that I spoke of that affair, and as I passed among them, I say, for a French officer and a man of experience, it caused several debates among them; but the hint was not followed, as is well known, and from that moment I gave them all up as lost, and meditated nothing but how to escape from them, which I effected the night before they were surrounded by the royal cavalry: I did not do this without great difficulty, swimming the river Ribble at a place where, though I got well over, yet I could not for a long while get to a place where my horse could land himself, that is to say, where the ground was firm enough for him to take the land; however, at length I got on shore, and riding very hard, came the next evening in sight of my own dwelling; here, after lying by in a wood till the depth of night, I shut my horse in a little kind of a gravel-pit or marl-pit, where I soon covered him with earth for the present, and marching all alone, I came about two in the morning to my house, where my wife, surprised with joy and yet terribly frightened, let me in, and then I took immediate measures to secure myself upon whatever incident might happen, but which, as things were ordered, I had no need to make use of; for the rebels being entirely defeated, and either all killed or taken prisoners, I was not known by anybody in the country to have been among them, no, nor so much as suspected; and thus I made a narrow escape from the most dangerous action, and most foolishly embarked in, of any that I had ever been engaged in before.

It was very lucky for me that I killed and buried my horse, for he would have been taken two days after, and would, to be sure, have been known by those who had seen me upon him at Preston; but now, as none knew I had been abroad, nor any such circumstance could discover me, I kept close, and as my excursion had been short, and I had not been missed by any of my neighbours, if anybody came to speak with me, behold I was at home.

However, I was not thoroughly easy in my mind, and secretly wished I was in my own dominions in Virginia, to which, in a little time, other circumstances occurring, I made preparations to remove with my whole family.

In the meantime, as above, the action at Preston happened, and the miserable people surrendered to the king's troops; some were executed for examples, as in such cases is usual, and the government extending mercy to the multitude, they were kept in Chester castle and other places a considerable time, till they were disposed of, some one way, some another, as we shall hear.

Several hundreds of them, after this, were at their own request transported, as it is vulgarly expressed, to the plantations, that is to say, sent to Virginia and other British colonies, to be sold after the usual manner of condemned criminals, or, as we call them there, convicts, to serve a limited time in the country, and then be made

freemen again; some of these I have spoken of above; but now, to my no little uneasiness, I found, after I had been there some time, two ships arrived with more of these people in the same river where all my plantations lay.

I no sooner heard of it, but the first step I took was, to resolve to let none of them be bought into my work or to any of my plantations; and this I did, pretending that I would not make slaves every day of unfortunate gentlemen, who fell into that condition for their zeal to their party only, and the like: but the true reason was, that I expected several of them would know me, and might perhaps betray me, and make it public that I was one of the same sort, but had made my escape, and so I might be brought into trouble, and if I came off with my life, might have all my effects seized on, and be reduced to misery and poverty again at once, all which I thought I had done enough to deserve.

This was a just caution; but, as I found quickly, was not a sufficient one, as my circumstances stood for my safety; for though I bought none of these poor men myself, yet several of my neighbours did, and there was scarce a plantation near me but had some of them, more or less, among them; so that, in a word, I could not peep abroad hardly, but I was in danger to be seen, and known too, by some or other of them.

I may be allowed to say, that this was a very uneasy life to me, and such that, in short, I found myself utterly unable to bear; for I was now reduced from a great man, a magistrate, a governor, or master of three plantations, and having three or four hundred servants at my command, to be a poor, self-condemned rebel, and durst not show my face: and that I might with the same safety, or rather more, have skulked about in Lancashire where I was, or gone up to London, and concealed myself there till things had been over; but now the danger was come home to me, even to my door, and I expected nothing but to be informed against every day, be taken up, and sent to England in irons, and have all my plantations seized on as a forfeited estate to the crown.

I had but one hope of safety to trust to, and that was, that having been so little a while among them, done nothing for them, and passing for a stranger, they never knew my name, but only I was called the French colonel, or the French officer, or the French gentleman, by most, if not by all, the people there; and as for the doctor that went with me, he had found means to escape too, though not the same way that I did, finding the cause not likely to be supported, and that the king's troops were gathering on all sides around them like a cloud.

But to return to myself; this was no satisfaction to me, and what to do I really knew not, for I was more at a loss how to shift in such a distressed case as this, now it lay so close to me, than ever I was in any difficulty in my life: the first thing I did was to come home, and make a confidence of the whole affair to my wife; and though I did it generously without conditions, yet I did not do it without first telling her how I was now going to put my life into her hands, that she might have it in her power to pay me home for all that she might think had been hard in my

former usage of her ; and that, in short, it would be in her power to deliver me up into the hands of my enemies, but that I would trust her generosity as well as her renewed affection, and put all upon her fidelity, and, without any more precaution, I opened the whole thing to her, and particularly the danger I was now in.

A faithful counsellor is life from the dead, gives courage where the heart is sinking, and raises the mind to a proper use of means ; and such she was to me, indeed, upon every step of this affair, and it was by her direction that I took every step that followed for the extricating myself out of this labyrinth.

"Come, come, my dear," says she, "if this be all, there is no room for any such disconsolate doings as your fears run you upon ;" for I was immediately for selling off my plantations and all my stock, and embarking myself forthwith, and to get to *Madeiras*, or to any place out of the king's dominions.

But my wife was quite of another opinion, and encouraging me on another account, proposed two things, either my freighting a sloop with provisions to the *West Indies*, and so taking passage from thence to *London*, or letting her go away directly for *England*, and endeavour to obtain the king's pardon, whatever it might cost.

I inclined to the last proposal ; for though I was unhappily prejudiced in favour of a wrong interest, yet I had always a secret and right notion of the clemency and merciful disposition of his majesty, and, had I been in *England*, should, I believe, have been easily persuaded to have thrown myself at his feet.

But going to *England* as I was circumstanced must have been a public action, and I must have made all the usual preparations for it, must have appeared in public, have stayed till the crop was ready, and gone away in form and state as usual, or have acted as if something extraordinary was the matter, and have filled the heads of the people there with innumerable suggestions of they knew not what.

But my wife made all this easy to me from her own invention ; for, without acquainting me of anything she comes merrily to me one morning before I was up : "My dear," says she, "I am very sorry to hear that you are not very well this morning. I have ordered *Pennico* (that was a young negro girl which I had given her) to make you a fire in your chamber, and pray lie still where you are a while till it is done ;" at the same instant the little negro came in with the wood and a pair of bellows, &c., to kindle the fire, and my wife not giving me time to reply, whispers close to my ear to lie still and say nothing till she came up again to me.

I was thoroughly frightened, that you may be sure of, and thought of nothing but of being discovered, betrayed, and carried to *England*, hanged, quartered, and all that was terrible, and my very heart sunk within me ; she perceived my disorder and turned back, assuring me there was no harm, desired me to be easy and she would come back again presently and give me satisfaction in every particular that I could desire ; so I composed myself as well as I could, but it was but a little while that I could bear it, and I sent *Pen-*

nico down stairs to find out her mistress, and tell her I was very ill, and must speak with her immediately, and the girl was scarce out of the room before I jumped out of bed and began to dress me, that I might be ready for all events.

My wife was as good as her word, and was coming up as the girl was going down. "I see," says she, "you want patience, but pray do not want government of yourself, but take that screen before your face, and go to the window and see if you know any of those *Scotchmen* that are in the yard, for there are seven or eight of them come about some business to your clerk."

I went and looked through the screen, and saw the faces of them all distinctly, but could make nothing of them, other than that they were *Scotchmen*, which was easy to discern ; however, it was no satisfaction to me that I knew not their faces, for they might know mine for all that, according to the old English proverb, "that more knows *Toni Fool* than *Tom Fool* knows ;" so I kept close in my chamber till I understood they were all gone.

After this my wife caused it to be given out in the house that I was not well, and when this not being well had lasted three or four days I had my leg wrapped up in a great piece of flannel and laid upon a stool, and there I was lame of the gout : and this served for about six weeks, when my wife told me she had given it out that my gout was rather rheumatic than a settled gout, and that I was resolved to take one of my own sloops and go to *Nevis* or *Antigua*, and use the hot baths there for my cure.

All this was very well, and I approved my wife's contrivance as admirably good, both to keep me within doors eight or ten weeks at first, and to convey me away afterwards without any extraordinary bustle to be made about it ; but still I did not know what it all tended to, and what the design of it all was, but my wife desired me to leave that to her, so I really did, and she carried it all on with a prudence not to be disputed ; and after she had wrapt my legs in flannel almost three months, she came and told me the sloop was ready and all the goods put on board. "And now, my dear," says she, "I come to tell you all the rest of my design ; for," added she, "I hope you will not think I am going to kidnap you and transport you from *Virginia* as other people are transported to it, or that I am going to get you sent away and leave myself in possession of your estate ; but you shall find me the same faithful creature which I should have been if I had been still your slave, and not had any hopes of being your wife, and that in all my scheme which I have laid for your safety in this new exigence, I have not proposed your going one step but where I shall go, and be always with you to assist and serve you on all occasions, and to take my portion with you of what kind soever our lot may be."

This was so generous and so handsome a declaration of her fidelity, and so great a token too of the goodness of her judgment in considering of the things which were before her, and of what my present circumstances called for, that from that time forward I gave myself cheerfully up to her management, without any hesitation in the least, and, after about ten days' preparation, we

embarked in a large sloop of my own of about sixty tons.

I should have mentioned here that I had still my faithful tutor (as I called him) at the head of my affairs; and, as he knew whom to correspond with, and how to manage the correspondence in England, we left all that part to him as I had done before, and I did this with a full satisfaction in his ability as well as in his integrity: it is true he had been a little chagrined in that affair of my wife, who, as I hinted before, had married me after telling him, in answer to his solicitations, that she had a husband alive.

Now, though this was literally true, yet, as it was a secret not fit to be opened to him, I was obliged to put him off with other reasons as well as I could, perhaps not much to the purpose, and perhaps not much to his satisfaction, so that I reckoned he looked on himself as not very kindly used several ways.

But he began to get over it and to be easy, especially at our going away, when he found that the trust of everything was still left in his hands as it was before.

When my wife had thus communicated every thing of the voyage to me, and we began to be ready to go off, she came to me one morning, and, with her usual cheerfulness, told me she now came to tell me the rest of her measures for the completing my deliverance; and this was, that while we made this trip, as she called it, to the hot springs at Nevis, she would write to a particular friend at London, whom she could depend upon, to try to get a pardon for a person on account of the late rebellion, with all the circumstances which my case was attended with: viz., of having acted nothing among them, but being three days in the place; and, while we were thus absent, she did not question but to have an answer, which she would direct to come so many ways that we would be sure to have the first of it as soon as it was possible the vessels could go and come; and in the meantime the expense should be very small, for she would have an answer to the grand question first, whether it could be obtained or no, and then an account of the expense of it, so that I might judge for myself whether I would part with the needful sum or no, before any money was disbursed on my account.

I could not but be thoroughly satisfied with her contrivance in this particular, and I had nothing to add to it but that I would not have her limit her friend so strictly, but that, if he saw the way clear, and that he was sure to obtain it, he should go through with it, if within the expense of two, or three, or four hundred pounds, and that, upon advice of its being practicable, he should have bills payable by such a person on delivery of the warrant for the thing.

To fortify this I enclosed in her packet a letter to one of my correspondents, whom I could particularly trust, with a credit for the money on such and such conditions; but the honesty and integrity of my wife's correspondence was such as prevented all the expense, and yet I had the wished-for security as if it had been all paid, as you shall hear presently.

All these things being fixed to our minds, and

all things left behind in good posture of settlement as usual, we embarked together and put to sea, having the opportunity of an English man-of-war being on the coast in pursuit of the pirates, and who was just then standing away towards the Gulf of Florida, and told us he would see us safe as far as New Providence or the Bahama Islands.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WE ARE CHASED BY A BRIGANTINE AND SLOOP, PRIVATEERS—DURING THE CHASE THEY DISCOVER AN ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR, AND SHEER OFF—ARRIVE SAFE AT ANTIGUA—MY WIFE RETURNS TO VIRGINIA IN THE SLOOP, TO WAIT NEWS FROM ENGLAND—THE VESSEL RETURNS GUTTED OF ITS CARGO BY PIRATES, BUT WITH NEWS OF MY DELIVERANCE—TRANSACTIONS ON MY VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA.

AND now having fair weather and a pleasant voyage, and my flannels taken off my legs, I must hint a little what cargo I had with me; for, as my circumstances were very good in that country, so I did not go such a voyage as this, and with a particular reserve of fortunes whatever might afterward happen, without a sufficient cargo for our support, and whatever exigence might happen.

Our sloop, as I said, was of about 60 or 70 tons; and as tobacco, which is the general produce of the country, was no merchandise at Nevis, that is to say, for a great quantity, so we carried very little, but loaded the sloop with corn, pease, meal, and some barrels of pork, and an excellent cargo it was, most of it being the produce of my own plantation; we took also a considerable sum of money with us in Spanish gold, which was, as above, not for trade, but for all events: I also ordered another sloop to be hired, and to be sent after me, laden with the same goods, as soon as they should have advice from me that I was safe arrived.

We came to the latitude of the island of Antigua, which was very near to that of Nevis, whither we intended to go on the eighteenth day after our passing the Capes of Virginia, but had no sight of the island; only our master said he was sure, if he stood the same course as he then was, and the gale held, I say he told me he was sure he should make the island in less than five hours' sail; so he stood on fair for the islands: however, his account had failed him, for we held on all the evening, made no land, and likewise all night, when, in the grey of the morning, we discovered, from the top-mast head, a brigantine and a sloop making sail after us, at the distance of about six leagues, fair weather, and the wind fresh at S. E.

Our master soon understood what they were, and came down into the cabin to me, to let me know it; I was much surprised, you may be sure, at the danger, but my poor wife took from me all the concern for myself to take care of her, for she was frightened to that degree that I thought we should not have been able to keep life in her.

While we were thus under the first hurry and surprise of the thing, suddenly another noise from the deck called us up to look out, and that

was, land! land! The master and I (for by this time I had gotten out of my cabin) ran upon the deck, and there we saw the state of our case very plain; the two rogues that stood after us laid on all the canvass they could carry, and crowded after us amain; but at the distance, as I have said, of about six leagues, rather more than less; on the other hand, the land discovered lay about nine leagues right a-head; so that if the pirates could gain on us, so as to sail three feet for our two, it was evident they would be up with us before we could make the island; if not, we should escape them and get in; but even then we had no great hope to do any more than to run the ship ashore to save our lives; and so, stranding our vessel, spoil both sloop and cargo.

When we were making this calculation, our master came in cheerfully, and told me he had crowded on more sail, and found the sloop carried it very well, and that he did not find the rogues gained much upon us, and that especially, if one of them did not, that was the sloop, he found he could go away from the brigantine as he pleased. Thus we gave them what they call a stern chase, and they worked hard to come up with us till towards noon, when on a sudden they both stood away and gave us over, to our great satisfaction, you may be sure.

We did not, it seems, so easily see the occasion of our deliverance as the pirate did; for while we went spooning away large with the wind for one of the islands, with those two spurs in our heels, that is, with the two thieves at our sterns, there lay an English man-of-war in the road of Nevis, which was the same island from whence they espied the pirates, but the land lying between, we could not see them.

As the man-of-war discovered them, she immediately slipped her cable, and put herself under sail in chase of the rogues, and they as soon perceived her; and, being windward, put themselves upon a wind to escape her; and thus we were delivered, and in half an hour more we knew who was our deliverer, seeing the man of war stretch a-head clear of the island, and stand directly after the pirates, who now crowded from us as fast as they crowded after us before, and thus we got safe into Antigua, after the terrible apprehension we had been in of being taken; our apprehensions of being taken now were much more than they would have been on board a laden ship from or to London, where the most they ordinarily do is to rifle the ship, take what is valuable and portable, and let her go; but ours being but a sloop, and all our loading being good provisions, such as they wanted, to be sure, for their ship's store, they would certainly have carried us away, ship and all, taken out the cargo and the men, and, perhaps, have set the sloop on fire; so that, as to our cargo of gold, it had been inevitably lost, and we hurried away, nobody knows where, and used as such barbarous fellows are wont to use such innocent people as fall into their hands.

But we were now out of their hands, and had the satisfaction, a few days after, to hear that the man-of-war pursued them so close, notwithstanding they changed their course in the night, that the next day they were obliged to separate, and shift for themselves; so the man-of-war took one

of them, namely, the brigantine, and carried her into Jamaica; but the other, viz. the sloop, made her escape.

Being arrived here, we presently disposed of our cargo, and at a tolerably good price; and now the question was, what I should do next? I looked upon myself to be safe here from the fears I had been under of being discovered as a rebel, and so indeed I was; but having been now absent five months, and having sent the ship back with a cargo of rum and molasses, which I knew was wanting in my plantations, I received the same vessel back in return, laden, as at first, with provisions.

With this cargo my wife received a packet from London, from the person whom she had employed (as above) to solicit a pardon, who very honestly wrote to her, that he would not be so unjust to her friend, whoever he was, as to put him to any expense for a private solicitation; for that he was very well assured that his majesty had resolved, from his own native disposition to acts of clemency and mercy to his subjects, to grant a general pardon, with some few exceptions to persons extraordinary, and he hoped her friend was none of the extraordinary persons to be excepted.

This was a kind of life from the dead to us both, and it was resolved that my wife should go back in the sloop directly to Virginia, where she should wait the good news from England, and should send me an account of it as soon as she received it.

Accordingly, she went back, and came safe with the sloop and cargo to our plantation, from whence, after above four months' expectation, behold the sloop came to me again, but empty, and gutted of all her cargo, except about 100 sacks of unground malt which the pirates (not knowing how to brew) knew not what to do with, and so had left in her. However, to my infinite satisfaction, there was a packet of letters from my wife, with another to her from England, as well one from her friend, as one from my own correspondent; both of them intimating that the king had signed an act of grace, that is to say, a general free pardon, and sent me copies of the act, wherein it was manifest I was fully included.

And here let me hint, that, having now, as it were, received my life at the hands of King George, and in a manner so satisfying as it was to me, it made a generous convert of me, and I became sincerely given to the interest of King George; and this from a principle of gratitude, and a sense of my obligation to his majesty for my life; and it has continued ever since, and will certainly remain with me as long as any sense of honour, and of the debt of gratitude, remains with me. I mention this to hint how far, in such cases, justice and duty to ourselves commands us; namely, that to those who graciously give us our lives when it is in their power to take them away, those lives are a debt ever after, and ought to be set apart for their service and interest as long as any of the powers of life remain; for gratitude is a debt that never ceases while the benefit received remains; and if my prince has given me my life, I can never pay the debt fully, unless such a circumstance as this should happen—that the prince's life should be in my

power, and I as generously preserved it ; and yet, neither would the obligation be paid then, because the cases would differ ; thus, that my preserving the life of my prince was my natural duty, whereas the prince on his side (my life being forfeited to him) had no motive but mere clemency and beneficence.

Perhaps this principle may not please all that read it ; but, as I have resolved to guide my actions in things of such a nature by the rules of strict virtue and principles of honour, so I must lay it down as a rule of honour that a man having once forfeited his life to the justice of his prince and to the laws of his country, and receiving it back as a bounty from the grace of his sovereign, such a man can never lift up his hand again against that prince without a forfeiture of his virtue, and an irreparable breach of his honour and duty, and deserves no pardon after it, either from God or man. But all this is a digression ; I leave it as a sketch of the laws of honour, imprinted by the laws of nature in the breast of a soldier, or a man of honour, and which, I believe, all impartial persons, who understand what honour means, will subscribe to.

But I return now to my present circumstances ; my wife was gone, and, with her, all my good fortune and success in business seemed to have forsaken me ; and I had another scene of misery to go through after I had thought that all my misfortunes were over and at an end.

My sloop, as I have told you, arrived, but having met with a pirate rogue in the Gulf of Florida, they took her first, then, finding her cargo to be all eatables, which they always want, they gutted her of all her loading except (as I have said) about 100 sacks of malt, which they really knew not what to do with ; and, which was still worse, they took all the men, except the master and two boys, whom they left on board, just to run the vessel into Antigua, where they said they were bound.

But the most valuable part of my cargo, viz. a packet of letters from England, those they left, to my inexpressible comfort and satisfaction ; and particularly that by those I saw my way open to return to my wife and to my plantations, from which I promised myself never to wander any more.

In order to this, I now embarked myself, and all my effects, on board the sloop, resolving to sail directly to the capes of Virginia. My captain, beating it up to reach the Bahama channel, had not been two days at sea, but we were overtaken with a violent storm, which drove us so far upon the coast of Florida, as that we twice struck upon the shore, and had we struck a third time, we had been inevitably lost. A day or two after that, the storm abating a little, we kept the sea, but found the wind blowing so strong against our passing the gulf, and the sea going so high, we could not hold it any longer ; so we were forced to bear away, and make what shift we could ; in which distress, the fifth day after, we made land, but found it to be Cape —, the north-west part of the isle of Cuba. Here we found ourselves under a necessity to run in under the land for shelter, though we had not come to an anchor, so we had not touched the King of Spain's territories at all. However, in

the morning, we were surrounded with five Spanish barks or boats, such as they call *barcos longos*, full of men ; who instantly boarded us, took us, and carried us into the Havannah, the most considerable port belonging to the Spaniards in that part of the world.

Here the sloop was immediately seized, and in consequence plundered, as any one that knows the Spaniards, especially in that country, will easily guess. Our men were made prisoners, and sent to the common gaol ; and as for myself and the captain, we were carried before the *Alcaide Mayor*, or intendant of the place, as criminals.

I spoke Spanish very well, having served under the King of Spain in Italy, and it stood me in good stead at this time ; for I so effectually argued the injustice of their treatment of me, that the governor, or whatever I ought to call him, frankly owned they ought not to have stopped me, seeing I was in the open sea, pursuing my voyage, and offering no offence to anybody, and had not landed, or offered to land, upon any part of his Catholic majesty's dominions, till I was brought as a prisoner.

It was a great favour that I could obtain thus much ; but I found it easier to obtain an acknowledgment that I had received wrong, than to get any satisfaction for that wrong, and much less was there any hope or prospect of restitution. And I was let know, that I was to wait till an account could be sent to the viceroy of Mexico, and orders could be received back from him how to act in the affair.

I could easily foresee what all this tended to, namely, to a confiscation of the ship and goods by the ordinary process at the place ; and that my being left to the decision of the viceroy of Mexico was but a pretended representation of things to him from the *corregidor*, or judge of the place.

However, I had no remedy but the old insignificant thing called patience ; and this I was better furnished with, because I did not so much value the loss as I made them believe I did ; my greatest apprehensions were, that they would detain me, and keep me as a prisoner for life, and perhaps send me to their mines in Peru, as they have done many, and pretended to do to all that come on shore in their dominions, how great soever the distresses may have been which have brought them thither, and which have been the reason why others, who have been forced on shore, have committed all manner of violence upon the Spaniards in their turn ; resolving, however dear they sold their lives, not to fall into their hands.

But I got better quarter among them than that too, which was (as I have said) much of it owing to my speaking Spanish, and to my telling them how I had fought on so many occasions in the quarrel of his Catholic majesty in Italy ; and, by great good chance, I had the King of France's commission for lieutenant-colonel in the Irish brigade in my pocket, where it was mentioned that the said brigade was then serving in the armies of France, under the orders of his Catholic majesty in Italy.

I failed not to talk up the gallantry and personal bravery of his Catholic majesty on all occasions, and particularly in many battles where

(by the way) his majesty had never been at all, and in some where I had never been myself; but I found I talked to people who knew nothing of the matter, and so anything went down with them, if it did but praise the King of Spain, and talk big of the Spanish cavalry, of which, God knows, there was not one regiment in the army, at least while I was there.

However, this way of managing myself obtained me the liberty of the place, upon my parole that I would not attempt an escape; and I obtained also, which was a great favour, to have 200 pieces of eight allowed me out of the sale of my cargo, for subsistence, till I could negotiate my affairs at Mexico; as for my men, they were maintained as prisoners at the public charge.

Well, after several months' solicitation and attendance, all I could obtain was, the satisfaction of seeing my ship and cargo confiscated, and my poor sailors in a fair way to be sent to the mines. The last I begged off, upon condition of paying 300 pieces of eight for their ransom, and having them set on shore at Antigua, and myself to remain hostage for the payment of the said 300 pieces of eight, and for 200 pieces of eight, which I had already had, and for 500 pieces of eight more for my own ransom, if, upon a return from Mexico, the sentence of confiscation, as above, should be confirmed by the viceroy.

These were hard articles indeed, but I was forced to submit to them: nor, as my circumstances were above all such matters as these as to substance, did I lay it much to heart; the greatest difficulty that lay in my way was, that I knew not how to correspond with my friends in any part of the world, or which way to supply myself with necessaries, or with money for the payment I had agreed to: the Spaniards being so tenacious of their ports, that they allowed nobody to come on shore, or indeed near the shore, from any part of the world, upon pain of seizure and confiscation, as had been my case already.

Upon this difficulty I began to reason with the corregidor, and tell him that he put things upon us that were impossible, and that were inconsistent with the customs of nations; that if a man was a prisoner at Algiers, they would allow him to write to his friends to pay his ransom, and would admit the person that brought it to come and go free, as a public person; and if they did not, no treaty could be carried on for the ransom of a slave, nor the conditions be performed when they are agreed upon.

I brought it then down to my own case, and desired to know, upon supposition that I might, within the time limited in that agreement, have the sums of money ready for the ransom of my men and of myself, how I should obtain to have notice given me of it, or how it should be brought, seeing the very persons bringing that notice, or afterwards presuming to bring the money, might be liable to be seized and confiscated as I had been, and the money itself be taken as a second prize, without redeeming the first.

Though this was so reasonable a request, that it could not be withstood in point of argument, yet the Spaniard shrunk his head into his shoulders, and said, they had not power sufficient to act in such a case; that the king's laws were so severe against the suffering any strangers to set their foot

on his Catholic majesty's dominions in America, and they could not dispense with the least tittle of them without a particular assiento (as they called it) from the consulado, or chamber of commerce, at Seville, or a command under the hand and seal of the viceroy of Mexico.

"How! Seignior Corregidor," said I, with some warmth, and, as it were, with astonishment, "have you not authority enough to sign a passport for an agent, or ambassador, to come on shore here, from any of the King of Great Britain's governors in these parts, under a white flag, or flag of truce, to speak with the governor of this place, or with any other person in the king's name, on the subject of such business as the governor may have to communicate? Why," said I, "if you cannot do that, you cannot act according to the law of nations."

He shook his head, but still said, no, he could not do even so much as that; but here one of the military governors put in and opposed him, and they two differed warmly; the first insisting that their orders were deficient in that particular; but the other said, that, as they were bound up to them, it could not be in their power to act otherwise, and that they were answerable for the ill consequences.

"Well then," says the governor to the corregidor, "now you have kept this Englishman as hostage for the ransom of the men that you have dismissed, suppose he tells you the money is ready, either at such, or such, or such a place, how shall he bring it hither? You will take all the people prisoners that offer to bring it; what must he do? If you say you will send and fetch it, what security shall he have that he shall have his liberty when it is paid you? And why should he trust you so far as to pay the money, and yet remain here a prisoner?"

This carried so much reason with it, that the corregidor knew not what to say, but that so was the law, and he could act no otherwise but by the very letter of it; and here each was so positive, that nothing could determine it but another express to be sent to the viceroy of Mexico.

Upon this, the governor was so kind as to say he would get me a passport for anybody that should bring the money, and any vessel they were in, by his own authority, and for their safe returning, and taking me with them, provided I would answer for it, that they should bring no European, or other goods whatever with them, and should not set foot on shore without his express permission, and provided he did not receive orders to the contrary in the meantime from any superior hand; and that even, in such a case, they should have liberty to go back freely from whence they came, under the protection of a white flag.

I bowed very respectfully to the governor in token of my acknowledging his justice, and then presented my humble petition to him, that he would allow my men to take their own sloop; that it should be rated at a certain value, and would be obliged they should bring specie on board with them, and that they should either pay it for the sloop, or leave the sloop again.

Then he inquired to what country I would send them for so much money, and if I could assure him of the payment; and, when he understood it was no farther than to Virginia, he seemed very easy; and, to satisfy the corregidor, who still

stood off, adhering, with a true Spanish stiffness, to the letter of the law, the said governor calls out to me: "Seignior," says he, "I shall make all this matter easy to you if you agree to my proposal; your men shall have the sloop on condition you shall be my hostage for her return; but they shall not take her as your sloop, though she shall in the effect be yours on the payment of the money; but you shall take two of my men on board with you upon your parole for their safe return, and when she returns she shall carry his Catholic majesty's colours, and be entered as one of the sloops belonging to the Havannah; one of the Spaniards to be commander, and to be called by such a name as he shall appoint.

This the corregidor came into immediately, and said this was within the letter of the king's commanderie, or precept, upon condition, however, that she should bring no European goods on board. I desired it might be put in other words; namely, that she should bring no European goods on shore. It cost two days' debate between these two, whether it should pass, that no European goods should be brought in the ship, or brought on shore; but having found means to intimate that I meant not to trade there, but would not be tied from bringing a small present to a certain person, in acknowledgment of favours; I say, after I had found room to place such a hint right, where it should be placed, I found it was all made easy to me, and it was all agreed presently that, after the ransom was paid, and the ship also bought, it was but reasonable that I should have liberty to trade to any other country, not in the dominions of the king of Spain, so to make up my losses; and that it would be hard to oblige my men to bring away the vessel light, and so lose the voyage, and add so much to our former misfortunes; that so long as no goods were brought on shore in the country belonging to his Catholic majesty's dominions, which was all that they had to defend, the rest was no business of theirs.

Now I began to see my way through this unhappy business, and to find that, as money would bring me out of it, so money would bring it to turn to a good account another way; wherefore I sent the sloop away under Spanish colours, and called her the *Nuestra Signiora de la Val de Grace*, commanded by Signior Giraldo de Nesma, one of the two Spaniards.

With the sloop I sent letters to my wife, and to my chief manager, with orders to load her back. I there directed, viz., that she should have 200 barrels of flour, 50 barrels of pease, and to answer my other views, I ordered 100 bales to be made up of all sorts of European goods, such as not my own warehouses only would supply, but such as they could be supplied with in other warehouses, where I knew they had credit for anything.

In this cargo I directed all the richest and most valuable English goods they had, or could get, whether linen, woollen, or silk, to be made up; the coarser things, such as we use in Virginia for clothing of servants, such I ordered to be left behind, for the use of the plantation. In less than seven weeks time the sloop returned, and I, that failed not every day to look out for her on the strand, was the first that spied her at a distance,

and knew her by her sails, but afterwards more particularly by her signals.

When she returned, she came into the road with her Spanish ancient flying, and came to an anchor, as directed; but I, that had seen her some hours before, went directly to the governor, and gave him an account of her being come, and fain I would have obtained the favour to have his excellency (as I called him) go on board in person, that he might see how well his orders were executed; but he declined that, saying, he could not justify going off the island, which was, in short, to go out of his command of the fort, which he could not re-assume without a new commission from the king's own hand.

Then I asked leave to go on board myself, which he granted me, and I brought on shore with me the full sum in gold, which I had conditioned to pay for the ransom, both of my men and myself, and for the purchase of the sloop; and as I obtained leave to land in a different place, so my governor sent his son with six soldiers to receive and convey me with the money to the castle, where he commanded, and therein to his own house. I had made up the money in heavy parcels, as if it had been all silver, and gave it to two of my men, who belonged to the sloop, with orders to them that they should make it seem, by their carrying it, to be much heavier than it was; this was done to conceal three parcels of goods, which I had packed up with the money, to make a present to the governor, as I intended.

When the money was carried in and laid down on the table, the governor ordered my men to withdraw, and I gave the soldiers each of them a piece of eight to drink, for which they were very thankful, and the governor seemed very well pleased with it also. Then I asked him, pleasantly, if he would please to receive the money: he said, no; he would not receive it but in the presence of the corregidor and the other people concerned. Then I begged his excellency (as I called him) to give me leave to open the parcels in his presence, for that I would do myself the honour to acknowledge his favours in the best manner I could.

He told me, no; he could not see anything be brought on shore but the money; but if I had brought anything on shore for my own use, he would not be so strict as to inquire into that, so I might do what I pleased myself.

Upon that I went into the place, shut myself in, and having opened all the things, and placed them to my mind—there were five little parcels, as follows:—

- 1, 2. A piece of twenty yards fine English broadcloth, five yards of black, five yards of crimson, in one parcel; and the rest of fine mixtures in another parcel.
3. A piece of thirty ells of fine Holland linen.
4. A piece of eighteen yards of fine English brocaded silk.
5. A piece of black Colchester baize.

After I had placed these by themselves, I found means, with some seeming difficulties, and much grimace, to bring him to know that this was intended for a present to himself. After all that part was over, and he had seemed to accept them,

he signified, after walking a hundred turns and more in the room by them, by throwing his hat, which was under his arm, upon them, and making a very stiff bow; I say, after this he seemed to take his leave of me for awhile, and I waited in an outer room; when I was called in again, I found that he had looked over all the particulars, and caused them to be removed out of the place.

But when I came again, I found him quite another man; he thanked me for my present; told me it was a present fit to be given to a viceroy of Mexico, rather than to a mere governor of the fort; that he had done me no services suitable to such a return, but that he would see if he could not oblige me farther before I left the place.

After our compliments were over, I obtained leave to have the corregidor sent for, who accordingly came, and in his presence the money stipulated for the ransom of the ship, and of the men, was paid.

But here the corregidor showed that he would be as severely just on my side as on theirs, for he would not admit the money as a ransom for us as prisoners, but as a deposit for so much as we were to be ransomed for, if the sentence of our being made prisoners should be confirmed.

And then the governor and corregidor, joining together, sent a representation of the whole affair, at least we were told so, to the viceroy of Mexico; and it was privately hinted to me that I would do well to stay for the return of the aviso, that is, a boat which they send over the bay to Vera Cruz, with an express to Mexico, whose return is generally performed in two months.

I was not unwilling to stay, having secret hints given me that I should find some way to go with my sloop towards Vera Cruz myself, where I might have an occasion to trade privately for the cargo which I had on board; but it came about a nearer way—for, about two days after this money being deposited (as above), the governor's son invited himself on board my sloop, where I told him I would be very glad to see him, and whither, at the same time, he brought with him three considerable merchants, Spaniards, two of them not inhabitants of the place.

When they were on board, they were very merry and pleasant, and I treated them so much to their satisfaction that, in short, they were not well able to go on shore for that night, but were content to take a nap on some carpets, which I caused to be spread for them; and that the governor's son might think himself well used, I brought him a very good silk night-gown, with a crimson velvet night-cap, to lie down in, and in the morning desired him to accept of them for his use, which he took very kindly.

During that merry evening one of the merchants, not so touched with drink as the young gentleman, nor so as not to mind what it was he came about, takes an occasion to withdraw out of the great cabin, and enter into a parley with the master of the sloop, in order to trade for what European goods we had on board. The master took the hint, and gave me notice of what had passed, and I gave him instructions what to say, and what to do; according to which instructions they made but few words, bought the goods

for about 5,000 pieces of eight, and carried them away themselves, and at their own hazards.

This was very agreeable to me, for now I began to see I should lick myself whole by the sale of this cargo, and should make myself full amends of Jack Spaniard for all the injuries he had done me in the first of these things; with this view I gave my master, or captain of the sloop, instructions for sale of all the rest of the goods, and left him to manage by himself, which he did so well that he sold the whole cargo the next day to the three Spaniards, with this additional circumstance, that they desired the sloop might carry the goods, as they were on board, to such part of the terra firma as they should appoint between the Honduras and the coast of La Vera Cruz.

It was difficult for me to make good this part of the bargain; but finding the price agreed for would very well answer the voyage, I consented; but then how to send the sloop away and remain among the Spaniards when I was now a clear man, this was a difficulty too, as it was also to go away and not wait for a favourable answer from the viceroy of Mexico to the representation of the governor and the corregidor; however, at last I resolved to go in the sloop, fall out what would; so I went to the governor and represented to him, that being now to expect a favourable answer from Mexico, it would be a great loss to me to keep the sloop there all the while, and I desired his leave for me to go with the sloop to Antigua to sell and dispose of the cargo, which he well knew I was obliged not to bring on shore there at the Havannah, and which would be in danger of being spoiled by lying so long on board.

This I obtained readily, with licence to come again into the road, and (for myself only) to come on shore, in order to hear the viceroy's pleasure in my case which was depending.

CHAPTER XIX.

I MAKE A VERY PROFITABLE VOYAGE—EMBARK ON A SIMILAR ADVENTURE ACCOMPANIED BY MY WIFE—I FIT UP MY SLOOP FOR DEFENCE AND SAIL FOR THE WEST INDIES—GREAT SUCCESS OF MY VOYAGE—AFTER VARIOUS CHANGES OF FORTUNE I RETURN TO ENGLAND WEALTHY, WHERE MY WIFE JOINS ME—CONCLUSION.

HAVING thus obtained a licence or passport for the sloop and myself, I put to sea with the three Spanish merchants on board with me. They told me they did not live at the Havannah, but it seems one of them did; and some rich merchants of the Havannah, or of the parts thereabouts in the Havannah, were concerned with them; for they brought on board, the night we put to sea, a great sum of money in pieces of eight; and, as I understood afterwards, that these merchants bought the cargo of me, and, though they gave me a very great price for every thing, yet that they sold them again to the merchants whom they procured on the coast of Vera Cruz at a prodigious advantage; so that they got above a hundred per cent. after I had gained very sufficiently before.

We sailed from the Havannah directly for Vera Cruz. I scrupled venturing into the port at

first, and was very uneasy lest I should have another Spanish trick put upon me; but as we sailed under Spanish colours, they showed us such authentic papers from the proper officers, that there was no room to fear anything.

However, when we came in sight of the Spanish coast, I found that they had a secret clandestine trade to carry on, which, though it was secret, yet they knew the way of it so well that it was but a mere road to them. The case was this: we stood close under shore in the night about six leagues to the north of the port, where two of the three merchants went ashore in the boat, and in three hours or thereabouts they came on board again with five canoes and seven or eight merchants more with them, and as soon as they were on board we stood off to sea, so that by day-light we were quite out of sight of land.

I ought to have mentioned before that as soon as we were put to sea from the Havannah, and during our voyage into the Gulf of Mexico, which was eight days, we rummaged the whole cargo, and opening every bale as far as the Spanish merchants desired, we trafficked with them for the whole cargo except the barrels of flour and pease.

This cargo was considerable in itself, for my wife's account or invoice, drawn out by my tutor and manager, amounted to 2,684*l.* 10*s.*, and I sold the whole, including what had been sold in the evening, when they were on board first (as I have said), for 38,593 pieces of eight, and they allowed me 1,200 pieces of eight for the freight of the sloop, and made my master and the seamen very handsome presents besides, and they were well able to do this too, as you shall hear presently.

After we were gotten out of sight of land the Spaniards fell to their traffic, and our three merchants opened their shop, as they might say, for it was their shop; as to me, I had nothing to do with it, or with their goods; they drove their bargain in a few hours, and at night we stood in again for the shore, when the five canoes carried a great part of the goods on shore, and brought the money back in specie, as well for that they carried as for all the rest, and at their second voyage carried all away clear, leaving me nothing on board but my barrels of flour and peas, which they bade me money for too, but not so much as I expected.

Here I found that my Spanish merchants made above 70,000 pieces of eight of the cargo I had sold them, upon which I had a great mind to be acquainted with those merchants on the Terra Firma who were the last customers; for it presently occurred to me that I could easily go with a sloop from Virginia, and, taking a cargo directed on purpose from England of about 5 or 6,000*l.*, I might easily make four of one. With this view I began to make a kind of an acquaintance with the Spaniards who came in the canoes, and we became so intimate that at last, with the consent of the three Spaniards of the Havannah, I accepted an invitation on shore to their house, which was a little villa, or rather plantation, where they had an ingenio, that is to say, a sugar-house, or sugar-work, and there they treated us all like princes.

I took occasion at this invitation to say, that if I knew how to find my way thither again, I could visit them once or twice a year very much to their advantage and mine too. One of the Spaniards took the hint, and, taking me into a room by myself, "Signor," says he, "if you have any thoughts of coming to this place again, I shall give you such directions as you shall be sure not to mistake, and, upon either coming on shore in the night, and coming up to this place, or upon making the signals which we shall give you, we will not fail to come off to you, and bring money enough for any cargaison (so they call it) that you shall bring."

I took all their directions, took their paroles of honour for my safety, and, without taking any notice to my first three merchants, laid up all the rest in my most secret thoughts, resolving to visit them again in as short a time as I could; and thus, having in about five days finished all our merchandising, we stood off to sea, and made for the island of Cuba, where I set my three Spaniards on shore with all their treasure, to their hearts' content, and made the best of my way to Antigua, where, with all the dispatch I could, I sold my 200 barrels of flour, which, however, had suffered a little from the length of the voyage; and, having laden the sloop with rum, molasses, and sugar, I set sail again for the Havannah.

I was now uneasy indeed for fear of the pirates, for I was a rich ship, having, besides goods, nearly 40,000 pieces of eight in silver.

When I came back to the Havannah I went on shore to wait on the governor and the corregidor, and to hear what return was had from the viceroy, and had the good fortune to know that the viceroy had disallowed that part of the sentence which condemned us as prisoners, and put a ransom on us, which he insisted could not be but in time of open war; but as to the confiscation, he deferred it to the chamber or council of commerce at Seville, and the appeal to the king, if such be preferred.

This was, in some measure, a very good piece of justice in the viceroy; for, as we had not been on shore, we could not be legally imprisoned; and for the rest, I believe if I would have given myself the trouble to have gone to Old Spain, and have preferred my claim to both the ship and the cargo, I had recovered them also.

However, as it was, I was now a freeman without ransom, and my men were also free, so that all the money which I had deposited, as above, was returned me; and thus I took my leave of the Havannah, and made the best of my way for Virginia, where I arrived after a year and a half's absence; and, notwithstanding all my losses, came home above 40,000 pieces of eight richer than I went out.

As to the old affair about the Preston prisoners, that was quite at an end, for the general pardon passed in parliament made me perfectly easy, and I took no more thought about that part. I might here very usefully observe how necessary and inseparable a companion fear is to guilt; it was but a few months before that the face of a poor Preston transport would have frightened me out of my wits; to avoid them I feigned myself sick, and wrapped my legs in flannel, as if I had the gout; whereas now they were no more sur-

prise to me, nor was I any more uneasy to see them, than I was to see any other of the servants of the plantations.

And that which was more particular than all was, that though before I fancied every one of them would know me, and remember me, and consequently betray me and accuse me, now, though I was frequently among them, and saw most, if not all of them, one time or other, nay, though I remembered several of their faces, and even some of their names, yet there was not a man of them that ever took the least notice of me, or of having known or seen me before.

It would have been a singular satisfaction to me if I could have known so much as this of them before, and had saved me all the fatigue, hazard, and misfortune that befel me afterwards; but man, a short-sighted creature, sees so little before him that he can neither anticipate his joys nor prevent his disasters, be they ever so little a distance from him.

I had now my head full of my West India project, and I began to make provision for it accordingly. I had a full account of what European goods were most acceptable in New Spain; and, to add to my speed, I knew that the Spaniards were in great want of European goods, the galleons from Old Spain having been delayed to an unusual length of time for the two years before. Upon this account, not having time, as I thought, to send to England for a cargo of such goods as were most proper, I resolved to load my sloop with tobacco and rum (the last I brought from Antigua), and go away to Boston in New England, and to New York, and see if I could pick up a cargo to my mind.

Accordingly I took 20,000 pieces of eight in money, and my sloop laden as above, and taking my wife with me, we went away. It was an odd and new thing at New England to have such a quantity of goods bought up there by a sloop from Virginia, and especially to be paid for in ready money, as I did for most of my goods; and this set all the trading heads upon the stretch, to inquire what and who I was; to which they had an immediate and direct answer, that I was a very considerable planter in Virginia, and that was all any of my men on board the sloop could tell of me, and enough too.

Well, it was the cause of much speculation among them, as I heard at second and third hands; some said, he is certainly going to Jamaica; others said, he is going to trade with the Spaniards; others, that he is going to the South Sea, and turn half merchant, half pirate, on the coast of Chili and Peru; some one thing, some another, as the men-gossips found their imaginations directed; but we went on with our business, and laid out 12,000 pieces of eight, besides our cargo of rum and tobacco, and went from thence to New York, where we laid out the rest.

The chief of the cargo we bought here was, fine English broad cloth, serges, druggets, Norwich stuffs, baize, says, and all kinds of woollen manufactures, as also linen of all sorts, a very great quantity, and nearly 1,000*l.* in fine silks of several sorts.

Being thus freighted, I came back safe to Virginia, and, with very little addition to my

cargo, began to prepare for my West India voyage.

I should have mentioned that I had built upon my sloop, and raised her a little, so that I had made her carry 12 guns, and fitted her up for defence, for I thought she should not be attacked and boarded by a few Spanish barco longos, as she was before; and I found the benefit of it afterwards, as you shall hear.

We set sail the beginning of August, and, as I had twice been attacked by pirates in passing the Gulf of Florida, or among the Bahama islands, I resolved, though it was further about, to stand off to sea, and so keep, as I believed it would be, out of the way of them.

We passed the tropic, as near as we could guess, just where the famous Sir William Phipps fished up the silver from the Spanish plate wreck, and, standing in between the islands, kept our course W. by S., keeping under the isle of Cuba, and so running away trade, as they call it, into the great Gulf of Mexico, leaving the island of Jamaica to the S. and S.E., by this means avoiding, as I thought, all the Spaniards of Cuba or the Havannah.

As we passed the west point of Cuba three Spanish boats came off to board us, as they had done before on the other side of the island; but they found themselves mistaken, we were too many for them, for we ran out our guns, which they did not perceive before, and, firing three or four shot at them, they retired.

The next morning they appeared again, being five large boats and a bark, and gave us chase; but we then spread our Spanish colours, and brought to to fight them, at which they retired, so we escaped this danger by the addition of force which we had made to our vessel.

We now had a fair run for our port, and, as I had taken very good directions, I stood away to the north of St John d'Uloa, and then running in for the shore, found the place appointed exactly; and, going on shore, I sent the master of my sloop directly to the ingenio, where he found the Spanish merchant at his house, and where he dwelt like a little sovereign prince, who welcomed him; and understanding that I was in a particular boat at the creek, as appointed, he came immediately with him, and bringing another Spaniard from a villa not far off, in about four hours they were with me.

They would have persuaded me to go up to their houses, and have stayed there till the next night, ordering the sloop to stand off as usual, but I would not consent to let the sloop go to sea without me, so we went on board directly; and, as the night was almost run, stood off to sea; so, by daybreak, we were quite out of sight of land.

Here we began, as I said before, to open shop, and I found the Spaniards were extremely surprised at seeing such a cargo, I mean so large, for, in short, they had cared not if it had been four times as much. They soon ran through the contents of all the bales we opened that night, and, with very little dispute about the price, they approved and accepted all that I showed them; but, as they said they had not money for any greater parcel, they agreed to go on shore the next evening for more money.

However, we spent the remainder of the night

in looking over and making inventories or invoices of the rest of the cargo, that so they might see the goods, know the value, and know what more money they had to bring.

Accordingly, in the evening, we stood in for the shore, and they carried part of the cargo with them, borrowing the sloop's boat to assist them; and after they had lodged and landed the goods, they came on board again, bringing three of the other merchants with them, who were concerned before, and money enough to clear the whole ship, ay, and ship and all, if I had been willing to sell her.

To give them their due, they dealt with me like men of honour; they were indeed sensible that they bought everything much cheaper of me than they did before of the three merchants of the Havannah; these merchants having been, as it were, the hucksters, and bought them first of me, and then advanced, as I have said, above 100 per cent. upon the price they gave me; but yet, at the same time, I advanced in the price much more now than I did before to the said Spaniards, nor was it without reason, because of the length and risk of the voyage, both out and home, which now lay wholly upon me.

In short, I sold the whole cargo to them, and for which I received near 200,000 pieces of eight in money besides which, when they came on board the second time, they brought all their boats loaden with fresh provisions, hogs, sheep, fowls, sweetmeats, &c., enough for my whole voyage, all which they made a present of to me, and thus we finished our traffic to our mutual satisfaction, and parted with promises of farther commerce, and with assurances on their part of all acts of friendship and assistance that I could desire, if any disaster should befall me in any of these adventures; as indeed was not improbable, considering the strictness and severity of their customs, in case any people were taken trading upon their coast.

I immediately called a council with my little crew which way we should go back; the mate was for beating it up to windward, and getting up to Jamaica; but, as we were too rich to run any risks, and were to take the best course to get safe home, I thought, and so did the master of the sloop, that our best way was to coast about the bay, and keeping the shore of Florida on board, make the shortest course to the gulf, and so make for the coast of Carolina, and to put in there, into the first port we could, and wait for any English men-of-war that might be on the coast to secure us to the capes.

This was the best course we could take, and proved very safe to us, excepting that, about the Cape of Florida, and on the coast in the gulf, till we came to the height of St Augustine, we were several times visited with the Spaniards' barco longos and small barks, in hopes of making a prize of us; but carrying Spanish colours deceived most of them, and a good tire of guns kept the rest at a distance, so that we came safe, though once or twice in danger of being run on shore by a storm of wind, I say, we came safe into Charles River in Carolina.

From thence I found means to send a letter home, with an account to my wife of my good success; and having an account that the coast

was clear of pirates, though there were no men-of-war in the place, I ventured forward, and, in short, got safe into the bay of Chesapeake, that is to say, within the capes of Virginia, and in a few days more to my own house, having been absent three months and four days.

Never did any vessel on this side the world make a better voyage in so short a time than I made in this sloop; for, by the most moderate computation, I cleared, in these three months, 25,000*l.* sterling in ready money, all the charges of the voyages to New England being reckoned up.

Now was my time to have sat still contented with what I had got, if it was in the power of man to know when his good fortune was at the highest; and more, my prudent wife gave it as her opinion that I should sit down satisfied, and push the affair no farther, and earnestly persuaded me to do so; but I that had a door open, as I thought, to immense treasure, that had found the way to have a stream of the golden rivers of Mexico flow into my plantation of Virginia, and saw no hazards more than what were common to all such things in the prosecution; I say, to me these things looked with another face, and I dreamed of nothing but millions and hundreds of thousands; so, contrary to all moderate measures, I pushed on for another voyage, and laid up a stock of all sorts of goods that I could get together proper for the trade: I did not indeed go again to New England, for I had by this time a very good cargo come from England, pursuant to a commission I had sent several months before; so that, in short, my cargo, according to the invoice now made out, amounted to above 10,000*l.* sterling first cost, and was a cargo so sorted, and so well bought, that I expected to have advanced upon them much more in proportion than I had done in the cargo before.

With these expectations we began our second voyage in April, being about five months after our return from the first; we had not indeed the same good speed, even in our beginning, as we had at first; for, though we stood off to sea about 60 leagues, in order to be out of the way of the pirates, yet we had not been above five days at sea but we were visited and rifled by two pirate barks, who, being bound to the northward, that is to say, the banks of Newfoundland, took away all our provisions, and all our ammunition and small arms, and left us very ill provided to pursue our voyage; and, it being so near home, we thought it advisable to come about, and stand in for the capes again, to restore our condition, and furnish ourselves with stores of all kinds for our voyage; this took us up about ten days, and we put to sea again; as for our cargo, the pirates did not meddle with it, being all bale goods, which they had no present use for, and knew not what to do with, if they had them.

We met with no other adventure worth naming till, by the same course that we had steered before, we came into the Gulf of Mexico; and the first misfortune we met with here was, that, on the back of Cuba, crossing towards the point of the Terra Firma, on the coast of Yucatan, we had sight of the flota of New Spain, that is, of the ships which come from Carthagena or Porto Bello, and go to the Havannah, in order to pursue their voyage to Europe.

They had with them one Spanish man-of-war and three frigates; two of the frigates gave us chase; but, it being just at the shutting in of the day, we soon lost sight of them, and, standing to the north, cross the bay of Mexico, as if we were going to the mouth of Mississippi, they lost us quite, and in a few days more we made the bottom of the bay, being the port we were bound for.

We stood in, as usual, in the night, and gave notice to our friends; but instead of their former readiness to come on board, they gave us notice that we had been seen in the bay, and that notice of us was given at Vera Cruz and at other places, and that several frigates were in quest of us, and that three more would be cruising the next morning in search of us.

We could not conceive how this could be; but we were afterwards told that those three frigates, having lost sight of us in the night, had made in for the shore, and had given the alarm of us as of privateers.

Be that as it would, we had nothing to do but to consider what course to take immediately. The Spanish merchants' advice was very good if we had taken it, namely, to have unladen as many of our bales as we could that very night, by the help of our boat and their canoes, and to make the best of our way in the morning to the north of the gulf, and take our fate.

This my skipper, or master, thought very well of, but, when we began to put it in execution, we were so confused, and in such a hurry, being not resolved what course to take, that we could not get out above sixteen bales of all sorts of goods before it began to be too light, and it behoved us to sail; at last the master proposed a medium, which was, that I should go on shore in the next boat, in which were five bales of goods more, and that I should stay on shore, if the Spanish merchants would undertake to conceal me, and let them go to sea and take their chance.

The Spanish merchants readily undertook to protect me, especially it being so easy to have me pass for a natural Spaniard, and so they took me on shore with twenty-one bales of my goods, and the sloop stood off to sea. If they met with any enemies, they were to stand in for the shore the next night, and we failed not to look well out for them, but to no purpose, for the next day they were discovered and chased by two Spanish frigates; they stood from them, and the sloop being an excellent sailer, gained so much that they would certainly have been clear of them when night came on, but a small picaroon of a sloop kept them company in spite of all they could do, and two or three times offered to engage them, thereby to give time to the rest to come up; but the sloop kept her way, and gave them a chase of three days and nights, and having a fresh gale of wind at S. W. till she made the Rio Grand, or, as the French call it, the Mississippi, and there finding no remedy, they ran the vessel on shore, not far from the fort which the Spaniards call Pensacola, garrisoned at that time with French. Our men would have entered the river as a port, but having no pilot, and the current of the river being strong against them, the sloop ran on shore, and the men shifted as well as they could in their boats.

I was now in a very odd condition indeed, though my circumstances were in one sense very happy, namely, that I was in the hands of my friends, for such really they were, and so faithful, that no men could have been more careful of their own safety than they were of mine; and that which added to the comfort of my new condition was the produce of my goods, which were gotten on shore by their own advice and direction, which was a fund sufficient to maintain me with them as long as I could be supposed to stay there; and the first merchant to whose house I went assured me, that he would give me credit for 20,000 pieces of eight, if I had occasion for it.

My greatest affliction was, that I knew not how to convey news to my wife of my present condition, and how, among the many misfortunes of the voyage, I was yet safe, and in good hands.

But there was no remedy for this part but the great universal cure of all incurable sorrows, viz. patience; and indeed I had a great deal of reason, not for patience only, but thankfulness, if I had known the circumstances which I should have been reduced to, if I had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; the best of which that I could reasonably have expected, had been, to have been sent to the mines, or, which was ten thousand times worse, the inquisition; or, if I had escaped the Spaniards, as my men in the sloop did, the hardships they were exposed to, the dangers they were in, and the miseries they suffered, were still worse, in wandering among savages, and the more savage French, who plundered and stripped them, instead of relieving and supplying them in their long wilderness journey over the mountains, till they reached the S. W. parts of South Carolina, a journey which indeed deserves to have an account to be given of it by itself; I say, all these things, had I known of them, would have let me see that I had a great deal of reason, not only to be patient under my present circumstances, but satisfied and thankful.

Here, as I said, my patron, the merchant, entertained me like a prince; he made my safety his peculiar care; and, while we were in any expectation of the sloop being taken, and brought into Vera Cruz, he kept me retired at a little house in a wood, where he kept a fine aviary of all sorts of American birds, and out of which he yearly sent some as presents to his friends in Old Spain.

This retreat was necessary, lest, if the sloop should be taken and brought into Vera Cruz, and the men be brought in prisoners, they should be tempted to give an account of me as their supercargo or merchant, and where both I and the twenty-one bales of goods were sent on shore. As for the goods, he made sure work with them, for they were all opened, taken out of the bales, and separated, and, being mixed with other European goods which came by the galleons, were made up in new packages, and sent to Mexico in several parcels, some to one merchant, some to another; so that it was impossible to have found them out, even if they had had information of them.

In this posture, and in apprehension of some bad news of the sloop, I remained at the villa, or house in the vale, for so they called it, about five weeks; I had two negroes appointed to wait on

me, one of whom was my purveyor, or my cook, the other my valet; and my friend, the master of all, came constantly every evening to visit and sup with me, when we walked out together into the aviary, which was, of its kind, the most beautiful thing that ever I saw in the world.

After above five weeks' retreat of this kind, he had good intelligence of the fate of the sloop, viz. that the two frigates and a sloop had chased her till she ran on ground near the fort of Pensacola, that they saw her stranded and broke in pieces by the force of the waves, the men making their escape in their boat. This news was brought, it seems, by the said frigates to La Vera Cruz, where my friend went on purpose to be fully informed, and received the account from one of the captains of the frigates, and discoursed with him at large about it.

I was better pleased with the loss of the sloop and all my cargo, the men being got on shore and escaping, than I should have been with the saving the whole cargo if the men had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, for now I was safe, whereas then, it being supposed they would have been forced to some discovery about me, I must have fled, and should have found it very difficult to have made my escape, even with all that my friends could have done for me too.

But now I was perfectly easy, and my friend, who thought confining me at the house in the vale no longer needful, brought me publicly home to his dwelling-house as a merchant come from Old Spain by the last galleons, and who, having been at Mexico, was come to reside with him.

Here I was dressed like a Spaniard of the better sort, had three negroes to attend me, and was called Don Ferdinand de Villa Moresa, in Castilia Feja, that is to say, in Old Castile.

Here I had nothing to do but to walk about, and ride out into the woods, and come home again to enjoy the pleasantest and most agreeable retirement in the world; for certainly no men in the world live in such splendour, and wallow in such immense treasures, as the merchants of this place.

They live, as I have said, in a kind of country retreat at their villas, or, as we would call them in Virginia, their plantations, and, as they call them, their ingenios, where they make their indigo and their sugars; but they have also houses and warehouses at Vera Cruz, where they go twice a year, when the galleons arrive from Old Spain, and when these galleons re-lade for their return; and it was surprising to me, when I went to La Vera Cruz with them, to see what prodigious consignments they had from their correspondents in Old Spain, and with what dispatch they managed them; for no sooner were the cases, packages, and bales of European goods brought into their warehouses, but they were opened, and repacked by porters and packers of their own, that is to say, negroes and Indian servants; and being made up into new bales and separate parcels, were all dispatched again, by horses, for Mexico, and directed to their several merchants there, and the remainder carried home, as above, to the ingenio, where they lived, which was near thirty English miles from Vera Cruz, so that, in about twenty days, their warehouses were again entirely free: at La Vera Cruz, all their business

was over there, and they and all their servants retired; for they stayed no longer there than needs must, because of the unhealthiness of the air.

After the goods were thus dispatched, it was equally surprising to see how soon, and with what exactness, the merchants of Mexico, to whom those cargoes were separately consigned, made the return, and how it came all in silver or in gold, so that their warehouses, in a few months, were piled up, even to the ceiling, with chests of pieces of eight, and with bars of silver.

It is impossible to describe, in the narrow compass of this work, with what exactness and order, and yet with how little hurry, and not the least confusion, everything was done, and how soon a weight of business of such importance and value was negotiated and finished, the goods repacked, invoices made, and everything dispatched and gone; so that, in about five weeks, all the goods they had received from Europe by the galleons were disposed of, and entered in their journals, to the proper account of their merchants, to whom they were respectively consigned; from thence they had book-keepers, who drew out the invoices, and wrote the letters, which the merchant himself only read over and signed, and then other hands copied all again into other books.

I can give no estimate of the value of the several consignments they received by that flota; but I remember that when the galleons went back they shipped on board, at several times, 1,300,000 pieces of eight in specie, besides 180 bales or bags of cochineal, and about 300 bales of indigo, but they were so modest that they said this was for themselves and their friends; that is to say, the several merchants of Mexico consigned large quantities of bullion to them to ship on board and consign according to their order; but then I know also, that, for all that, they were allowed commission, so that their gain was very considerable even that way also.

I had been with them at La Vera Cruz, and came back again before we came to an account for the goods which I had brought on shore in the 21 bales, which, by the account we brought them (leaving a piece of everything to be governed by our last market), amounted to 8,570 pieces of eight, all which money my friend, for so I must now call him, brought me in specie, and caused his negroes to pile them up in one corner of my apartment; so that I was indeed still very rich, all things considered.

There was a bale which I had caused to be packed up on purpose in Virginia, and which, indeed, I had written for from England, being chiefly of fine English broad-cloths, silk, silk-druggets, and fine stuffs of several kinds, with some very fine Hollands, which I set apart for presents as I should find occasion; and as, whatever hurry I was in at carrying the 21 bales of goods on shore, I did not forget to let this bale be one of them, so, when we came to a sale for the rest, I told them that this was a pack with clothes and necessaries for my own wearing and use, and so desired it might not be opened with the rest, which was accordingly observed, and that bale or pack was brought into my apartment.

This bale was, in general, made up of several smaller bales, which I had directed, so that I might have room to make presents, equally sorted, as the circumstance might direct me. However, they were all considerable, and I reckoned the whole bale cost me nearly 200*l.* sterling in England; and, though my present circumstances required some limits to my bounty in making presents, yet the obligation I was under being so much greater, especially to this friendly generous Spaniard, I thought I could not do better than, by opening two of the smaller bales, join them together, and make my gift something suitable to my benefactor, and to the respect he had shown me; accordingly I took two bales, and, laying the goods together, the contents were as follows:—

Two pieces of fine English broad-cloth, the finest that could be got in London, divided, as was that which I gave to the governor at the Havannah, into fine crimson in grain, fine light mixtures, and fine black.

Four pieces of fine Holland of 7*s.* to 8*s.* per ell in London.

Twelve pieces of fine silk drugget and duroys for men's wear.

Six pieces of broad silks, two damasks, two brocaded silks, and two mantuas.

With a box of ribands and a box of lace. The last cost about 40*l.* sterling in England.

This handsome parcel I laid open in my apartment, and brought him up stairs one morning on pretence to drink chocolate with me, which he ordinarily did, when, as we drank chocolate, and were merry, I said to him, though I had sold him almost all my cargo and taken his money, yet the truth was that I ought not to have sold them to him, but to have laid them all at his feet, for that it was to his direction I owed the having anything saved at all.

He smiled, and, with a great deal of friendship in his face, told me that not to have paid me for them would have been to have plundered a shipwreck, which had been worse than to have robbed an hospital.

At last I told him I had two requests to make to him which must not be denied. I told him I had a small present to make him which I would give him a reason why he should not refuse to accept; and the second request I would make after the first was granted. He said he would have accepted my present from me if I had not been under a disaster; but, as it was, it would be cruel and ungenerous. But I told him he was obliged to hear my reason for his accepting it. Then I told him that this parcel was made up for him by name by my wife and I in Virginia, and his name set on the marks of the bale, and accordingly I showed him the marks, which was indeed on one of the bales, but I had doubled it now (as above), so that I told him these were his own proper goods; and, in short, I pressed him so to receive them that he made a bow, and I said no more, but ordered my negro, that is to say, his negro, that waited on me, to carry them all except the two boxes into his apartments, but would not let him see the particulars till they were all carried away.

After he was gone about a quarter of an hour he came in raving, and almost swearing, and in a

great passion; but I could easily see he was exceedingly pleased; and told me, had he known the particulars, he would never have suffered them to have gone as he did, and at last used the very same compliment that the governor at the Havannah used, viz., that it was a present fit for a viceroy of Mexico rather than for him.

When he had done he then told me he remembered I had two requests to him, and that one was not to be told till after the first was granted, and he hoped now I had something to ask of him that was equal to the obligation I had laid upon him.

I told him I knew it was not the custom in Spain for a stranger to make presents to the ladies, and that I would not in the least doubt but that, whatever the ladies of his family required as proper for their use, he would appropriate to them as he thought fit; but that there were two little boxes in the parcel, which my wife, with her own hand, had directed to the ladies; and I begged he would be pleased, with his own hand, to give them in my wife's name, as directed; that I was only the messenger, but that I could not be honest if I did not discharge the trust reposed in me.

These were the two boxes of ribands and lace, which, knowing the nicety of the ladies in Spain, or rather of the Spaniards about their women, I had made my wife pack up, and directed with her own hand, as I have said.

He smiled, and told me it was true the Spaniards did not ordinarily admit so much freedom among the women as other nations; but he hoped (he said) I would not think the Spaniards thought all their women whores, or that all Spaniards were jealous of their wives; that, as to my present, since he had agreed to accept of it, I should have the direction of what part I pleased to his wife and daughters; for he had three daughters.

Here I strained courtesies again, and told him by no means, I would direct nothing of that kind, I only begged that he would with his own hand present to his donna, or lady, the present designed her by my wife, and that he would present it in her name, now living in Virginia. He was extremely pleased with the nicety I used, and I saw him present it to her accordingly, and could see, at the opening of it, that she was extremely pleased with the present itself, as indeed she might very well be; for in that country it was worth a very considerable sum of money.

Though I was used with an uncommon friendship before, and nothing could well be desired more, yet the grateful sense I showed of it, in the magnificence of this present, was not lost, and the whole family appeared sensible of it; so that I must allow that presents, where they can be made in such a manner, are not without their influence, where the persons were not at all mercenary, either before or after.

I had here now a most happy and comfortable retreat, though it was a kind of an exile; here I enjoyed everything I could think of that was agreeable and pleasant, except only a liberty of going home, which, for that reason, perhaps, was the only thing I desired in the world; for the grief of one absent comfort is oftentimes capable

of embittering all the other enjoyments in the world.

Here I enjoyed the moments which I had never before known how to employ, I mean, that here I learned to look back upon a long ill-spent life, blessed with infinite advantage, which I had no heart given me till now to make use of, and here I found just reflections were the utmost felicity of human life.

Here I wrote these memoirs, having to add to the pleasure of looking back with due reflections the benefit of a violent fit of the gout, which, as it is allowed by most people, clears the head, restores the memory, and qualifies us to make the most, and just, and useful remarks upon our own actions.

Perhaps, when I wrote these things down, I did not foresee that the writings of our own stories would be so much the fashion in England, or so agreeable to others to read, as I find custom and the humour of the times has caused it to be; if any one that reads my story, pleases to make the same just reflections, which I acknowledge I ought to have made, he will reap the benefit of my misfortunes, perhaps, more than I have done myself; it is evident, by a long series of changes and turns, which have appeared in the narrow compass of one private mean person's life, that the history of men's lives may be many ways made useful and instructing to those who read them, if moral and religious improvement and reflections are made by those that write them.

There remains many things in the course of this unhappy life of mine, though I have left so little a part of it to speak of, that is worth giving a large and distinct account of, and which gives room for just reflections of a kind which I have not made yet; particularly I think it just to add how, in collecting the various changes and turns of my affairs, I saw, clearer than ever I had done before, how an invincible, over-ruling power, a hand influenced from above, governs all our actions of every kind, limits all our designs, and orders the events of everything relating to us.

And from this observation it necessarily occurred to me how just it was that we should pay the homage of all events to him; that, as he guided, and had even made the chain of cause and consequences, which nature in general strictly obeyed, so to him should be given the honour of all events, the consequences of those causes, as the first mover and maker of all things.

I, who had hitherto lived, as might be truly said, without God in the world, began now to see farther into all those things than I had ever yet been capable of before, and this brought me at last to look with shame and blushes upon such a course of wickedness as I had gone through in the world: I had been bred indeed to nothing of either religious or moral knowledge; what I had gained of either, was, first, by the little time of civil life which I lived in Scotland, where my ab-

horrence of the wickedness of my captain and comrade, and some sober religious company I fell into, first gave me some knowledge of good and evil, and showed me the beauty of a sober, religious life, though, with my leaving that country, it soon left me too; or, secondly, the modest hints and just reflections of my steward, whom I called my tutor, who was a man of sincere religion, good principles, and a real true penitent for his past miscarriages: O! had I with him sincerely repented of what was past, I had not for twenty-four years together lived a life of levity and profligate wickedness after it.

But here I had (as I said) leisure to reflect, and to repent, and to call to mind things past, and with a just detestation learn, as Job says, to abhor myself in dust and ashes.

It is with this temper that I have written my story; I would have all that design to read it, prepare to do so with the temper of penitents; and remember, with how much advantage they make their penitent reflections at home under the merciful dispositions of Providence in peace, plenty, and ease, rather than abroad, under the discipline of a transported criminal, as my wife and my tutor, or under the miseries and distresses of a shipwrecked wanderer, as my skipper, or captain of the sloop, who (as I hear) died a very great penitent, labouring in the deserts and mountains to find his way home to Virginia by the way of Carolina, whither the rest of the crew reached, after infinite dangers and hardships; or in exile, however favourably circumstanced as mine, in absence from my family, and for some time in no probable view of ever seeing them any more.

Such (I say) may repent with advantage; but how few are they that seriously look in till their way is hedged up, and they have no other way to look.

Here (I say) I had leisure to repent; how far it pleases God to give the grace of repentance where he gives the opportunity of it, is not for me to say of myself; it is sufficient that I recommend it to all that read this story, that, when they find their lives come up in any degree to any similitude of cases, they will inquire by me, and ask themselves, is not this the time to repent? Perhaps the answer may touch them.

I have only to add what was then written, that my kind friend the Spaniard finding no other method presented for conveying me to my home, that is to say, to Virginia, got a licence for me to come in the next galleons as a Spanish merchant to Cadiz, where I arrived safe with all my treasure, for he suffered me to be at no expenses in his house; and from Cadiz I soon got my passage on board an English merchant ship for London, from whence I sent an account of my adventures to my wife, and where, in about five months more, she came over to me, leaving, with full satisfaction, the management of all our affairs in Virginia in the same faithful hands as before.

THE
FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES
OF THE FAMOUS
MOLL FLANDERS;

WHO WAS BORN IN NEWGATE,
AND DURING A LIFE OF CONTINUED VARIETY FOR
THREE SCORE YEARS, BESIDES HER CHILDHOOD, WAS TWELVE YEARS A
WHORE, FIVE TIMES A WIFE (WHEREOF ONCE TO HER OWN BROTHER), TWELVE
YEARS A THIEF, EIGHT YEARS A TRANSPORTED FELON TO VIRGINIA,
AT LAST GREW RICH, LIVED HONEST, AND
DIED A PENITENT.

WRITTEN FROM HER OWN MEMORANDUMS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY

W. CHETWOOD, AT CATO'S HEAD, IN RUSSELL STREET, COVENT GARDEN; AND T. EDDIN,

AT THE PRINCE'S ARMS, OVER AGAINST EXETER CHANGE IN THE STRAND.

1722.

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMOUS MOLL FLANDERS;

WHO WAS BORN IN NEWCASTLE
 AND DURING A LIFE OF CONTINUED VARIETY FOR
 THREE SCORE YEARS, BESIDES HER CHILDHOOD, WAS TWELVE YEARS A
 WHORE, FIVE TIMES A WIFE (WHEN TO HER OWN BROTHER), TWELVE
LONDON:
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 LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.
 MDCCCXL.

WRITTEN FROM HER OWN MEMORANDUMS.

LONDON:
 PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD, AND T. KIDDIN,
 AT CATS HEAD, IN RUSSELL STREET, COVENT GARDEN; AND T. KIDDIN,
 AT THE PRINCE'S ARMS, OVER AGAINST EXETER CHURCH IN THE STRAND.
 1792.

P R E F A C E.

THE world is so taken up of late with novels and romances, that it will be hard for a private history to be taken for genuine, where the names and other circumstances of the person are concealed; and on this account we must be content to have the reader to put his own opinion upon the ensuing sheets, and take it just as he pleases.

The author is here supposed to be writing her own history; and in the very beginning of her account she gives the reasons why she thinks fit to conceal her true name, after which there is no occasion to say any more about that.

It is true that the original of this story is put into new words, and the style of the famous lady we here speak of is a little altered; particularly, she is made to tell her own tale in modester words than she told it at first; the copy which came first to hand having been written in language more like one still in Newgate than one grown penitent and humble, as she afterwards pretends to be.

The pen employed in finishing her story, and making it what you see it to be, has had no little difficulty to put it into a dress fit to be seen, and to make it speak language fit to be read. When a woman, debauched from her youth, nay, even being the offspring of debauchery and vice, comes to give an account of all her vicious practices, and even to descend to the particular occasions and circumstances by which she first became wicked, and of all the progressions of crime which she ran through in threescore years, an author must be hard put to it to wrap it up so clean, as not to give room, especially for vicious readers, to turn it to his disadvantage.

All possible care, however, has been taken to give no lewd ideas, no immodest turns, in the new dressing up of this story; no, not to the worst part of her expressions. To this purpose some of the vicious part of her life, which could not be modestly told, is

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quite left out, and several other parts are very much shortened. What is left, 'tis hoped, will not offend the chastest reader, or the modestest hearer; and as the best use is to be made even of the worst story, the moral, 'tis hoped, will keep the reader serious, even where the story might incline him to be otherwise. To give the history of a wicked life repented of, necessarily requires that the wicked part should be made as wicked as the real history of it will bear, to illustrate and give a beauty to the penitent part, which is certainly the best and brightest, if related with equal spirit and life.

It is suggested there cannot be the same life, the same brightness and beauty, in relating the penitent part as in the criminal part. If there is any truth in that suggestion, I must be allowed to say 'tis because there is not the same taste and relish in the reading; and indeed it is too true that the difference lies not in the real worth of the subject, so much as in the gust and palate of the reader.

But as this work is chiefly recommended to those who know how to read it, and how to make the good uses of it which the story all along recommends to them, so it is to be hoped that such readers will be much more pleased with the moral than the fable, with the application than with the relation, and with the end of the writer than with the life of the person written of.

There is in this story abundance of delightful incidents, and all of them usefully applied. There is an agreeable turn artfully given them in the relating, that naturally instructs the reader either one way or another. The first part of her lewd life with the young gentleman at Colchester has so many happy turns given it to expose the crime, and warn all whose circumstances are adapted to it of the serious end of such things; and were it true that they did so, and that they constantly adhered to that rule as the test of their acting on the theatre, much might be said in their favour.

Throughout the infinite variety of this book, this fundamental rule is most strictly adhered to; there is not a wicked action in any part of it, but is first or last rendered unhappy or unfortunate. There is not a superlative villain brought upon the stage, but either he is brought to an unhappy end, or brought to be a penitent. There is not an ill thing mentioned, but it is condemned even in the relation; nor a virtuous, just thing, but it carries its praise along with it. What can more exactly answer the rule laid down to recommend even those representations of things which have so many other just objections lying against them,—names of example, of bad company, of obscene language, and the like?

Upon this foundation this book is recommended to the reader, as a work from every

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part of which something may be learned, and some just and religious inference is drawn, by which the reader will have something of instruction, if he pleases to make use of it.

All the exploits of this lady of fame in her depredations upon mankind stand as so many warnings to honest people to beware of them, intimating to them by what methods innocent people are drawn in, plundered, and robbed, and, by consequence, how to avoid them. Her robbing a little child, dressed fine by the vanity of the mother, to go to the dancing school, is a good memento to such people hereafter; as is likewise her picking the gold watch from the young lady's side in the Park.

Her getting a parcel from a hair-brained wench at the coaches in St John's street, her booty at the fire, and also at Harwich, all give us excellent warning in such cases to be more present to ourselves in sudden surprises of every sort.

Her application to a sober life and industrious management at last in Virginia, with her transported spouse, is a story fruitful of instruction to all the unfortunate creatures who are obliged to seek their re-establishment abroad, whether by the misery of transportation or other disaster; letting them know that diligence and application have their due encouragement, even in the remotest part of the world, and that no case can be so low, so despicable, or so empty of prospect, but that an unwearied industry will go a great way to deliver us from it, will in time raise the meanest creature to appear again in the world, and give him a new cast for his life.

These are a few of the serious inferences which we are led by the hand to in this book, and these are fully sufficient to justify any man in recommending it to the world, and much more to justify the publication of it.

There are two of the most beautiful parts still behind, which this story gives some idea of, and lets us into the parts of them; but they are, either of them, too long to be brought into the same volume, and indeed are, as I may call them, whole volumes of themselves, viz.—1. The Life of her Governess, as she calls her, who had run through, it seems, in a few years, all the eminent degrees of a gentlewoman, a whore, and a bawd; a midwife and a midwife-keeper, as they are called; a pawn-broker, a child-taker, a receiver of thieves and of stolen goods; and, in a word, herself a thief, and a breeder up of thieves, and the like, and yet, at last, a penitent.

The second is the life of her transported husband, a highwayman, who, it seems, lived a twelve years' life of successful villany upon the road, and even at last came off

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so well as to be a volunteer transport, not a convict, and in whose life there is an incredible variety.

But, as I said, there are things too long to bring in here, so neither can I make a promise of their coming out by themselves.

We cannot say, indeed, that this history is carried on quite to the end of the life of this famous Moll Flanders, for nobody can write their own life to the full end of it, unless they can write it after they are dead; but her husband's life being written by a third hand, gives a full account of them both, how long they lived together in that country, and how they came both to England again, after about eight years; in which time they were grown very rich, and where she lived, it seems, to be very old, but was not so extraordinary a penitent as she was at first; it seems only that indeed she always spoke with abhorrence of her former life, and of every part of it.

In her last scene at Maryland and Virginia, many pleasant things happened, which make that part of her life very agreeable; but they are not told with the same elegance as those accounted for by herself, so it is still to the more advantage that we break off here.

THE HISTORY OF MOLL FLANDERS.

My true name is so well known in the records or registers at Newgate, and in the Old Bailey, and there are some things of such consequence still depending there, relating to my particular conduct, that it is not to be expected I should set my name, or the account of my family, to this work; perhaps, after my death, it may be better known, at present it would not be proper, no, though a general pardon should be issued, even without exceptions and reserve of persons or crimes.

It is enough to tell you that as some of my worst comrades, who are out of the way of doing me harm, having gone out of the world by the steps and the string, as I often expected to go, knew me by the name of Moll Flanders; so you may give me leave to speak of myself under that name, till I dare own who I have been, as well as who I am.

I have been told, that in one of our neighbour nations, whether it be in France or where else I know not, they have an order from the king that when any criminal is condemned, either to die or to the galleys, or to be transported, if they leave any children, as such are generally unprovided for by the poverty or forfeiture of their parents, so they are immediately taken care of by the government, and put into a hospital called the House of Orphans, where they are bred up, clothed, fed, taught, and when fit to go out are placed to trades, or to services, so as to be well able to provide for themselves by an honest, industrious behaviour.

Had this been the custom in our country, I had not been left a poor desolate girl, without friends, without clothes, without help or helper in the world, as was my fate, and by which I was not only exposed to very great distresses, even before I was capable either of understanding my case, or how to amend it, but brought into a course of life which was not only scandalous in itself, but which in its ordinary course tended to the swift destruction both of soul and body.

But the case was otherwise here; my mother was convicted of felony for a certain petty theft, scarce worth naming, viz. having an opportunity of borrowing three pieces of fine Holland, of a certain draper in Cheapside. The circumstances are too long to repeat, and I have heard them related so many ways, that I can scarce be certain which is the right account.

However it was, this they all agree in, that

my mother pleaded her belly, and being found quick with child, she was respited for about seven months, in which time having brought me into the world, and being about again, she was called down, as they term it, to her former judgment, but obtained the favour of being transported to Virginia, and left me about half a year old, and in bad hands you may be sure.

This is too near the first hours of my life for me to relate anything of myself but by hearsay; it is enough to mention, that as I was born in such an unhappy place, I had no parish to have recourse to for my nourishment in my infancy, nor can I give the least account how I was kept alive, other than that as I have been told some relation of my mother's took me away for awhile as a nurse child, but at whose expense, or by whose directions, I know nothing at all of it.

The first account that I can recollect, or could ever learn of myself, was, that I had wandered among a crew of those people they call gipsies or Egyptians, but I believe it was but a very little while that I had been among them, for I had not had my skin discoloured or blackened, as they do very young to all the children they carry about with them, nor can I tell how I came among them, or how I got from them.

It was at Colchester, in Essex, that those people left me; but I have a notion in my head that I left them there (that is, that I hid myself and would go no farther with them), but I am not able to be particular in that account; only this I remember, that being taken up by some of the parish officers of Colchester, I gave an account that I came into the town with the gipsies, but that I would not go any farther with them, and that so they had left me, but whither they were gone that I knew not, nor could they expect it of me; for, though they sent round the country to inquire after them, it seems they could not be found.

I was now in a way to be provided for; for though I was not a parish charge upon this or that part of the town by law, yet as my case came to be known, and that I was too young to do any work, being not above four years old, compassion moved the magistrates to order some care to be taken of me, and I became one of their own as much as if I had been born in the place.

In the provision they made for me it was my good hap to be put to nurse, as they call it, to a woman who was indeed poor, but had been in

better circumstances, and who got a little livelihood by taking such as I was supposed to be, and keeping them with all necessaries till they were of a certain age, in which it might be supposed they might go to service, or get their own bread.

This woman had also had a little school, which she kept to teach children to read and to work; and having, as I have said, lived before that in good fashion, she bred up the children she took with a great deal of art, as well as with a great deal of care, but which was worth all the rest, she bred them up very religiously also, being herself a very sober, pious woman, very housewifely and clean, and very mannerly, and with good behaviour, so that, excepting a plain diet, coarse lodging, and mean clothes, we were brought up as mannerly as if we had been at the dancing school.

I was continued here till I was eight years old, when I was terrified with the news that the magistrates, as I think they call them, had ordered that I should go to service. I was able to do but very little wherever I was to go, except it was to run of errands, and be a drudge to some cook-maid; and this they told me of often, which put me into a great fright, for I had a thorough aversion to going to service, as they called it, though I was so young, and I told my nurse, as we called her, that I believed I could get my living without going to service, if she pleased to let me; for she had taught me to work with my needle and spin worsted, which is the chief trade of that city; and I told her, if that she would keep me, I would work for her, and I would work very hard.

I talked to her almost every day of working hard, and, in short, I did nothing but work and cry all day, which grieved the good kind woman so much that at last she began to be concerned, for she loved me very well.

One day after this, as she came into the room where all we poor children were at work, she sat down just over against me, not in her usual place as mistress, but as if she had set herself on purpose to observe me and see me work. I was doing something she had set me to, as I remember; it was marking some shirts which she had taken to make, and after awhile she began to talk to me. "Thou foolish child," says she, "thou art always crying," for I was crying then. "Prithee, what dost cry for?" "Because they will take me away," says I, "and put me to service, and I can't work house-work." "Well, child," says she, "but though you can't work house-work, as you call it, you will learn it in time, and they will not put you to hard things at first." "Yes they will," says I, "and if I cannot do it they will beat me, and the maids will beat me, and make me do great work, and I am but a little girl, and I can't do it;" and then I cried again till I could not speak any more.

This moved my good motherly nurse so that she resolved I should not go to service yet; so she bid me not cry, and she would speak to Mr Mayor, and I should not go to service till I was bigger.

Well, this did not satisfy me; for to think of going to service was such a frightful thing to me that if she had assured me I should not have gone till I was 20 years old, it would have been the

same to me, I should have cried I believe all the time with the very apprehension of its being to be so at last.

When she saw that I was not pacified yet she began to be angry with me. "And what would you have?" says she. "Do I not tell you that you shall not go to service till you grow bigger?" "Ay," says I, "but then I must go at last." "Why, what!" said she; "is the girl mad? What, would you be a gentlewoman?" "Yes," says I, and cried heartily, till I roared out again.

This set the old gentlewoman a laughing at me, as you may be sure it would. "Well, madam, forsooth," says she, gibing at me, "you would be a gentlewoman; and how would you come to be a gentlewoman; what, will you do it by your fingers' ends?"

"Yes," says I again very innocently.

"Why, what can you earn," says she; "what can you get a day at your work?"

"Threepence," said I, "when I spin, and fourpence when I work plain work."

"Alas! poor gentlewoman," said she again, laughing; "what will that do for thee?"

"It will keep me," says I, "if you will let me live with you," and this I said in such a poor petitioning tone that it made the poor woman's heart yearn to me, as she told me afterwards.

"But," says she, "that will not keep you, and buy you clothes too; and who must buy the little gentlewoman clothes," says she, and smiled all the while at me.

"I will work harder, then," says I, "and you shall have it all."

"Poor child! it will not keep you," says she; "it will hardly find you in victuals."

"Then I will have no victuals," says I again very innocently; "let me but live with you."

"Why, can you live without victuals?" says she. "Yes," again says I, very much like a child, you may be sure, and still I cried heartily.

I had no policy in all this; you may easily see it was all nature; but it was joined with so much innocence and so much passion that, in short, it set the good motherly creature a weeping too, and she cried at last as fast as I did, and then took me, and led me out of the teaching-room. "Come," says she, "you shall not go to service, you shall live with me;" and this pacified me for the present.

Some time after this she going to wait on the mayor, and talking of such things as belonged to her business, at last my story came up, and my good nurse told Mr Mayor the whole tale. He was so pleased with it that he would call his lady and his two daughters to hear it; and it made mirth enough among them, you may be sure.

However, not a week had passed over but on a sudden comes the mayor's lady and her two daughters to the house to see my old nurse, her school, and the children. When they had looked about them a little, "Well, Mrs _____," says the lady to my nurse, "pray which is the little lass that intends to be a gentlewoman?" I heard her, and was terribly frightened at first, though I did not know why neither; but the lady came up to me, "Well, Miss," says she, "and what are you at work upon?" The word miss was a language that had hardly been heard of in our school, and I wondered what sad name it was she

called me; however, I stood up, made a curtsy, and she took my work out of my hand, looked on it, and said it was very well; then she took up one of my hands,—“Nay,” says she, “the child may come to be a gentlewoman for aught anybody knows; she has a gentlewoman’s hand.” This pleased me mightily, you may be sure, but she did not stop there; but giving me my work again, put her hand in her pocket, gave me a shilling, and bid me mind my work and learn to work well, and I might be a gentlewoman for aught she knew.

Now, all this while my good old nurse, the lady, and all the rest of them, did not understand me at all, for they meant one sort of thing by the word gentlewoman and I meant quite another; for, alas, all I understood by being a gentlewoman was, to be able to work for myself, and to get enough to keep me without that terrible bugbear, “going to service;” whereas they meant to live great, rich, and high, and I know not what.

Well, after the mayor’s lady was gone, her two daughters came in, and they called for the gentlewoman too, and they talked a long while to me, and I answered them in my innocent way, but always, if they asked me whether I resolved to be a gentlewoman, I answered “Yes.” At last one of them asked me what a gentlewoman was. That puzzled me much, but however I explained myself negatively, that it was one that did not go to service to do house-work. They were pleased to be familiar with me, and liked my little prattle to them, which it seems was agreeable enough to them, and they gave me money too.

As for my money, I gave it to my Mrs Nurse, as I called her, and told her she should have all I got for myself when I was a gentlewoman, as well as now. By this and some other of my talk my old tutoress began to understand me about what I meant by being a gentlewoman, and that I understood by it no more than to be able to get my bread by my own work; and at last she asked me whether it was not so.

I told her “Yes,” and I insisted on it, that to do so was to be a gentlewoman; “For,” says I, “there is such a one,” naming a woman that mended lace and washed the ladies’ laced heads; “she,” says I, “is a gentlewoman, and they call her madam.”

“Poor child,” says my good old nurse, “you may soon be such a gentlewoman as that, for she is a person of ill fame, and has had two or three bastards.”

I did not understand anything of that, but answered, “I am sure they call her madam, and she does not go to service, nor do housework;” and therefore I insisted that she was a gentlewoman, and I would be such a gentlewoman as that.

The ladies were told all this again, to be sure, and they made themselves merry with it, and every now and then the young ladies (Mr Mayor’s daughters) would come and see me, and ask where the little gentlewoman was, which made me not a little proud of myself.

This held a great while, and I was often visited by these young ladies, and sometimes they

brought others with them, so that I was known by it almost all over the town.

I was now about ten years old, and began to look a little womanish, for I was mighty grave and humble, very mannerly; and, as I had often heard the ladies say I was pretty, and would be a very handsome woman, so you may be sure that hearing them say so made me not a little proud; however, that pride had no ill effect upon me yet, only as they often gave me money, and I gave it all to my old nurse; she, honest woman, was so just to me as to lay it all out again for me, and gave me head-dresses, linen, gloves, and ribands, and I went very neat, and always clean, for that I would do, and if I had rags on I would always be clean, or else I would dabble them in water myself; but I say, my good nurse, when I had money given me, very honestly laid it out for me, and would always tell the ladies this or that was bought with their money, and this made them oftentimes give me more, till at last I was indeed called upon by the magistrates, as I understood it, to go out to service; but then I was come to be so good a workwoman myself, and the ladies were so kind to me, that it was plain I could maintain myself, that is to say, I could earn as much for my nurse as she was able by it to keep me; so she told them that if they would give her leave she would keep the gentlewoman, as she called me, to be her assistant, and teach the children, which I was very well able to do, for I was very nimble at my work, and had a good hand with my needle, though I was yet very young.

But the kindness of the ladies of the town did not end here; for when they came to understand that I was no more maintained by the public allowance, as before, they gave me money oftener than formerly, and as I grew up they brought me work to do for them, such as linen to make, and laces to mend, and heads to dress up, and not only paid me for doing them, but even taught me how to do them; so that now I was a gentlewoman indeed, as I understood that word, and as I desired to be; for, by the time I was twelve years old, I not only found myself clothes and paid my nurse for my keeping, but got money in my pocket too beforehand.

The ladies also gave me clothes frequently of their own or their children’s, and stockings, some petticoats, some gowns, some one thing, some another, and these my old woman managed for me like a mere mother, and kept them for me, obliged me to mend them and turn them and twist them to the best advantage, for she was a rare housewife.

At last one of the ladies took so much fancy to me that she would have me home to her house, for a month, she said, to be among her daughters.

Now, though this was exceeding kind in her, yet, as my old good woman said to her, unless she resolved to keep me for good and all, she would do the little gentlewoman more harm than good. “Well,” says the lady, “that is true, and therefore I will only take her home for a week, that I may see how my daughters and she agree together, and how I like her temper, and then I will tell you more; and, in the mean time, if anybody comes to see her as they used to do,

you may only tell them you have sent her to my house.

This was prudently managed enough, and I went to the lady's house, but I was so pleased there with the young ladies, and they so pleased with me, that I had enough to do to come away, and they were as unwilling to part with me.

However, I did come away, and lived almost a year more with my honest old woman, and began now to be very helpful to her; for I was almost 14 years old, was tall of my age, and looked a little womanish; but I had such a taste of genteel living at the lady's house that I was not so easy in my old quarters as I used to be, and I thought it was fine to be a gentlewoman indeed, for I had quite other notions of a gentlewoman now than I had before; and, as I thought, I say, that it was fine to be a gentleman, so I loved to be among gentlewomen, and therefore I longed to be there again.

About the time that I was fourteen years and a quarter old, my good old nurse—mother I ought rather to call her—fell sick and died. I was then in a sad condition indeed; for, as there is no great bustle in putting an end to a poor body's family, when once they are carried to the grave, so the poor good woman being buried, the parish children she kept were immediately removed by the churchwardens, the school was at an end, and the children of it had no more to do but just to stay at home till they were sent somewhere else; and, as for what she left, her daughter, a married woman with six or seven children, came and swept it all away at once, and, removing the goods, they had no more to say to me than to jest with me, and tell me that the little gentlewoman might set up for herself if she pleased.

I was frightened almost out of my wits, and knew not what to do, for I was, as it were, turned out of doors to the wide world; and that which was still worse, the old honest woman had two and twenty shillings of mine in her hand, which was all the estate the little gentlewoman had in the world, and when I asked the daughter for it, she huffed me, and laughed at me, and told me she had nothing to do with it.

It was true, the good woman had told her daughter of it, and that it lay in such a place, and that it was the child's money, and had called once or twice for me, to give it me, but I was unhappily out of the way, somewhere or other, and when I came back she was past being in a condition to speak of it; however, the daughter was so honest afterward as to give it me, though at first she used me cruelly about it.

But my new generous mistress, for she exceeded the good woman I was with before in everything, as well as in the matter of estate—I say in everything except honesty—and for that, though this was a lady most exactly just, yet I must not forget to say on all occasions, that the first, though poor, was as uprightly honest as it was possible for any one to be.

Now was I a poor gentlewoman indeed, and was just that very night to be turned into the wide world; for the daughter removed all the goods, and I had not so much as a lodging to go

to, or a bit of bread to eat: but it seems some of the neighbours who had known my circumstances took so much compassion of me as to acquaint the lady in whose family I had been a week, as I mentioned above, and immediately she sent her maid to fetch me away, and her two daughters came with the maid, though unsent; so I went with them bag and baggage, and with a glad heart you may be sure: the fright of my condition had made such an impression upon me that I did not want now to be a gentlewoman, but was very willing to be a servant, and that any kind of servant they thought fit to have me be.

I was no sooner carried away, as I have said, by this good gentlewoman, but the first lady, that is to say, the mayor's lady that was, sent her two daughters to take care of me, and another family which had taken notice of me when I was the little gentlewoman, and had given me work to do, sent for me after her, so that I was mightily made of, as we say; nay, and they were not a little angry, especially madame the mayoress, that her friend had taken me away from her as they called it; for, as she said, I was hers by right, she having been the first that took any notice of me, but they that had me would not part with me, and as for me, though I should have been very well treated with any of the other, yet I could not be better than where I was.

Here I continued till I was between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and here I had all the advantages for my education that could be imagined; the lady had masters home in her own house to teach her daughters to dance, and to speak French, and to write, and others to teach them music; and as I was always with them, I learnt as fast as they, and though the masters were not appointed to teach me, yet I learnt by imitation and inquiry all that they learnt by instruction and direction. So that, in short, I learned to dance and speak French as well as any of them, and to sing much better, for I had a better voice than any of them; I could not so readily come at playing on the harpsicord or spinnet, because I had no instrument of my own to practise on, and could only come at theirs in the intervals when they left it, which was uncertain, but yet I learnt tolerably well too, and the young ladies at length got two instruments, that is to say, a harpsichord and a spinnet, and then they taught me themselves; but as to dancing, they could hardly help my learning country dances, because they always wanted me to make up an even number; and, on the other hand, they were as heartily willing to learn me everything that they had been taught themselves, as I could be to take the learning.

By this means I had, as I have said above, all the advantages of education that I could have had, if I had been as much a gentlewoman as they were with whom I lived, and in some things I had the advantage of my ladies, though they were my superiors; viz. that mine were all the gifts of nature, and which all their fortunes could not furnish. First, I was apparently handsomer than any of them; secondly, I was better shaped; and thirdly, I sung better, by which I mean I had a better voice; in all which

you will, I hope, allow me to say, I do not speak my own conceit of myself, but the opinion of all that knew the family.

I had with all these the common vanity of my sex, viz. that being really taken for very handsome, or, if you please, for a great beauty, I very well knew it, and had as good an opinion of myself as anybody else could have of me, and particularly I loved to hear anybody speak of it, which could not but happen to me sometimes, and was a great satisfaction to me.

Thus far I have had a smooth story to tell of myself, and in all this part of my life I not only had the reputation of living in a very good family, and a family noted and respected everywhere for virtue and sobriety, and for every valuable thing; but I had the character, too, of a very sober, modest, and virtuous young woman, and such I had always been; neither had I yet any occasion to think of anything else, or to know what a temptation to wickedness meant.

But that which I was too vain of was my ruin, or rather my vanity was the cause of it. The lady in the house where I was had two sons, young gentlemen of very promising parts and of extraordinary behaviour, and it was my misfortune to be very well with them both, but they managed themselves with me in a quite different manner.

The eldest, a gay gentleman that knew the town as well as the country, and though he had levity enough to do an ill-natured thing, yet had too much judgment of things to pay dear for his pleasures; he began with that unhappy snare to all women, viz. taking notice upon all occasions how pretty I was, as he called it, how agreeable, how well carriaged, and the like, and this he contrived so subtilly, as if he had known as well how to catch a woman in his net as a partridge when he went a setting; for he would contrive to be talking this to his sisters when, though I was not by, yet when he knew I was not so far off, but that I should be sure to hear him: his sisters would return softly to him—"Hush, brother, she will hear you; she is but in the next room." Then he would put it off, and talk softer, as if he had not known it, and began to acknowledge he was wrong; and then, as if he had forgot himself, he would speak aloud again, and I, that was so well pleased to hear it, was sure to listen for it upon all occasions.

After he had thus baited his hook, and found easily enough the method how to lay it in my way, he played an opener game, and one day going by his sister's chamber when I was there, doing something about dressing her, he comes in with an air of gaiety. "O! Mrs Betty," said he to me, "how do you do, Mrs Betty? do not your cheeks burn, Mrs Betty?" I made a curtsy, and blushed, but said nothing. "What makes you talk so, brother?" says the lady. "Why," says he, "we have been talking of her below stairs this half hour." "Well," says his sister, "you cannot say harm of her, that I am sure, so it is no matter what you have been talking about."—"Nay," says he, "it is so far from talking harm of her, that we have been talking a great deal of good, and a great many fine things have been said of Mrs Betty, I assure

you, and particularly that she is the handsomest young woman in Colchester, and, in short, they begin to toast her health in the town."

"I wonder at your brother," says the sister. "Betty wants but one thing, but she had as good want every thing, for the market is against our sex just now; and if a young woman have beauty, birth, breeding, wit, sense, manners, modesty, and all these to an extreme, yet if she have not money, she is nobody; she had as good want them all, for nothing but money now recommends a woman; the men play the game all into their own hands."

Her younger brother, who was by, cried, "Hold, sister; you run too fast; I am an exception to your rule, I assure you. If I find a woman so accomplished as you talk of, I say, I assure you, I would not trouble myself about the money."

"O," says the sister, "but you will take care not to fancy one of them without the money."

"You do not know that neither," says the brother.

"But why sister," says the elder brother, "why do you exclaim so at the men, for aiming so much at the fortune? You are none of them that want a fortune, whatever else you want."

"I understand you, brother," replies the lady very smartly. "You suppose I have the money, and want the beauty; but as times go now, the first will do without the last, so I have the better of my neighbours."

"Well," says the younger brother, "but your neighbours, as you call them, may be even with you, for beauty will steal a husband sometimes in spite of money, and when the maid chances to be handsomer than the mistress, she oftentimes makes as good a market, and rides in a coach before her."

I thought it was time for me to withdraw, and leave them, and I did so; but not so far but that I heard all their discourse, in which I heard abundance of fine things said of myself, which served to prompt my vanity. But this I soon found was not the way to increase my interest in the family; for the sister and the younger brother fell grievously out about it; and as he said some very disobliging things to her upon my account, so I could easily see that she resented them, by her future conduct to me, which indeed was very unjust to me, for I had never had the least thought of what she suspected as to her younger brother. Indeed the elder brother, in his distant remote way, had said a great many things, as in jest, which I had the folly to believe were in earnest, or to flatter myself with the hopes of what I ought to have supposed he never intended, and perhaps never thought of.

It happened one day that he came running up stairs towards the room where his sisters used to sit and work, as he often used to do, and calling to them before he came in, as was his way too, I being there alone, stepped to the door, and said, "Sir, the ladies are not here; they are walked down the garden." As I stepped forward to say this, towards the door, he was just got to the door, and clasping me in his arms, as if it had been by chance, "O! Mrs Betty," says he, "are you here? That is better still. I

want to speak with you more than I do to them;" and then having me in his arms, he kissed me three or four times.

I struggled to get away, and yet did it but faintly neither, and he held me fast and still kissed me, till he was almost out of breath, and then sitting down, says, "Dear Betty, I am in love with you."

His words, I must confess, fired my blood; all my spirits flew about my heart, and put me into disorder enough, which he might easily have seen in my face. He repeated it afterwards several times, that he was in love with me, and my heart spoke as plain as a voice, that I liked it. Nay, whenever he said I am in love with you, my blushes replied, would you were, sir.

However, nothing else passed at this time; it was but a surprise, and when he was gone, I soon recovered myself again. He had stayed longer with me, but he happened to look out at the window, and see his sisters coming up the garden; so he took his leave, kissed me again, told me he was very serious, and I should hear more of him very quickly, and away he went, leaving me infinitely pleased, though surprised; and had there not been one misfortune in it, I had been in the right; but the mistake lay here, that Mrs Betty was in earnest, and the gentleman was not.

From this time my head run upon strange things, and I may truly say I was not myself, to have such a gentleman talk to me of being in love with me, and of my being such a charming creature, as he told me I was. These were things I knew not how to bear; my vanity was elevated to the last degree; it is true, I had my head full of pride, but knowing nothing of the wickedness of the times, I had not one thought of my own safety, or of my virtue about me; and had my young master offered it at first sight, he might have taken any liberty he thought fit with me; but he did not see his advantage, which was my happiness for that time.

After this attack, it was not long but he found an opportunity to catch me again, and almost in the same posture; indeed, it had more of design in it on his part, though not on my part. It was thus:—the young ladies were all gone a-visiting with their mother; his brother was out of town; and as for his father, he had been in London for a week before. He had so well watched me, that he knew where I was, though I did not so much as know that he was in the house; and he briskly comes up stairs, and seeing me at work comes into the room to me directly, and began just as he did before, with taking me in his arms and kissing me for almost a quarter of an hour together.

It was the youngest sister's chamber that I was in, and as there was nobody in the house but the maids below stairs, he was, it may be, the ruder: in short, he began to be in earnest with me indeed; perhaps he found me a little too easy, for God knows, I made no resistance to him while he only held me in his arms and kissed me; indeed, I was too well pleased with it to resist him much.

However, as it were, tired with that kind of work, we sat down, and there he talked with me a great while; he said he was charmed with

me, and that he could not rest night or day till he had told me how he was in love with me; and if I was able to love him again, and would make him happy, I should be the saving of his life, and many such fine things. I said little to him again, but easily discovered I was a fool, and that I did not in the least perceive what he meant.

Then he walked about the room, and taking me by the hand, I walked with him; and by and by, taking his advantage, he threw me down upon the bed, and kissed me there most violently; but to give him his due, offered no manner of rudeness to me, only kissed me a great while. After this he thought he had heard somebody come up stairs; so he got off from the bed, lifted me up, professing a great deal of love for me, but told me it was all an honest affection, and that he meant no ill to me; and with that he put five guineas into my hand, and went down stairs.

I was more confounded with the money than I was before with the love, and began to be so elevated, that I scarce knew the ground I stood on. I am the more particular in this part, that if my story comes to be read by any innocent young body, they may learn from it to guard themselves against the mischiefs which attend an early knowledge of their own beauty. If a young woman once thinks herself handsome, she never doubts the truth of any man that tells her he is in love with her; for if she believes herself charming enough to captivate him, it is natural to expect the effects of it.

This young gentleman had fired his inclination as much as he had my vanity, and as if he had found that he had an opportunity, and was sorry he did not take hold of it, he comes up again in half an hour, or thereabouts, and falls to work with me again as before, only with a little less introduction.

And first when he entered the room, he turned about and shut the door. "Mrs Betty," said he, "I fancied before somebody was coming up stairs, but it was not so; however," adds he, "if they find me in the room with you, they shan't catch me kissing you." I told him I did not know who should be coming up stairs, for I believed there was nobody in the house but the cook and the other maid, and they never came up those stairs. "Well, my dear," says he, "it is good, to be sure, however;" and so he sits down, and we began to talk; and now, though I was still all on fire with his first visit, and said little, he did, as it were, put words in my mouth, telling me how passionately he loved me, and that though he could not mention such a thing till he came to his estate, yet he was resolved to make me happy then, and himself too; that is to say, to marry me, and abundance of such fine things, which I, poor fool, did not understand the drift of, but acted as if there was no such thing as any kind of love but that which tended to matrimony; and if he had spoke of that, I had no room, as well as no power to have said no; but we were not come that length yet.

We had not sat long, but he got up, and stopped my very breath with kisses, threw me upon the bed again; but then, being both well warmed, he went farther with me than decency

permits me to mention, nor had it been in my power to have denied him at that moment, had he offered much more than he did.

However, though he took these freedoms with me, it did not go to that which they call the last favour, which, to do him justice, he did not attempt; and he made that self-denial of his a plea for all his freedoms with me upon other occasions after this. When this was over, he stayed but a little while, but he put almost a handful of gold in my hand, and left me, making a thousand protestations of his passion for me, and of his loving me above all the women in the world.

It will not be strange if I now began to think, but alas! it was but very little solid reflection: I had a most unbounded stock of vanity and pride, and but a very little stock of virtue; I did indeed cast sometimes with myself what my young master aimed at, but thought of nothing but the fine words and the gold; whether he intended to marry me, or not to marry me, seemed a matter of no great consequence to me, nor did my thoughts so much as suggest to me the necessity of making any capitulation for myself, till he came to make a kind of formal proposal to me, as you shall hear presently.

Thus I gave up myself to a readiness of being ruined without the least concern, and am a fair memento to all young women whose vanity prevails over their virtue. Nothing was ever so stupid on both sides: had I acted as became me, and resisted as virtue and honour required, this gentleman had either desisted his attacks, finding no room to expect the accomplishment of his design, or had made fair and honourable proposals of marriage; in which case, whoever had blamed him nobody could have blamed me. In short, if he had known me, and how easy the trifle he aimed at was to be had, he would have troubled his head no farther, but have given me four or five guineas, and have lain with me the next time he had come at me; on the other hand, if I had known his thoughts, and how hard he thought I would be to be gained, I might have made my own terms with him; and if I had not capitulated for an immediate marriage, I might for a maintenance till marriage, and might have had what I would, for he was already rich to excess, besides what he had in expectation; but I had wholly abandoned all such thoughts as these, and was taken up only with the pride of my beauty, and of being beloved by such a gentleman; as for the gold I spent whole hours in looking upon it, I told the guineas over and over a thousand times a day; never poor vain creature was so wrapt up with every part of the story as I was, not considering what was before me, and how near my ruin was at the door; indeed, I think I rather wished for that ruin than studied to avoid it.

In the meantime, however, I was cunning enough not to give the least room to any in the family to suspect me, or to imagine that I had the least correspondence with him; I scarce ever looked towards him in public, or answered if he spoke to me, if anybody was near us; but for all that we had every now and then a little encounter, where we had room for a word or two, and now and then a kiss, but no fair opportunity for the mischief intended; and especially consider-

ing that he made more circumlocution than if he had known my thoughts he had occasion for, and the work appearing difficult to him he really made it so.

But as the devil is an unwearied tempter, so he never fails to find opportunity for that wickedness he invites to. It was one evening that I was in the garden with his two younger sisters and himself, and all very innocently merry, when he found means to convey a note into my hand, by which he directed me to understand that he would tomorrow desire me publicly to go of an errand for him into the town, and that I should see him somewhere by the way.

Accordingly after dinner he very gravely says to me, his sisters being all by, "Mrs Betty, I must ask a favour of you."—"What is that?" says his second sister. "Nay, sister," says he, very gravely, "if you cannot spare Mrs Betty to-day, any other time will do."—"Yes," they said, they could spare her well enough, and the sister begged pardon for asking, which she did of mere course, without any meaning. "Well, but, brother," says the eldest sister, "you must tell Mrs Betty what it is; if it be any private business that we must not hear, you may call her out; there she is."—"Why, sister," says the gentleman, very gravely, "what do you mean? I only desire her to go into the High street (and then he pulls out a turnover), to such a shop," and he tells them a long story of two fine neckcloths he had bid money for, and he wanted to have me go and make an errand to buy a neck to the turnover that he showed, to see if they would take my money for the neckcloths, to bid a shilling more, and haggle with them; and then he made more errands, and so continued to have such petty business to do, that I should be sure to stay a good while.

When he had given me my errands, he told them a long story of a visit he was going to make to a family they all knew, and where was to be such and such gentlemen, and how merry they were to be, and very formally asked his sisters to go with him, and they as formally excused themselves, because of company that they had notice was to come and visit them that afternoon, which by the way he had contrived on purpose.

He had scarce done speaking to them, and giving me my errand, but his man came up to tell him that Sir W—— H——'s coach stopped at the door; so he runs down and comes up again immediately. "Alas!" says he aloud, "there is all my mirth spoiled at once; Sir W—— has sent his coach for me, and desires to speak with me upon some earnest business."

It seems this Sir W—— was a gentleman who lived about three miles out of town, to whom he had spoken on purpose the day before, to lend him his chariot for a particular occasion, and had appointed it to call for him, as it did about three o'clock.

Immediately he calls for his best wig, hat, and sword, and ordering his man to go to the other place to make his excuse (that was to say, he made an excuse to send his man away), prepares to go into the coach. As he was going, he stopped a while, and speaks mighty earnestly to me about his business, and finds an opportunity to say very softly to me, "Come away, my dear, as

soon as ever you can." I said nothing, but made a curtsy, as if I had done so to what he said in public. In about a quarter of an hour I went out too. I had no dress other than before, except that I had a hood, a mask, fan, and a pair of gloves in my pocket, so that there was not the least suspicion in the house. He waited for me in the coach in a back lane, which he knew I must pass, and had directed the coachman whither to go, which was to a place called Mile-End, where lived a confidant of his, where we went in, and where was all the convenience in the world to be as wicked as we pleased.

When we were together, he began to talk very gravely to me, and tell me he did not bring me there to betray me; that his passion for me would not suffer him to abuse me; that he resolved to marry me as soon as he came to his estate; that in the meantime, if I would grant his request, he would maintain me very honourably, and made me a thousand protestations of his sincerity and of his affection to me, and that he would never abandon me, and, as I may say, made a thousand more preambles than he need to have done.

However, as he pressed me to speak, I told him I had no reason to question the sincerity of his love to me, after so many protestations. But —, and there I stopped, as if I left him to guess at the rest. "But what, my dear?" says he; "I guess what you mean; what if you should be with child; is not that it? Why then," says he, "I will take care of you, and provide for you and the child too, and that you may see I am not in jest," says he, "here is an earnest for you;" and with that he pulls out a silk purse, with an hundred guineas in it, and gave it me; "and I will give you such another," says he, "every year till I marry you."

My colour came and went at the sight of the purse and with the fire of his proposal together; so that I could not say a word, and he easily perceived it; so, putting the purse into my bosom, I made no more resistance to him, but let him do just what he pleased, and as often as he pleased; and thus I finished my own destruction at once, for from this day, being forsaken of my virtue and my modesty, I had nothing of value left to recommend me, either to God's blessing or man's assistance.

But things did not end here; I went back to the town, did the business he publicly directed me to, and was at home before anybody thought me long. As for my gentleman, he stayed out, as he told me he would, till late at night, and there was not the least suspicion in the family, either on his account or on mine.

We had after this frequent opportunities to repeat our crime, chiefly by his contrivance; especially at home, when his mother and the young ladies went abroad a-visiting, which he watched so narrowly as never to miss; knowing always beforehand when they went out, and then failed not to catch me all alone, and securely enough; so that we took our fill of our wicked pleasure for near half a year, and yet, which was the most to my satisfaction, I was not with child.

But before this half year was expired, his younger brother, of whom I have made some mention in the beginning of the story, falls to

work with me, and he finding me alone in the garden one evening, begins a story of the same kind to me, made good honest professions of being in love with me, and, in short, proposes fairly and honourably to marry me, and that before he made any other offer to me at all.

I was now confounded and driven to such an extremity as the like was never known; at least not to me. I resisted the proposal with obstinacy, and now I began to arm myself with arguments: I laid before him the inequality of the match, the treatment I should meet with in the family, the ingratitude it would be to his good father and mother, who had taken me into their house upon such generous principles, and when I was in such a low condition; and, in short, I said everything to dissuade him from his design that I could imagine, except telling him the truth, which would indeed have put an end to it all, but that I durst not think of mentioning.

But here happened a circumstance that I did not expect indeed, which put me to my shifts; for this young gentleman, as he was plain and honest, so he pretended to nothing with me but what was so too; and knowing his own innocence, he was not so careful to make his having a kindness for Mrs Betty a secret in the house as his brother was; and though he did not let them know that he had talked to me about it, yet he said enough to let his sisters perceive he loved me, and his mother saw it too, which though they took no notice of it to me, yet they did to him, and immediately I found their carriage to me altered more than ever before.

I saw the cloud, though I did not foresee the storm. It was easy, I say, to see that their carriage to me was altered, and that it grew worse and worse every day; till at last I got information among the servants that I should, in a very little while, be desired to remove.

I was not alarmed at the news, having a full satisfaction that I should be otherwise provided for; and especially, considering that I had reason every day to expect I should be with child, and that then I should be obliged to remove without any pretence for it.

After some time, the younger gentleman took an opportunity to tell me that the kindness he had for me had got vent in the family; he did not charge me with it, he said, for he knew well enough which way it came out; he told me his plain way of talking had been the occasion of it, for that he did not make his respect for me so much a secret as he might have done, and the reason was, that he was at a point; that if I would consent to have him, he would tell them all openly that he loved me, and that he intended to marry me; that it was true his father and mother might resent it, and be unkind, but that he was now in a way to live, being bred to the law, and he did not fear maintaining me, agreeable to what I should expect; and that, in short, as he believed I would not be ashamed of him, so he was resolved not to be ashamed of me, and that he scorned to be afraid to own me now, who he resolved to own after I was his wife, and therefore I had nothing to do but to give him my hand, and he would answer for all the rest.

I was now in a dreadful condition indeed, and now I repented heartily my easiness with the

elder brother, not from any reflection of conscience, but from a view of the happiness I might have enjoyed, and had now made impossible; for though I had no great scruples of conscience (as I have said) to struggle with, yet I could not think of being a whore to one brother, and a wife to the other; but then it came into my thoughts, that the first brother had promised to make me his wife when he came to his estate; but I presently remembered what I had often thought of, that he had never spoken a word of having me for a wife after he had conquered me for a mistress; and indeed till now, though I said I thought of it often, yet it gave me no disturbance at all, for as he did not seem in the least to lessen his affection to me, so neither did he lessen his bounty, though he had the discretion himself to desire me not to lay out a penny of what he gave me in clothes, or to make the least show extraordinary, because it would necessarily give jealousy in the family, since everybody knew I could come at such things no manner of ordinary way, but by some private friendship, which they would presently have suspected.

But I was now in a great strait, and really knew not what to do; the main difficulty was this, the younger brother not only laid close siege to me, but suffered it to be seen; he would come into his sister's room and his mother's room, and sit down and talk a thousand kind things of me, and to me, even before their faces, and when they were all there. This grew so public, that the whole house talked of it, and his mother reproved him for it, and their carriage to me appeared quite altered; in short, his mother had let fall some speeches, as if she intended to put me out of the family, that is, in English, to turn me out of doors. Now I was sure this could not be a secret to his brother, only, that he might not think, as indeed nobody else yet did, that the youngest brother had made any proposal to me about it; but as I easily could see that it would go farther, so I saw likewise there was an absolute necessity to speak of it to him, or that he would speak of it to me, and which to do first I knew not; that is, whether I should break it to him, or let it alone till he should break it to me.

Upon serious consideration, for indeed now I began to consider things very seriously, and never till now; I say upon serious consideration, I resolved to tell him of it first, and it was not long before I had an opportunity, for the very next day his brother went to London upon some business, and the family being out a-visiting, just as it had happened before, and as indeed was often the case, he came according to his custom to spend an hour or two with Mrs Betty.

When he came and had sat down a while, he easily perceived there was an alteration in my countenance, that I was not so free and pleasant with him as I used to be, and particularly that I had been a-crying; he was not long before he took notice of it, and asked me in very kind terms what was the matter, and if anything troubled me. I would have put it off if I could, but it was not to be concealed, so after suffering many importunities to draw that out of me which I longed as much as possible to disclose, I told him that it was true something did trouble

me, and something of such a nature that I could not conceal from him, and yet, that I could not tell how to tell him of it neither; that it was a thing that not only surprised me, but greatly perplexed me, and that I knew not what course to take, unless he would direct me. He told me with great tenderness, that let it be what it would I should not let it trouble me, for he would protect me from all the world.

I then began at a distance, and told him I was afraid the ladies had got some secret information of our correspondence, for that it was easy to see that their conduct was very much changed towards me, and that now it was come to that pass, that they frequently found fault with me, and sometimes fell quite out with me, though I never gave them the least occasion; that whereas I used always to lie with the eldest sister, I was put to lie by myself, or with one of the maids; and that I had overheard them several times talking very unkindly about me; but that which confirmed it all was, that one of the servants had told me that she had heard I was to be turned out, and that it was not safe for the family that I should be any longer in the house.

He smiled when he heard all this, and I asked him how he could make so light of it, when he must needs know, that if there was any discovery I was undone for ever, and that even it would hurt him, though not ruin him, as it would me; I upbraided him, that he was like all the rest of the sex, that when they had the character and honour of a woman at their mercy, oftentimes made it their jest, and at least looked upon it as a trifle, and counted the ruin of those they had had their will of as a thing of no value.

He saw me warm and serious, and he changed his style immediately; he told me he was sorry I should have such a thought of him; that he had never given me the least occasion for it, but had been as tender of my reputation as he could be of his own; that he was sure our correspondence had been managed with so much address, that not one creature in the family had so much as a suspicion of it; that if he smiled when I told him my thoughts, it was at the assurance he lately received, that our understanding one another was not so much as known or guessed at, and that when he had told me how much reason he had to be easy, I should smile as he did, for he was very certain it would give me a full satisfaction.

"This is a mystery I cannot understand," says I, "or how it should be to my satisfaction that I am to be turned out of doors; for if our correspondence is not discovered, I know not what else I have done to change the countenances of the whole family to me, or to have them treat me as they do now, who formerly used me with so much tenderness, as if I had been one of their own children."

"Why, look you, child," says he, "that they are uneasy about you, that is true; but that they have the least suspicion of the case as it is, and as it respects you and I, is so far from being true, that they suspect my brother Robin, and, in short, they are fully persuaded he makes love to you. Nay, the fool has put it into their heads too himself, for he is continually bantering them about it

and making a jest of himself; I confess I think he is wrong to do so, because he cannot but see that it vexes them, and makes them unkind to you; but it is a satisfaction to me, because of the assurance it gives me that they do not suspect me in the least; and I hope this will be to your satisfaction too."

"So it is," says I, "one way, but this does not reach my case at all; nor is this the chief thing that troubles me, though I have been concerned about that too." "What is it, then?" says he. With which I fell into tears, and could say nothing to him at all. He strove to pacify me all he could, but began at last to be very pressing upon me to tell what it was. At last I answered that I thought I ought to tell him too, and that he had some right to know it; besides that I wanted his direction in the case, for I was in such perplexity that I knew not what course to take, and then I related the whole affair to him. I told him how imprudently his brother had managed himself, in making himself so public; for that if he had kept a secret, as such a thing ought to have been, I could but have denied him positively, without giving any reason for it, and he would in time have ceased his solicitations; but that he had the vanity, first, to depend upon it that I would not deny him, and then had taken the freedom to tell his resolution of having me to the whole house.

I told him how far I had resisted him, and told him how sincere and honourable his offers were. "But," says I, "my case will be doubly hard; for, as they carry it ill to me now, because he desires to have me, they will carry it worse when they find I have denied him, and they will presently say there is something else in it, and then out it comes that I am married already to somebody else, or else that I would never refuse a match so much above me as this was."

This discourse surprised him indeed very much. He told me that it was a critical point indeed for me to manage, and he did not see which way I should get out of it; but he would consider of it, and let me know next time we met what resolution he was come to about it; and, in the meantime, desired I would not give my consent to his brother, nor yet give him a flat denial, but that I would hold him in suspense awhile.

I seemed to start at his saying I should not give him my consent. I told him he knew very well I had no consent to give; that he had engaged himself to marry me, and that my consent was at the same time engaged to him; that he had all along told me I was his wife, and I looked upon myself as effectually so as if the ceremony had passed, and that it was from his own mouth that I did so, he having all along persuaded me to call myself his wife.

"Well, my dear," says he, "don't be concerned at that now. If I am not your husband, I will be as good as a husband to you; and do not let those things trouble you now, but let me look a little further into this affair, and I shall be able to say more next time we meet."

He pacified me as well as he could with this, but I found he was very thoughtful, and that though he was very kind to me, and kissed me a thousand times, and more, I believe, and gave me money too, yet offered no more all the while we

were together, which was above two hours, and which I much wondered at indeed at that time, considering how it used to be, and what opportunity we had.

His brother did not come from London for five or six days, and it was two days more before he got an opportunity to talk with him; but then, getting him by himself, he began to talk very close to him about it, and the same evening got an opportunity (for we had a long conference together) to repeat all their discourse to me, which was, as near as I can remember, to the purpose following:—"He told him he heard strange news of him since he went, viz., that he made love to Mrs Betty. "Well," says his brother, a little angrily, "and so I do; and what then? What has anybody to do with that?" "Nay," says his brother, "do not be angry, Robin; I do not pretend to have anything to do with it, nor do I pretend to be angry with you about it; but I find they do concern themselves about it, and that they have used the poor girl ill about it, which I should take as done to myself." "Who do you mean by *they*?" says Robin. "I mean my mother and the girls," says the elder brother.

"But hark ye," says his brother, "are you in earnest; do you really love the girl? you may be free with me you know." "Why, then, says Robin, "I will be free with you; I do love her above all the women in the world, and I will have her, let them say and do what they will: I believe the girl will not deny me."

It struck me to the heart when he told me this, for though it was most rational to think I would not deny him, yet I knew in my own conscience I must deny him, and I saw my ruin in my being obliged to do so, but I knew it was my business to talk otherwise then, so I interrupted him in his story thus:

"Ay," said I, "does he think I cannot deny him? but he shall find I can deny him for all that."

"Well, my dear," says he, "but let me give you the whole story as it went on between us, and then say what you will."

Then he went on and told me, that he replied thus: "But brother, you know she has nothing, and you may have several ladies with good fortunes." "It is no matter for that," said Robin; "I love the girl, and I will never please my pocket in marrying, and not please my fancy. And so, my dear," adds he, "there is no opposing him."

"Yes, yes," says I, "you shall see I can oppose him; I have learnt to say no now, though I had not learnt it before; if the best lord in the land offered me marriage now, I could very cheerfully say no to him."

"Well, but, my dear," says he, "what can you say to him? You know, as you said when we talked of it before, he will ask you many questions about it, and all the house will wonder what the meaning of it should be."

"Why," says I, smiling, "I can stop all their mouths at one clap by telling him, and them too, that I am married already to his elder brother."

He smiled a little at the word, but I could see it startled him, and he could not hide the disorder it put him into; however he returned—

"Why, though that may be true in some sense,

yet I suppose you are but in jest when you talk of giving such an answer as that, it may not be convenient on many accounts."

"No, no," says I pleasantly, "I am not so fond of letting the secret come out, without your consent."

"But what then can you say to him, or to them," says he, "when they find you positive against a match which would be apparently so much to your advantage?"

"Why," says I, "should I be at a loss? First of all, I am not obliged to give them any reason at all; on the other hand, I may tell them I am married already, and stop there; and that will be a full stop too to him, for he can have no reason to ask one question after it."

"Ay," says he, "but the whole house will tease you about that, even to father and mother, and if you deny them positively, they will be disobliged at you, and suspicious besides."

"Why," says I, "what can I do? what would you have me do? I was in strait enough before; and, as I told you, I was in perplexity before, and acquainted you with the circumstances, that I might have your advice."

"My dear," says he, "I have been considering very much upon it, you may be sure, and though it is a piece of advice that has a great many mortifications in it to me, and may at first seem strange to you, yet all things considered, I see no better way for you than to let him go on, and if you find him hearty and in earnest, marry him."

I gave him a look full of horror at those words, and turning pale as death, was at the very point of sinking down out of the chair I sat in; when giving a start, "My dear," says he aloud, "what is the matter with you? Where are you a going?" and a great many such things, and with jogging and calling to me, he fetched me a little to myself, though it was a good while before I fully recovered my senses, and was not able to speak for several minutes more.

When I was fully recovered he began again: "My dear," says he, "what made you so surprised at what I said, I would have you consider seriously of it? You may see plainly how the family stand in this case, and they would be stark mad if it was my case, as it is my brother's, and for aught I see, it would be my ruin and yours too."

"Ah!" says I, still speaking angrily, "are all your protestations and vows to be shaken by the dislike of the family? Did I not always object that to you, and you made a light thing of it, as what you were above, and would not value, and is it come to this now?" said I. "Is this your faith and honour, your love, and the solidity of your promises?"

He continued perfectly calm, notwithstanding all my reproaches, and I was not sparing of them at all; but he replied at last, "My dear, I have not broken one promise with you yet; I did tell you I would marry you when I was come to my estate; but you see my father is a hale, healthy man, and may live these thirty years still, and not be older than several are around us in the town, and you never proposed my marrying you sooner, because you know it might be my ruin, and as to all the rest, I have not failed you in anything, you have wanted for nothing."

I could not deny a word of this, and had nothing to say to it in general; "But why then," says I, "can you persuade me to such a horrid step as leaving you, since you have not left me? Will you allow no affection, no love on my side, where there has been so much on your side? Have I made you no returns? Have I given no testimony of my sincerity, and of my passion? Are the sacrifices I have made of honour and modesty to you no proof of my being tied to you in bonds too strong to be broken?"

"But here, my dear," says he, "you may come into a safe station, and appear with honour and with splendour at once, and the remembrance of what we have done may be wrapt up in an eternal silence, as if it had never happened; you shall always have my respect, and my sincere affection, only then it shall be honest, and perfectly just to my brother, you shall be my dear sister, as now you are my dear——" and there he stopped.

"Your dear whore," says I, "you would have said, if you had gone on, and you might as well have said it, but I understand you; however, I desire you to remember the long discourses you have had with me, and the many hours pains you have taken to persuade me to believe myself an honest woman; that I was your wife intentionally, though not in the eyes of the world, and that it was as effectual a marriage that had passed between us as if we had been publicly wedded by the parson of the parish; you know and cannot but remember that these have been your own words to me."

I found this was a little too close upon him, but I made it up in what follows. He stood stock still for awhile, and said nothing, and I went on thus—"You cannot," says I, "without the highest injustice, believe that I yielded upon all these persuasions without a love not to be questioned, not to be shaken again by anything that could happen afterward. If you have such dishonourable thoughts of me, I must ask you what foundation in any of my behaviour have I given for such a suggestion? If then I have yielded to the importunities of my affection, and if I have been persuaded to believe that I am really, and in the essence of the thing, your wife, shall I now give the lie to all those arguments, and call myself your whore, or mistress, which is the same thing? And will you transfer me to your brother? Can you transfer my affection? Can you bid me cease loving you, and bid me love him? Is it in my power, think you, to make such a change at demand? No, sir," said I, "depend upon it it is impossible, and whatever the change of your side may be I will ever be true, and I had much rather, since it is come to that unhappy length, be your whore than your brother's wife."

He appeared pleased and touched with the impression of this last discourse, and told me that he stood where he did before; that he had not been unfaithful to me in any one promise he had ever made yet, but that there were so many terrible things presented themselves to his view in the affair before me, and that on my account in particular, that he had thought of the other as a remedy so effectual, as nothing could come up to it; that he thought this would not be an entire parting us, but that we might love as friends

all our days, and perhaps with more satisfaction than we should in the station we were now in, as things might happen; that he durst say I could not apprehend anything from him as to betraying a secret, which could not but be the destruction of us both, if it came out; that he had but one question to ask of me that could lie in the way of it, and if that question was answered in the negative, he could not but think still it was the only step I could take.

I guessed at his question presently, namely, whether I was sure I was not with child? As to that, I told him he need not be concerned about it, for I was not with child. "Why, then, my dear," says he, "we have no time to talk farther now, consider of it and think closely about it; I cannot but be of the opinion still, that it will be the best course you can take," and with this he took his leave, and the more hastily too, his mother and sisters ringing at the gate just at the moment that he had risen to go.

He left me in the utmost confusion of thought, and he easily perceived it the next day, and all the rest of the week, for it was but Tuesday evening when we talked; but he had no opportunity to come to me all that week till the Sunday after, when I, being indisposed, did not go to church, and he making some excuse for the like, stayed at home.

And now he had me an hour and a half again by myself, and we fell into the same arguments all over again, or at least so near the same, as it would be to no purpose to repeat them; at last I asked him warmly what opinion he must have of my modesty, that he could suppose I should so much as entertain a thought of lying with two brothers? And assured him it could never be. I added, if he was to tell me that he would never see me more, than which nothing but death could be more terrible, yet I could never entertain a thought so dishonourable as this to myself, and so base to him; and therefore I entreated him, if he had one grain of respect or affection left for me, that he would speak no more of it to me, or that he would pull his sword out and kill me. He appeared surprised at my obstinacy, as he called it; told me I was unkind to myself and unkind to him in it; that it was a crisis unlooked for upon us both, and impossible for either of us to foresee; but that he did not see any other way to save us both from ruin, and therefore he thought it the more unkind; but that if he must say no more of it to me, he added with an unusual coldness, that he did not know anything else we had to talk of; and so he rose up to take his leave. I rose up too, as if with the same indifference, but when he came to give me as it were a parting kiss, I burst out into such a passion of crying, that though I would have spoke I could not, and only pressing his hand, seemed to give him the adieu, but cried vehemently.

He was sensibly moved with this; so he sat down again and said a great many kind things to me, to abate the excess of my passion; but still urged the necessity of what he had proposed, all the while insisting that if I did refuse he would, notwithstanding, provide for me; but letting me plainly see that he would decline me in the main point, nay, even as a mistress; making it a point

of honour not to lie with a woman that, for ought he knew, might come to be his brother's wife.

The bare loss of him as a gallant was not so much my affliction as the loss of his person, whom indeed I loved to distraction, and the loss of all the expectations I had, and which I always had built my hopes upon, of having him one day for my husband. These things oppressed my mind so much that, in short, I fell very ill; the agonies of my mind, in a word, threw me into a high fever, and so long it was that none in the family expected my life.

I was reduced very low indeed, and was often delirious and light-headed; but nothing lay so near me as the fear, that when I was light-headed I should say something or other to his prejudice. I was distressed in my mind also to see him, and so was he to see me, for he really loved me most passionately. But it could not be; there was not the least room to desire it, on one side or other, or so much as to make it decent.

It was near five weeks that I kept my bed, and though the violence of my fever abated in three weeks, yet it several times returned, and the physicians said two or three times they could do no more for me, but that they must leave nature and the distemper to fight it out, only strengthening the first with cordials to maintain the struggle. After the end of five weeks I grew better, but was so weak, so altered, so melancholy, and recovered so slowly, that the physicians apprehended I should go into a consumption, and which vexed me most, they gave it as their opinion that my mind was oppressed, that something troubled me, and in short, that I was in love. Upon this the whole house was set upon me to examine me and to press me to tell whether I was in love or not, and with who? But, as I well might, I denied my being in love at all.

They had, on this occasion, a squabble one day about me at table, that had like to have put the whole family in an uproar, and for some time did so. They happened to be all at table but the father; as for me, I was ill, and in my chamber. At the beginning of the talk, which was just as they had finished their dinner, the old gentlewoman who had sent me somewhat to eat, called her maid to go up and ask me if I would have any more; but the maid brought down word I had not eaten half what she had sent me already.

"Alas," says the old lady, "that poor girl, I am afraid she will never be well."

"Well!" says the elder brother, "how should Mrs Betty be well, they say she is in love?"

"I believe nothing of it," says the old gentlewoman.

"I do not know," says the eldest sister, "what to say to it; they have made such a rout about her being so handsome, and so charming, and I know not what, and that in her hearing too, that has turned the creature's head, I believe; and who knows what possessions may follow such doings? For my part, I do not know what to make of it."

"Why, sister, you must acknowledge she is very handsome," says the elder brother.

"Ah, and a great deal handsomer than you sister," says Robin, "and that is your mortification."

"Well, well, that is not the question," says his

sister, "the girl is well enough, and she knows it well enough; she need not be told of it to make her vain."

"We are not talking of her being vain," says the eldest brother, "but of her being in love; it may be she is in love with herself, it seems my sisters think so."

"I would she was in love with me," says Robin, "I would quickly put her out of her pain."

"What do ye mean, son?" says the old lady. "How can you talk so?"

"Why, madam," says Robin again, very honestly, "do you think I would let the poor girl die for love, and of one that is near at hand to be had too?"

"Fie, brother," says the second sister, "How can you talk so? Would you take a creature that has not a groat in the world?"

"Pr'ythee, child," says Robin, "beauty is a portion, and good-humour with it, is a double portion; I wish thou hadst half her stock of both for thy portion." So there was her mouth stopped.

"I find," says the eldest sister, "if Betty is not in love, my brother is; I wonder he has not broke his mind to Betty, I warrant she will not say no."

"They that yield when they are asked," says Robin, "are one step before them that were never asked to yield, sister, and two steps before them that yield before they are asked; and that is an answer to you, sister."

This fired the sister, and she flew into a passion, and said, "Things were come to that pass, that it was time the wench, meaning me, was out of the family, and but that she was not fit to be turned out; she hoped her father and mother would consider of it, as soon as she could be removed."

Robin replied, "That was the business of the master and mistress of the family, who were not to be taught by one that had so little judgment as his eldest sister."

It run up a great deal farther; the sister scolded, Robin rallied and bantered, but poor Betty lost ground by it extremely in the family. I heard of it, and cried heartily, and the old lady came up to me, somebody having told her that I was so much concerned about it. I complained to her, that it was very hard the doctors should pass such a censure upon me, for which they had no ground, and that it was still harder, considering the circumstances I was under in the family; that I hoped I had done nothing to lessen her esteem for me, or given any occasion for the bickering between her sons and daughters, and I had more need think of a coffin than of being in love, and begged she would not let me suffer in her opinion for anybody's mistakes but my own.

She was sensible of the justice of what I said, but told me, since there had been such a clamour among them, and that her younger son talked after such a rattling way as he did; she desired I would be so faithful to her as to answer her but one question sincerely. I told her I would with all my heart, and with the utmost plainness and sincerity. Why then the question was, "Whether there was anything between her son Robert and me?" I told her, with all the pro-

testation of sincerity that I was able to make, and as I might well do, that there was not, nor ever had been. I told her that Mr Robert had rattled and jested, as she knew it was his way, and that I took it always as I suppose he meant it, to be a wild airy way of discourse, that had no signification in it; and again assured her that there was not the least tittle of what she understood by it between us; and that those who had suggested it had done me a great deal of wrong, and Mr Robert no service at all.

The old lady was fully satisfied, and kissed me, spoke cheerfully to me, and bid me take care of my health, and want for nothing, and so took her leave; but when she came down, she found the brother and all his sisters together by the ears. They were angry even to passion at his upbraiding them with their being homely, and having never had any sweetheart, never having been asked the question, and their being so forward as almost to ask first. He rallied them upon the subject of Mrs Betty; how pretty, how good-humoured, how she sung better than they did, and danced better, and how much handsomer she was; and in doing this he omitted no ill-natured thing that could vex them, and, indeed, pushed too hard upon them. The old lady came down in the height of it, and to put a stop to it, told them all the discourse she had with me, and how I answered that there was nothing between Mr Robert and I.

"She is wrong there," says Robin, "for if there was not a great deal between us, we should be closer together than we are; I told her I loved her dearly," says he, "but I could never make the jade believe I was in earnest."

"I do not know how you should," says his mother, "nobody in their senses could believe you were in earnest to talk so to a poor girl, whose circumstances you know so well. But pr'ythee, son," adds she, "since you tell me that you cannot make her believe you were in earnest, what must we believe about it; for you ramble so in your discourse that nobody knows whether you are in earnest or in jest? But as I find the girl, by your confession, has answered truly, I wish you would do so too, and tell me seriously, so that I may depend upon it. Is there any thing in it, or no? Are you in earnest, or no? Are you distracted indeed, or are you not? It is a weighty question, and I wish you would make us easy about it."

"By my faith, madam," says Robin, "it is in vain to mince the matter, or tell any more lies about it, I am in earnest as much as a man is that is going to be hanged. If Mrs Betty would say she loved me, and that she would marry me, I'd have her to-morrow morning fasting; and say, 'To have and to hold,' instead of eating my breakfast."

"Well," says the mother, "then there is one son lost;" and she said it in a very mournful tone, as one greatly concerned at it.

"I hope not, madam," says Robin, "no man is lost when a good wife has found him."

"Why, but child," says the old lady, "she is a beggar."

"Why then, madam, she has the more need of charity," says Robin; "I will take her off the

hands of the parish, and she and I will beg together."

"It's bad jesting with such things," says the mother.

"I do not jest, madam," says Robin, "we will come and beg your pardon, madam, and your blessing, madam, and my father's."

"This is all out of the way, son," says the mother, "if you are in earnest you are undone."

"I am afraid not," says he, "for I am really afraid she won't have me, after all my sister's huffing and blustering; I believe I shall never be able to persuade her to it."

"That is a fine tale, indeed, she is not so far out of her senses neither; Mrs Betty is no fool," says the younger sister, "do you think she has learnt to say no, any more than other people?"

"No, Mrs Mirth-wit," says Robin, "Mrs Betty's no fool, but Mrs Betty may be engaged some other way, and what then?"

"Nay," says the eldest sister, "we can say nothing to that. Who must it be to then? She is never out of doors, it must be between you."

"I have nothing to say to that," says Robin, "I have been examined enough; there is my brother, if it must be between us, go to work with him."

This stung the elder brother to the quick, and he concluded that Robin had discovered something. However, he kept himself from appearing disturbed. "Prythee," says he, "do not go to sham your stories off upon me, I tell you I deal in no such ware; I have nothing to say to Mrs Betty, nor any of the Miss Bettys in the parish; and with that he rose up and brushed off."

"No," says the eldest sister, "I dare answer for my brother, he knows the world better."

Thus the discourse ended; but it left the elder brother confounded. He concluded his brother had made a full discovery, and he began to doubt whether I had been concerned in it or not; but with all management he could not bring it about to get at me. At last, he was so perplexed that he was quite desperate, and resolved he would come into my chamber and see me, whatever came of it. In order to this, he contrived it so, that one day after dinner, watching his eldest sister till he could see her go up stairs, he runs after her. "Hark ye, sister," says he, "where is this sick woman? May not a body see her?"—"Yes," says the sister, "I believe you may, but let me go first a little, and I will tell you." So she ran up to the door and gave me notice; and presently called to him again. "Brother," says she, "you may come if you please;" so in he came, just in the same kind of rant.

"Well," says he, at the door as he came in, "where is this sick body that is in love? How do ye do, Mrs Betty?"

"I would have got out of my chair, but was so weak I could not for a good while; and he saw it and his sister too," and she said, "Come, do not strive to stand up, my brother desires no ceremony, especially now you are so weak."—"No, no, Mrs Betty, pray sit still," says he, and so sits himself down in a chair over against me, and appeared as if he was mighty merry.

He talked a deal of rambling stuff to his sister

and me, sometimes of one thing, sometimes of another, on purpose to amuse his sister: and every now and then would turn it upon the old story, directing it to me. "Poor Mrs Betty," says he, "it is a sad thing to be in love. Why it has reduced you sadly." At last I spoke a little. "I am glad to see you so merry, sir," says I, "but I think the doctor might have found something better to do than to make his game at his patients. If I had been ill of no other distemper, I know the proverb too well to have let him come to me."—"What proverb," says he? "Oh! I remember it now; what,

'Where love is the case,
The doctor's an ass.'

"Is not that it, Mrs Betty?" I smiled, and said nothing. "Nay," says he, "I think the effect has proved it to be love; for it seems the doctor has been able to do you but little service, you mend very slowly they say, I doubt there is somewhat in it, Mrs Betty; I doubt you are sick of the incurables, and that is love." I smiled, and said, "No, indeed sir, that is none of my distemper."

We had a deal of such discourse, and sometimes other that signified as little. By and by he asked me to sing them a song; at which I smiled, and said my singing days were over. At last he asked me if he should play upon his flute to me. His sister said, "She believed it would hurt me, and that my head could not bear it." I bowed, and said, "No, it would not hurt me; and pray, madam," said I, "do not hinder it, I love the music of the flute very much." Then his sister said, "Well, do then, brother." With that he pulled out the key of his closet, "Dear sister," says he, "I am very lazy, do step to my closet and fetch my flute, it lies in such a drawer, naming a place where he was sure it was not, that she might be a little while a looking for it.

As soon as she was gone he related the whole story to me of the discourse his brother had about me, and of his pushing it at him, and his concern about it, which was the reason of his contriving this visit to me. I assured him I had never opened my mouth either to his brother or anybody else. I told him the dreadful exigence I was in; that my love to him, and his offering to have me forget that affection and remove it to another, had thrown me down; and that I had a thousand times wished I might die, rather than recover, and to have the same circumstances to struggle with as I had before; and that this backwardness to life had been the great reason of the slowness of my recovering. I added, that I foresaw that as soon as I was well I must quit the family; and that as for marrying his brother, I abhorred the thoughts of it, after what had been my case with him, and that he might depend upon it I would never see his brother again upon that subject. That if he would break all his vows and oaths and engagements with me, be that between his conscience and his honour and himself; but he should never be able to say that I, who he had persuaded to call myself his wife, and who had given him the liberty to use me as a wife, was not as faithful to him as a wife ought to be, whatever he might be to me.

He was going to reply, and had said that he

was sorry I could not be persuaded, and was going to say more, but he heard his sister coming, and so did I; and yet I forced out these few words as a reply, "That I could never be persuaded to love one brother and marry another." He shook his head and said, "Then I am ruined," meaning himself, and that moment his sister entered the room, and told him she could not find the flute. "Well," says he, merrily, "this laziness will not do; so he gets up and goes himself to look for it, but comes back without it too; not but that he could have found it, but because his mind was a little disturbed, and he had no mind to play; and besides, the errand he sent his sister on was answered another way, for he only wanted an opportunity to speak to me, which he gained, though not much to his satisfaction.

I had, however, a great deal of satisfaction in having spoken my mind to him with freedom, and with such an honest plainness, as I have related; and though it did not at all work the way I desired, that is to say, to oblige the person to me the more, yet it took from him all possibility of quitting me but by a downright breach of honour, and giving up all the faith of a gentleman to me, which he had so often engaged, by, never to abandon me, but to make me his wife as soon as he came to his estate.

It was not many weeks after this before I was about the house again, and began to grow well; but I continued melancholy, silent, dull, and retired, which amazed the whole family, except he that knew the reason of it; yet it was a great while before he took any notice of it, and I, as backward to speak as he, carried respectfully to him, but never offered to speak a word to him that was particular of any kind whatsoever; and this continued for sixteen or seventeen weeks, so that as I expected every day to be dismissed the family on account of what distaste they had taken another way, in which I had no guilt, so I expected to hear no more of this gentleman, after all his solemn vows and protestations, but to be ruined and abandoned.

At last I broke the way myself in the family for my removing; for being talking seriously with the old lady one day about my own circumstances in the world, and how my distemper had left a heaviness upon my spirits, that I was not the same thing I was before, the old lady said, "I am afraid, Betty, what I have said to you about my son has had some influence upon you, and that you are melancholy on his account; pray will you let me know how the matter stands with you both, if it may not be improper? for as for Robin, he does nothing but rally and banter when I speak to him."

"Why truly, madam," said I, "the matter stands as I wish it did not, and I shall be very sincere with you in it, whatever befalls me for it; Mr Robert has several times proposed marriage to me, which is what I had no reason to expect, my poor circumstances considered; but I have always resisted him, and that, perhaps, in terms more positive than became me, considering the regard that I ought to have for every branch of your family. But," said I, "madam, I could never so far forget my obligations to you and all your house, to offer to consent to a thing which I know must needs be disobliging to you, and

this I have made my argument to him, and have positively told him that I would never entertain a thought of that kind, unless I had your consent and his father's also, to whom I was bound by so many invincible obligations."

"And is this possible, Mrs Betty," says the old lady? "Then you have been much juster to us than we have been to you; for we have all looked upon you as a kind of a snare to my son, and I had a proposal to make to you for your removing for fear of it; but I had not yet mentioned it to you, because I thought ye were not thoroughly well, and I was afraid of grieving you too much, lest it should throw you down again; for we have all a respect for you still, though not so much as to have it be the ruin of my son; but if it be as you say, we have all wronged you very much."

"As to the truth of what I say, madam," said I, "I refer you to your son himself; if he will do me any justice, he must tell you the story just as I have told it."

Away goes the old lady to her daughters and tells them the whole story just as I had told it her, and they were surprised at it you may be sure, as I believed they would be. One said, she could never have thought it; another said, Robin was a fool; a third said, she would not believe a word of it, and she would warrant that Robin would tell the story another way; but the old gentleman, who was resolved to go to the bottom of it, before I could have the least opportunity of acquainting her son with what had passed, resolved too that she would talk with her son immediately, and to that purpose sent for him, for he was gone but to a lawyer's house in the town upon some petty business of his own, and upon her sending he returned immediately.

Upon his coming up to them, for they were all still together, "Sit down Robin," says the old lady, "I must have some talk with you."

"With all my heart, madam," says Robin, looking very merry; "I hope it is about a good wife, for I am at a great loss in that affair."

"How can that be," says his mother; "did not you say you resolved to have Mrs Betty?"

"Ay, madam," says Robin, "but there is one that has forbid the banns."

"Forbid the banns," says his mother, "who can that be?"

"Even Mrs Betty herself," says Robin.

"How so?" says his mother. "Have you asked her the question then?"

"Yes, indeed, madam," says Robin; "I have attacked her in form five times since she was sick, and am beaten off; the jade is so stout she will not capitulate, nor yield upon any terms, except such as I cannot effectually grant."

"Explain yourself," says the mother, "for I am surprised, I do not understand you; I hope you are not in earnest."

"Why, madam," says he, "the case is plain enough upon me; it explains itself: she won't have me, she says;—is not that plain enough? I think it is plain, and pretty rough too."

"Well, but," says the mother, "you talk of conditions that you cannot grant, what, does she want a settlement? Her jointure ought to be according to her portion; but what fortune does she bring you?"

"Nay, as to fortune," says Robin, "she is rich enough; I am satisfied in that point; but it is I that am not able to come up to her terms, and she is positive she will not have me without."

Here the sisters put in. "Madam," says the second sister, "it is impossible to be serious with him; he will never give a direct answer to anything: you had better let him alone, and talk no more of it to him; you know how to dispose of her out of his way, if you thought there was anything in it."

Robin was a little warmed with his sister's rudeness, but he was even with her; and yet with good manners too. "There are two sorts of people, madam," says he, "turning to his mother, that is, a wise body and a fool; it is a little hard I should engage with both of them together."

The younger sister then put in. "We must be fools indeed," says she, "in my brother's opinion, that he should think we can believe he has seriously asked Mrs Betty to marry him, and that she has refused him."

"Answer, and answer not," says Solomon, replied her brother. "When your brother had said to your mother, that he had asked her no less than five times, and that it was so, that she positively denied him, methinks a younger sister need not question the truth of it, when her mother did not."

"My mother, you see, did not understand it," says the second sister.

"There is some difference," says Robin, "between desiring me to explain it, and telling me she did not believe it."

"Well but, son," says the old lady, "if you are disposed to let us into the mystery of it, what were these hard conditions?"

"Yes, madam," says Robin, "I had done it before now if the teasers here had not worried me by way of interruption. The conditions are, that I bring my father and you to consent to it, and without that, she protests she will never see me more upon that head; and these conditions, as I said, I suppose I shall never be able to grant; I hope my warm sisters will be answered now, and blush a little; if not, I have no more to say till I hear farther."

This answer was surprising to them all, though less to the mother, because of what I had said to her; as to the daughters, they stood mute a great while; but the mother said with some passion, "Well, I had heard this before, but I could not believe it; but if it is so, then we have all done Betty wrong, and she has behaved better than I ever expected."

"Nay," says the eldest sister, "if it is so, she has acted handsomely indeed."

"I confess," says the mother, "it was none of her fault, if he was fool enough to take a fancy to her, but to give such an answer to him, shows more respect to your father and me than I can tell how to express; I shall value the girl the better for it as long as I know her."

"But I shall not," says Robin, "unless you will give your consent."

"I will consider of that awhile," says the mother, "I assure you, if there were not some other objections in the way, this conduct of hers would go a great way to bring me to consent."

"I wish it would go quite through with it,"

says Robin; "if you had as much thought about making me easy as you have about making me rich, you would soon consent to it."

"Why Robin," says the mother again, "are you really in earnest? Would you so fain have her as you pretend?"

"Really, madam," says Robin, "I think it is hard you should question me upon that head, after all I have said; I won't say that I will have her, how can I resolve that point, when you see I cannot have her without your consent? Besides, I am not bound to marry at all; but this I will say I am in earnest in, that I will never have anybody else if I can help it, so you may determine for me, Betty, or nobody, is the word; and the question which of the two shall be in your breast to decide, madam; provided only, that my good-humoured sisters may have no vote in it."

All this was dreadful to me, for the mother began to yield, and Robin pressed her home in it. On the other hand, she advised with the eldest son, and he used all the arguments in the world to persuade her to consent: alleging his brother's passionate love for me, and my generous regard to the family, in refusing my own advantage, upon such a nice point of honour, and a thousand such things. And as to the father, he was a man in a hurry of public affairs, and getting money, seldom at home, thoughtful of the main chance; but left all those things to his wife.

You may easily believe, that when the plot was thus, as they thought, broke out, and that every one thought they knew how things were carried, it was not so difficult, or so dangerous, for the elder brother, who nobody suspected of anything, to have a freer access to me than before. Nay, the mother, which was just as he wished, proposed it to him to talk with Mrs Betty. "For it may be, son," said she, "you may see farther into the thing than I, and see if you think she has been so positive as Robin says she has been, or no. This was as well as he could wish, and he as it were yielding to talk with me at his mother's request, she brought me to him into her own chamber; told me her son had some business with me at her request, and desired me to be very sincere with him, and then she left us together, and he went and shut the door after her.

He came back to me and took me in his arms and kissed me very tenderly; but told me he had a long discourse to hold with me, and it was now come to that crisis that I should make myself happy or miserable, as long as I lived: that the thing was now gone so far, that if I could not comply with his desire, we should be both ruined: then he told me the whole story between Robin, as he called him, and his mother, and sisters, and himself, as it is above. "And now, dear child," says he, "consider what it will be to marry a gentleman of a good family in good circumstances, and with the consent of the whole house, and to enjoy all that the world can give you: and what, on the other hand, to be sunk into the dark circumstances of a woman that has lost her reputation, and that though I shall be a private friend to you while I live, yet, as I shall be suspected always, so you will be afraid to see me, and I shall be afraid to own you."

He gave me no time to reply, but went on with

me thus : " What has happened between us, child, so long as we both agree to do so, may be buried and forgotten. I shall always be your sincere friend, without any inclination to nearer intimacy, when you become my sister; and we shall have all the honest part of conversation without any reproaches between us, of having done amiss : I beg of you to consider it, and do not stand in the way of your own safety and prosperity; and to satisfy you that I am sincere," added he, " I here offer you 500*l.* in money to make you some amends for the freedoms I have taken with you, which we shall look upon as some of the follies of our lives, which it is hoped we may repent of."

He spoke this in so much more moving terms than it is possible for me to express, and with so much greater force of argument than I can repeat, that I only recommend it to those who read the story, to suppose, that, as he held me above an hour and a half in that discourse, so he answered all my objections, and fortified his discourse with all the arguments that human wit and art could devise.

I cannot say, however, that anything he said made impression enough upon me so as to give me any thought of the matter, till he told me at last very plainly, that if I refused, he was sorry to add, that he could never go on with me in that station as we stood before; that though he loved me as well as ever, and that I was as agreeable to him as ever, yet sense of virtue had not so far forsaken him as to suffer him to lie with a woman that his brother courted to make his wife; and if he took his leave of me with a denial in this affair, whatever he might do for me in the point of support grounded on his first engagement of maintaining me, yet he would not have me be surprised that he was obliged to tell me he could not allow himself to see me any more, and that indeed I could not expect it of him.

I received this last part with some tokens of surprise and disorder, and had much ado to avoid sinking down, for indeed I loved him to an extravagance not easy to imagine; but he perceived my disorder; he entreated me to consider seriously of it, assured me that it was the only way to preserve our mutual affection, that in this station we might love as friends with the utmost passion, and with a love of relation untainted; free from our just reproaches, and free from other people's suspicions; that he should ever acknowledge his happiness owing to me; that he would be a debtor to me as long as he had breath; thus he wrought up, in short, to a kind of hesitation in the matter; having the dangers on one side represented in lively figures, and indeed heightened by my imagination of being turned out to the wide world a mere cast-off whore, for it was no less, and perhaps exposed as such, with little to provide for myself; with no friend, no acquaintance in the whole world out of that town, and there I could not pretend to stay. All this terrified me to the last degree, and he took care upon all occasions to lay it home to me in the worst colours that it could be possible to be drawn in; on the other hand, he failed not to set forth the easy prosperous life which I was going to live.

He answered all that I could object from affection, and from former engagements, with telling me the necessity that was before us of taking other

measures now; and as to his promises of marriage, the nature of things, he said, had put an end to that, by the probability of my being his brother's wife, before the time to which his promises all referred.

Thus, in a word, I may say, he reasoned me out of my reason; he conquered all my arguments, and I began to see a danger that I was in, which I had not considered of before, and that was of being dropped by both of them, and left alone in the world to shift for myself.

This, and his persuasions, at length prevailed with me to consent, though with so much reluctance, that it was easy to see I should go to church like a bear to the stake. I had some little apprehension about me too, lest my new spouse, who by the way I had not the least affection for, should he be skilful enough to challenge me on another account upon our first coming to bed together; but whether he did it with design or not I know not; but his elder brother took care to make him very much fuddled before he went to bed; so that I had the satisfaction of a drunken bedfellow the first night: how he did it I know not, but I concluded that he certainly contrived it that his brother might be able to make no judgment of the difference between a maid and a married woman; nor did he ever entertain any notions of it, or disturb his thoughts about it.

I should go back a little here to where I left off; the elder brother having thus managed me, his next business was to manage his mother, and he never left till he had brought her to acquiesce, and be passive in the thing, even without acquainting the father other than by post letters, so that she consented to our marrying privately, and leaving her to manage the father afterwards.

Then he cajoled with his brother, persuaded him what service he had done him, and how he had brought his mother to consent, which, though true, was not indeed done to serve him, but to serve himself; but thus diligently did he cheat him, and had the thanks of a faithful friend for shifting off his whore into his brother's arms for a wife. So certainly does interest banish all manner of affection, and so naturally do men give up honour and justice, humanity, and even Christianity, to secure themselves.

I must now come back to brother Robin, as we always called him; who having got his mother's consent as above, came big with the news to me, and told me the whole story of it with a sincerity so visible, that I must confess it grieved me that I must be the instrument to abuse so honest a gentleman; but there was no remedy; he would have me, and I was not obliged to tell him that I was his brother's whore, though I had no other way to put him off; so I came gradually into it to his satisfaction, and behold, we were married.

Modesty forbids me to reveal the secrets of the marriage bed, but nothing could happen more suitable to my circumstances than that, as above, my husband was so fuddled when he came to bed that he could not remember in the morning whether he had had any conversation with me or not, and I was obliged to tell him he had, though in reality he had not, that I might be sure he could make no inquiry about anything else.

It concerns the story in hand very little to enter

into the farther particulars of the family, or of myself, for the five years that I lived with this husband; only to observe that I had two children by him, and at the end of five years he died. He had been really a good husband to me, and we lived very agreeably together; but as he had not received much from them, and had in the little time he lived acquired no great matters, so my circumstances were not great; nor was I much mended by the match. Indeed I had preserved the elder brother's bonds to me to pay me 500*l.*, which he offered me for my consent to marry his brother; and this, with what I had saved of the money he formerly gave me, and about as much more my husband, left me a widow with about 1200*l.* in my pocket.

My two children were indeed taken happily off my hands by the husband's father and mother, and that by the way was all they got by Mrs Betty.

I confess I was not suitably affected with the loss of my husband; nor indeed can I say that I ever loved him as I ought to have done, or as was proportionable to the good usage I had from him, for he was a tender, kind, good-humoured man as any woman could desire; but his brother being so always in my sight, at least while we were in the country, was a continual snare to me; and I never was in bed with my husband, but I wished myself in the arms of his brother, and though his brother never offered me the least kindness that way, after our marriage, but carried it just as a brother ought to do; yet it was impossible for me to do so to him. In short, I committed adultery and incest with him every day in my desires, which, without doubt, was as effectually criminal in the nature of the guilt as if I had actually done it.

Before my husband died his elder brother was married, and we being then removed to London, were written to by the old lady to come, and be at the wedding; my husband went, but I pretended indisposition, and that I could not possibly travel, so I staid behind; for, in short, I could not bear the sight of his being given to another woman, though I knew I was never to have him myself.

I was now left loose to the world, and being still young and handsome, as everybody said of me, and I assure you I thought myself so, and with a tolerable fortune in my pocket, I put no small value upon myself; I was courted by several very considerable tradesmen, and particularly very warmly by one, a linen-draper, at whose house after my husband's death I took a lodging, his sister being my acquaintance; here I had all the liberty and all the opportunity to be gay, and appear in company that I could desire; my landlord's sister being one of the maddest, gayest things alive, and not so much mistress of her virtue as I thought at first she had been. She brought me into a world of wild company, and even brought home several persons, such as she liked well enough to gratify, to see her pretty widow, so she was pleased to call me, and that name I got in a little time in public; now, as "fame and fools make an assembly," I was here wonderfully caressed, had abundance of admirers, and such as called themselves lovers; but I found not one fair proposal among them all; as

for their common design, that I understood too well to be drawn into any more snares of that kind. The case was altered with me, I had money in my pocket, and had nothing to say to them. I had been tricked once by that cheat called Love, but the game was over; I was resolved now to be married, or nothing, and to be well married, or not at all.

I loved the company indeed of men of mirth and wit, men of gallantry and figure, and was often entertained with such, as I was also with others; but I found, by just observation, that the brightest men came upon the dullest errand, that is to say, the dullest as to what I aimed at; on the other hand, those who came with the best proposals, were the dullest and most disagreeable part of the world; I was not averse to a tradesman, but then I would have tradesman, forsooth, that was something of a gentleman too: that when my husband had a mind to carry me to court, or to the play, he might become a sword, and look as like a gentleman as another man, and not be one that had the mark of his apron-strings upon his coat, or the mark of his hat upon his wig; that should look as if he was set on to his sword, when his sword was put on him, and that carried his trade in his countenance.

Well, at last I found this amphibious creature, this land-water thing, called a gentleman tradesman, and as a just plague upon my folly, I was caught in the very snare, which as I might say, I laid for myself, I say laid for myself, for I was not trepanned I, confess, but I betrayed myself.

This was a draper too, for though my comrade would have brought me to a bargain with her brother; yet when it came to the point, it was it seems, for a mistress, not a wife, and I kept true to this notion, that a woman should never be kept for a mistress that had money to keep herself.

Thus my pride, not my principle, my money, not my virtue, kept me honest; though, as it proved, I found I had much better have been sold by my she comrade to her brother, than have sold myself as I did to a tradesman that was a rake gentleman shopkeeper, and beggar all together.

But I was hurried on (by my fancy to a gentleman) to ruin myself in the grossest manner that ever woman did; for my new husband coming to a lump of money at once, fell into such a profusion of expense, that all I had, and all he had before, if he had anything worth mentioning, would not have held it out above one year.

He was very fond of me for about a quarter of a year, and what I got by that was, that I had the pleasure of seeing a great deal of my money spent upon myself; and, as I may say, had some of the spending it too.

"Come, my dear," says he to me one day, "shall we go and take a turn into the country for about a week?"

"Aye, my dear," says I, "whither would you go?"—"I care not whither," says he, "but I have a mind to look like quality for a week; we will go to Oxford," says he. "How," says I, "shall we go, I am no horsewoman, and it is too far for a coach."

"Too far," says he, "no place is too far for a coach and six. If I carry you out, you shall travel like a duchess."

"Hum," says I, "my dear, it's a frolic, but if you have a mind to it I don't care."

Well, the time was appointed, we had a rich coach, very good horses, a coachman, postillion, and two footmen in very good liveries; a gentleman on horseback, and a page with a feather in his hat upon another horse: the servants all called him "my lord," and the innkeepers, you may be sure did the like, and I was "her honour the countess;" and thus we travelled to Oxford, and a very pleasant journey we had; for, give him his due, not a beggar alive knew better how to be a lord than my husband. We saw all the rarities at Oxford, talked with two or three fellows of colleges, about putting out a young nephew, that was left to his lordship's care for the university, and of their being his tutors. We diverted ourselves with bantering several other poor scholars, with hopes of being at least his lordship's chaplain, and putting on a scarf. Thus having lived like quality indeed as to expense, we went away for Northampton, and, in a word, in about twelve days' ramble, came home again to the tune of about 93*l.* expense.

Vanity is the perfection of a fop; my husband had this excellence, that he valued nothing of expence, and as his history, you may be sure, has very little weight in it, it is enough to tell you, that in about two years and a quarter he broke, and was not so happy as to get over into the Mint, but got into a spunging-house, being arrested in an action too heavy for him to give bail to, so he sent for me to come to him.

It was no surprise to me, for I had foreseen some time that all was going to wreck, and had been taking care to reserve something, though it was not much, for myself. But when he sent for me, he behaved better than I expected, and told me plainly he had played the fool and suffered himself to be surprised, which he might have prevented; that now he foresaw he could not stand it, and therefore he would have me go home, and in the night take away everything I had in the house of any value and secure it; and after that, he told me that if I could get away 100*l.* or 200*l.* in goods out of the shop, I should do it; "Only," says he, "let me know nothing of it, neither what you take, or whither you carry it; for as for me," says he, "I am resolved to get out of this house and begone; and if you never hear of me more, my dear," says he, "I wish you well; I am only sorry for the injury I have done you." He said some very handsome things to me, indeed, at parting; for I told you he was a gentleman, and that was all the benefit I had of his being so; that he used me very handsomely, and with good manners upon all occasions, even to the last, only spent all I had, and left me to rob the creditors for something to subsist on.

However, I did as he bade me, that you may be sure, and having thus taken my leave of him, I never saw him more; for he found means to break out of the bailiff's house that night or the next, and got over into France; and for the rest, the creditors scrambled for it as well as they could. How I knew not, for I could come at no knowledge of anything more than this: that he came home about three o'clock in the morning, caused the rest of his goods to be removed into the Mint, and the shop to be shut up; and having raised

what money he could get together, he got over, as I said, to France, from whence I had one or two letters from him, and no more.

I did not see him when he came home, for he having me such instructions as above, and I having made the best of my time, I had no more business back again at the house, not knowing but I might have been stopped there by the creditors; for a commission of bankrupt, being soon after issued, they might have stopped me by orders from the commissioners. But my husband having so dextrously got out of the bailiff's house, by letting himself down in a most desperate manner, from almost the top of the house to the top of another building, and leaping from thence, which was almost two stories, and which was enough, indeed, to have broken his neck; he came home and got away his goods before the creditors could come to seize, that is to say, before they could get out the commission, and be ready to send their officers to take possession.

My husband was so civil to me, for still I say he was much of a gentleman, that in the first letter he wrote me from France, he let me know where he had pawned twenty pieces of fine holland for 30*l.*, which were really worth above 90*l.*, and enclosed me the token, and an order for the taking them up, paying the money, which I did, and made in time above 100*l.* of them, having leisure to cut them and sell them, some and some to private families, as opportunity offered.

However, with all this, and all that I had secured before, I found upon casting things up, my case was very much altered, and my fortune much lessened, for including the hollands, and a parcel of fine muslins, which I carried off before, and some plate, and other things, I found I could hardly muster up 500*l.*, and my condition was very odd, for though I had no child (I had had one by my gentleman draper, but it was buried), yet I was a widow bewitched, I had a husband, and no husband, and I could not pretend to marry again, though I knew well enough my husband would never see England any more, if he lived fifty years. Thus I say, I was restrained from marriage, what offer soever might be made me; and I had not one friend to advise with, in the condition I was in, at least not one I durst trust the secret of my circumstances to, for if the commissioners were to have been informed where I was, I should have been fetched up and examined upon oath, and all I had saved be taken away from me.

Upon these apprehensions the first thing I did, was to go quite out of my knowledge, and go by another name. This I did effectually, for I went into the Mint too, took lodgings in a very private place, dressed me up in the habit of a widow, and called myself Mrs Flanders.

Here, however, I concealed myself, and though my new acquaintance knew nothing of me, yet I soon got a great deal of company about me, and whether it be that women are scarce among the sort of people that generally are to be found there; or that some consolations, in the miseries of the place, are more requisite than on other occasions, I soon found an agreeable woman was exceedingly valuable among the sons of affliction there; and that those that wanted money to pay half a crown in the pound to their creditors, and

that run in debt at the sign of the Bull for their dinners, would yet find money enough for a supper if they liked the woman.

However, I kept myself safe yet, though I began like my Lord Rochester's mistress, that loved his company, but would not admit him farther, to have the scandal of a WHORE, without the joy; and upon this score tired with the place, and indeed with the company too, I began to think of removing.

It was, indeed, a subject of strange reflection to me, to see men who were overwhelmed in perplexed circumstances; who were reduced some degrees below being ruined, whose families were objects of their own terror and other people's charity, yet while a penny lasted, nay, even beyond it, endeavouring to drown their sorrow in their wickedness, heaping up more guilt upon themselves, labouring to forget former things which now it was the proper time to remember, making more work for repentance, and sinning on as a remedy for sin past.

But it is none of my talent to preach; these men were too wicked even for me; there was something horrid and absurd in their way of sinning, for it was all a force even upon themselves; they did not only act against conscience, but against nature; they put a rape upon their temper to drown the reflections which their circumstances continually gave them, and nothing was more easy than to see how sighs would interrupt their songs, and paleness and anguish sit upon their brows, in spite of the forced smiles they put on; nay, sometimes it would break out at their very mouths, when they had parted with their money for a lewd treat, or a wicked embrace. I have heard them, turning about, fetch a deep sigh, and cry "What a dog am I! Well Betty, my dear, I will drink thy health though," meaning the honest wife that perhaps had not half-a-crown for herself, and three or four children. The next morning they are at their penitentials again, and perhaps the poor weeping wife comes over to him, either brings him some account of what his creditors are doing, and how she and the children are turned out of doors, or some other dreadful news, and this adds to his self-reproaches; but when he has thought and pored on it till he is almost mad, having no principles to support him; nothing within him, or above him, to comfort him; but finding it all darkness on every side, he flies to the same relief again, viz. to drink it away, debauch it away, and falling into company of men in just the same condition with himself, he repeats the crime, and thus he goes on every day one step onward of his way to destruction.

I was not wicked enough for such fellows as these yet; on the contrary, I began to consider here very seriously what I had to do, how things stood with me, and what course I ought to take. I knew I had no friends, no, not one friend or relation in the world; and that little I had left apparently wasting, which, when it was gone, I saw nothing but misery and starving was before me. Upon these considerations, I say, and filled with horror at the place I was in, and the dreadful objects which I had always before me, I resolved to be gone.

I had made an acquaintance with a very sober

good sort of a woman, who was a widow too like me, but in better circumstances. Her husband had been a captain of a merchant ship, and having had the misfortune to be cast away coming home on a voyage from the West Indies, which would have been very profitable, if he had come safe, was so reduced by the loss, that though he had saved his life then, it broke his heart, and killed him afterwards, and his widow being pursued by the creditors, was forced to take shelter in the Mint, she soon made things up with the help of friends, and was at liberty again; and finding that I rather was there to be concealed than by any particular prosecution, and finding also that I agreed with her, or rather she with me, in a just abhorrence of the place and of the company. She invited me to go home with her till I could put myself in some posture of settling in the world to my mind, withal telling me that it was ten to one but some good captain of a ship might take a fancy to me and court me in that part of the town where she lived.

I accepted her offer, and was with her half a year, and should have been longer, but in that interval what she proposed to me happened to herself, and she married very much to her advantage; but whose fortune soever was upon the increase, mine seemed to be upon the wane, and I found nothing present except two or three boatswains or such fellows; but as for the commanders they were generally of two sorts. 1st. Such as having good business, that is to say, a good ship, resolved not to marry but with advantage, that is, with a good fortune. 2d. Such as being out of employ wanted a wife to help them to a ship, I mean. (1.) A wife who, having some money, could enable them to hold, as they call it, a good part of a ship themselves, so as to encourage owners to come in; or, (2.) A wife who, if she had not money, had friends who were concerned in shipping, and so could help to put the young man into a good ship, which to them is as good as a portion, and neither of these was my case; so I looked like one that was to lie on hand.

This knowledge I soon learnt by experience, viz. that the state of things was altered as to matrimony, and that I was not to expect at London what I found in the country, that marriages were here the consequences of politic schemes for forming interests and carrying on business, and that love had no share or but very little in the matter.

That as my sister-in-law at Colchester had said, beauty, wit, manners, sense, good humour, good behaviour, education, virtue, piety, or any other qualification, whether of body or mind, had no power to recommend: that money only made a woman agreeable: that men chose mistresses indeed by the gust of their affection, and it was requisite to a whore to be handsome, well shaped, have a good mien and a graceful behaviour; but that for a wife no deformity would shock the fancy; no ill qualities, the judgment; the money was the thing; the portion was neither crooked nor monstrous, but the money was always agreeable, whatever the wife was.

On the other hand, as the market run on the men's side, I found the women had lost the privilege of saying no, that it was a favour now for a woman to have the question asked; and if any

young lady had so much arrogance as to counterfeit a negative, she never had the opportunity given her of denying twice; much less of recovering that false step, and accepting what she had, but seemed to decline. The men had such choice everywhere, that the case of the women was very unhappy; for they seemed to ply at every door, and if the man was by great chance refused at one house, he was sure to be received at the next.

Besides this, I observed that the men made no scruple to set themselves out, and go a fortune hunting, as they call it, when they had really no fortune themselves to demand it, or merit to deserve it; and that they carried it so high, that a woman was scarce allowed to inquire after the character or estate of the person that pretended to her. This I had an example of in a young lady at the next house to me, and with whom I had contracted an intimacy; she was courted by a young captain, and though she had near 2,000*l.* to her fortune, she did but inquire of some of his neighbours about his character, his morals, or substance; and he took occasion at the next visit to let her know, truly, that he took it very ill, and that he should not give her the trouble of his visits any more. I heard of it, and as I had begun my acquaintance with her, I went to see her upon it. She entered into a close conversation with me about it, and unbosomed herself very freely. I perceived presently that though she thought herself very ill used, yet she had no power to resent it, and was exceedingly piqued that she had lost him; and particularly that another of less fortune had gained him.

I fortified her mind against such a meanness, as I called it; I told her, that as low as I was in the world, I would have despised a man that should think I ought to take him upon his own recommendation only, without having the liberty to inform myself of his fortune and of his character; also I told her, that as she had a good fortune, she had no need to stoop to the disaster of the times; that it was enough that the men could insult us that had but little money to recommend us; but if she suffered such an affront to pass upon her without resenting it, she would be rendered low-priced upon all occasions, and would be the contempt of all the women in that part of the town; that a woman can never want an opportunity to be revenged of a man that has used her ill; and that there were ways enough to humble such a fellow as that, or else certainly women were the most unhappy creatures in the world.

I found she was very well pleased with the discourse, and she told me seriously that she would be very glad to make him sensible of her just resentment, and either to bring him on again, or have the satisfaction of her revenge being as public as possible.

I told her, that if she would take my advice, I would tell her how she should obtain her wishes in both those things; and that I would engage to bring the man to her door again, and make him beg to be let in. She smiled at that, and soon let me see, that if he came to her door, her resentment was not so great as to give her leave to let him stand long there.

However, she listened very willingly to my

offer of advice; so I told her, that the first thing she ought to do, was a piece of justice to herself; namely, that whereas she had been told by several people, that he had reported among the ladies, that he had left her, and pretended to give the advantage of the negative to himself, she should take care to have it well spread among the women, which she could not fail of an opportunity to do in a neighbourhood so addicted to family news as that she had lived in was, that she had inquired into his circumstances, and found he was not the man as to estate he pretended to be. "Let them be told, madam," said I, "that you had been well informed that he was not the man that you expected, and that you thought it was not safe to meddle with him, that you heard he was of an ill temper, and that he boasted how he had used the women ill upon many occasions, and that particularly he was debauched in his morals," &c. The last of which, indeed, had some truth in it; but, at the same time, I did not find that she seemed to like him much the worse for that part.

As I had put this into her head, she came most readily into it. Immediately she went to work to find instruments, and she had very little difficulty in the search; for telling her story in general to a couple of gossips in the neighbourhood, it was the chat of the tea-table all over that part of the town, and I met with it wherever I visited. Also, as it was known that I was acquainted with the young lady herself, my opinion was asked very often, and I confirmed it with all the necessary aggravations, and set out his character in the blackest colours; but then, as a piece of secret intelligence, I added, as what the other gossips knew nothing of, viz. that I had heard he was in very bad circumstances; that he was under a necessity of a fortune to support his interest with the owners of the ship he commanded. That his own part was not paid for, and if it was not paid quickly his owners would put him out of the ship, and his chief mate was likely to command it, who offered to buy that part which the captain had promised to take.

I added, for I confess I was heartily piqued at the rogue, as I called him, that I had heard a rumour, too, that he had a wife alive at Plymouth, and another in the West Indies, a thing which they all knew was not very uncommon for such kind of gentlemen.

This worked as we both desired it, for presently the young lady at next door, who had a father and mother that governed both her and her fortune, was shut up, and her father forbid him the house. Also, in one place more where we went, the woman had the courage, however strange it was, to say no, and he could try nowhere but he was reproached with his pride, and that he pretended not to give the women leave to inquire into his character, and the like.

Well, by this time he began to be sensible of his mistake, and having alarmed all the women on that side of the water, he went over to Ratcliff, and got access to some of the ladies there; but though the young women there too were, according to the fate of the day, pretty willing to be asked, yet such was his ill luck, that his character followed him over the water, and

his good name was much the same there as it was on our side ; so that, though he might have had wives enough, yet it did not happen among the women that had good fortunes, which was what he wanted.

But this was not all ; she very ingeniously managed another thing herself, for she got a young gentleman, who was a relation, and was, indeed, a married man, to come and visit her two or three times a week in a fine chariot and good liveries ; and her two agents, and I also, presently spread a report all over that this gentleman came to court her ; that he was a gentleman of a thousand pounds a year, and that he was fallen in love with her ; and that she was going to her aunt's in the city, because it was inconvenient for the gentleman to come to her with his coach in Redriff, the streets being so narrow and difficult.

This took immediately ; the captain was laughed at in all companies, and was ready to hang himself ; he tried all the ways possible to come at her again, and wrote the most passionate letters to her in the world, excusing his former rashness ; and, in short, by great application, obtained leave to wait on her again, as he said, to clear his reputation.

At this meeting she had her full revenge of him ; for she told him she wondered what he took her to be, that she should admit any man to a treaty of so much consequence as that of marriage, without inquiring very well into his circumstances ; that if he thought she was to be huffed into wedlock, and that she was in the same circumstances her neighbours might be in, viz. to take up with the first good Christian that came, he was mistaken ; that, in a word, his character was really bad, or he was very ill beholding to his neighbours ; and that unless he could clear up some points, in which she had justly been prejudiced, she had no more to say to him, but to do herself justice, and give him the satisfaction of knowing, that she was not afraid to say *no* to him or any other man.

With that she told him what she had heard, or rather raised herself by my means, of his character ; his not having paid for the part he pretended to own of the ship he commanded ; of the resolution of his owners to put him out of the command, and to put his mate in his stead ; and of the scandal raised on his morals ; his having been reproached with such and such women ; and his having a wife at Plymouth, and another in the West Indies, and the like ; and she asked him, whether he could deny that she had good reason, if these things were not cleared up, to refuse him, and in the meantime insist upon having satisfaction in points so significant as they were ?

He was so confounded at her discourse, that he could not answer a word, and she almost began to believe that all was true, by his disorder, though at the same time she knew that she had been the raiser of all those reports herself.

After some time he recovered himself a little, and from that time became the most humble, the most modest, and most importunate man alive in his courtship.

She carried her jest on a great way ; she asked him if he thought she was so at her last shift,

that she could or ought to bear with such treatment, and if he did not see that she did not want those who thought it worth their while to come farther to her than he did, meaning the gentleman who she had brought to visit her by way of a sham.

She brought him by these tricks to submit to all possible measures to satisfy her, as well of his circumstances as of his behaviour. He brought her undeniable evidence of his having paid for his part of the ship ; he brought her certificates from his owners, that the report of their intending to remove him from the command of the ship, and put his chief mate in, was false and groundless, in short, he was quite the reverse of what he was before.

Thus I convinced her, that if the men made their advantage of our sex in the affair of marriage, upon the supposition of there being such choice to be had, and of the women being so easy, it was only owing to this, that the women wanted courage to maintain their ground, and to play their part ; and that, according to my Lord Rochester,—

“ A woman's ne'er so ruin'd but she can
Revenge herself on her undoer, man.”

After these things, this young lady played her part so well, that though she resolved to have him, and that indeed having him was the main bent of her design, yet she made his obtaining her be to him the most difficult thing in the world ; and this she did, not by a haughty, reserved carriage, but by a just policy, turning the tables upon him, and playing back upon him his own game ; for, as he pretended, by a kind of lofty carriage, to place himself above the occasion of a character, and to make inquiring into his character a kind of an affront to him, she broke with him upon that subject ; and at the same time that she made him submit to all possible inquiry after his affairs, she apparently shut the door against his looking into her own.

It was enough to him to obtain her for a wife : as to what she had, she told him plainly, that as he knew her circumstances, it was but just she should know his ; and though at the same time he had only known her circumstances by common fame, yet he had made so many protestations of his passion for her, that he could ask no more but her hand to his grand request, and the like ramble, according to the custom of lovers. In short, he left himself no room to ask any more questions about her estate, and she took the advantage of it like a prudent woman, for she placed part of her fortune so in trustees, without letting him know anything of it, that it was quite out of his reach, and made him very well content with the rest.

It is true, she was pretty well besides,—that is to say, she had about 1,400*l.* in money, which she gave him ; and the other, after some time, she brought to light, as a perquisite to herself, which he was to accept as a mighty favour, seeing, though it was not to be his, it might ease him in the article of her particular expenses ; and I must add, that by this conduct the gentleman himself became not only the more humble in his applications to her to obtain her, but also was much the more an obliging husband to her when he had her. I cannot but remind the

ladies here, how much they place themselves below the common station of a wife, which, if I may be allowed not to be partial, is low enough already;—I say, they place themselves below their common station, and prepare their own mortifications, by their submitting so to be insulted by the men beforehand, which I confess I see no necessity of.

This relation may serve, therefore, to let the ladies see that the advantage is not so much on the other side as the men think it is; and though it may be true that the men have but too much choice among us, and that some women may be found who will dishonour themselves, be cheap, and easy to come at, and will scarce wait to be asked; yet if they will have women, as I may say, worth having, they may find them as un-matable as ever; and that those that are otherwise are a sort of people that have such deficiencies, when had, as rather recommend the ladies that are difficult, than encourage the men to go on with their easy courtship, and expect wives equally valuable that will come at first call.

Nothing is more certain than that the ladies always gain of the men by keeping their ground, and letting their pretended lovers see that they can resent being slighted, and that they are not afraid of saying no. They, I observe, insult us mightily with telling us of the number of women; that the wars and the sea, and trade, and other incidents have carried the men so much away that there is no proportion between the numbers of the sexes, and therefore the women have the disadvantage; but I am far from granting that the number of women is so great, or the number of men so small; but if they will have me tell the truth, the disadvantage of the women is a terrible scandal upon the men, and it lies here and here only; namely, that the age is so wicked, and the sex so debauched, that, in short, the number of such men as an honest woman ought to meddle with is small indeed, and it is but here and there that a man is to be found who is fit for an honest woman to venture upon.

But the consequence even of that too amounts to no more than this, that women ought to be the more nice, for how do we know the just character of the man that makes the offer? To say the woman should be the more easy on this occasion is to say we should be the forwarder to venture because of the greatness of the danger, which in my way of reasoning is very absurd.

On the contrary, the women have ten thousand times the more reason to be wary and backward, by how much the hazard of being betrayed is the greater; and would the ladies consider this and act the wary part, they would discover every cheat that offered; for, in short, the lives of very few men now-a-days will bear a character, and if the ladies do but make a little inquiry they will soon be able to distinguish the men, and deliver themselves. As for women that do not think their own safety worth their thought, that, impatient of their present state, resolve, as they call it, to take the first good Christian that comes, that runs into matrimony as a horse rushes into the battle, I can say nothing to them but this, that they are a sort of ladies that are to be prayed for among the rest of distempered people;

and, to me, they look like people that venture their whole estates in a lottery where there is a hundred thousand blanks to a prize.

No man of common sense will value a woman the less for not giving up herself at the first attack, or for not accepting his proposal without inquiring into his person or character; on the contrary, he must think her the weakest of all creatures in the world, as the rate of men now goes, in short, he must have a very contemptible opinion of her capacities, nay, even of her understanding, that, having but one cast for her life, shall cast that life away at once, and make matrimony, like death, be a leap in the dark.

I would fain have the conduct of my sex a little regulated in this particular, which is the thing in which, of all the parts of life, I think at this time we suffer most in. It is nothing but lack of courage, the fear of not being married at all, and of that frightful state of life called an old maid, of which I have a story to tell by itself; this I say is the woman's snare, but would the ladies once but get above that fear and manage rightly, they would more certainly avoid it by standing their ground in a case so absolutely necessary to their felicity, than by exposing themselves as they do; and if they did not marry so soon as they may do otherwise, they would make themselves amends by marrying safer. She is always married too soon who gets a bad husband; and she is never married too late who gets a good one: in a word, there is no woman, deformity or lost reputation excepted, but if she manages well, may be married safely one time or another; but if she precipitates herself it is ten thousand to one but she is undone.

But I come now to my own case, in which there was at this time no little nicety. The circumstances I was in made the offer of a good husband the most necessary thing in the world to me, but I found soon that to be made cheap and easy was not the way. It soon began to be found that the widow had no fortune, and to say this, was to say all that was ill of me, for I began to be dropt in all the discourses of matrimony. Being well-bred, handsome, witty, modest, and agreeable, all which I had allowed to my character, whether justly or no, is not to the purpose: I say all these would not do without the dross, which was now become more valuable than virtue itself. In short, the widow, they said, had no money.

I resolved, therefore, as to the state of my present circumstances, that it was absolutely necessary to change my station, and make a new appearance in some other place where I was not known, and even to pass by another name if I found occasion.

I communicated my thoughts to my intimate friend, the captain's lady, who I so faithfully served in her case with the captain, and who was as ready to serve me in the same kind as I could desire: I made no scruple to lay my circumstances open to her, my stock was but low, for I had made but about 540*l.* at the close of my last affair, and I had wasted some of that; however, I had about 460*l.* left, a great many very rich clothes, a gold watch, and some jewels, though of no extraordinary value, and about 30*l.* or 40*l.* left in linen not disposed of.

My dear and faithful friend, the captain's wife, was so sensible of the service I had done her in the above affair, that she was not only a steady friend to me, but, knowing my circumstances, she frequently made me presents as money came into her hands, such as amounted to a maintenance, so that I spent none of my own; and at last she made this happy proposal to me, viz. that as we had observed, as above, how the men made no scruple to set themselves out as persons meriting a woman of fortune, when they had really no fortune of their own, it was but just to deal with them in their own way and if it was possible, to deceive the deceiver.

The captain's lady, in short, put this project into my head, and told me if I would be ruled by her I should certainly get a husband of fortune, without leaving him any room to reproach me with want of my own; I told her, as I had reason to do, that I would give up myself wholly to her directions, and that I would have neither tongue to speak, or feet to step in that affair but as she should direct me; depending that she would extricate one out of every difficulty that she brought me into, which she said she would answer for.

The first step she put me upon was to call her cousin, and go to a relation's house of hers in the country, where she directed me, and where she brought her husband to visit me, and calling me cousin, she worked matters so about that her husband and she together invited me most passionately to come to town and be with them, for they now lived in quite a different place from where they were before. In the next place she tells her husband that I had at least 1500*l.* fortune, and that after the death of some of my relations I was likely to have a great deal more.

It was enough to tell her husband this; there needed nothing on my side; I was but to sit still and wait the event, for it presently went all over the neighbourhood that the young widow at Capt. —'s was a fortune, that she had at least 1500*l.* and perhaps a great deal more, and that the captain said so: and if the captain was asked at any time about me he made no scruple to affirm it, though he knew not one word of the matter other than that his wife had told him so; and in this he thought no harm, for he really believed it to be so because he had it from his wife; so slender a foundation will those fellows build upon if they do but think there is a fortune in the game. With the reputation of this fortune I presently found myself blessed with admirers enough, and that I had my choice of men, as scarce as they said they were, which, by the way, confirms what I was saying before. This being my case, I who had a subtle game to play, had nothing now to do but to single out from them all the properest man that might be for my purpose; that is to say, the man who was most likely to depend upon the hearsay of a fortune, and not inquire too far into the particulars; and unless I did this I did nothing, for my case could not bear much inquiry.

I picked out my man without much difficulty by the judgment I made of his way of courting me; I had let him run on with his protestations and oaths that he loved me above all the world; that if I would make him happy that was

enough; all which I knew was upon supposition, nay, it was upon a full satisfaction, that I was very rich, though I never told him a word of it myself.

This was my man, but I was to try him to the bottom, and indeed in that consisted my safety, for if he baulked I knew I was undone, as sure as he was undone if he took me; and if I did not make some scruple about his fortune it was the way to lead him to raise some about mine; and first, therefore, I pretended on all occasions to doubt his sincerity, and told him perhaps he only courted me for my fortune; he stopped my mouth in that part with the thunder of his protestations as above, but still I pretended to doubt.

One morning he pulls off his diamond ring and writes upon the glass of the sash in my chamber this line:

"You I love, and only you alone."

I read it, and asked him to lend me his ring, with which I wrote under it thus:

"And so in love says every one."

He takes his ring again, and writes another line thus:

"Virtue alone is an Estate."

I borrowed it again, and I wrote under it,

"But money's virtue; gold is Fate."

He coloured as red as fire to see me turn so quick upon him, and in a kind of rage told me he would conquer me, and writes again thus:

"I scorn your gold, and yet I love."

I ventured all upon the last cast of poetry, as you will see, for I wrote boldly under his last,

"I'm poor: let's see how kind you'll prove."

This was a sad truth to me, whether he believed me or no I could not tell; I supposed then that he did not. However he flew to me, took me in his arms, and kissing me very eagerly, and with the greatest passion imaginable he held me fast till he called for a pen and ink, and then told me he could not wait the tedious writing on the glass, but pulling out a piece of paper, he began and wrote again,

"Be mine, with all your poverty."

I took the pen and followed him immediately thus:

"Yet secretly you hope I lie."

He told me that was unkind, because it was not just, and that I put him upon contradicting me, which did not consist with good manners, any more than with his affection; and therefore, since I had insensibly drawn him into this poetical scribble, he begged I would not oblige him to break it off, so he writes again,

"Let love alone be our debate."

I wrote again,

"She loves enough that does not hate."

This he took for a favour, and so laid down the cudgels, that is to say, the pen; I say he took it for a favour, and a mighty one it was, if he had known all. However he took it as I meant it, that is, to let him think I was inclined to go on with him, as indeed I had all the reason in the world to do, for he was the best humoured merry sort of fellow that I ever met with; and I often reflected on myself how doubly criminal it was to

deceive such a man ; but that necessity which pressed me to a settlement suitable to my condition, was my authority for it, and certainly his affection to me, and the goodness of his temper, however they might argue against using him ill, yet they strongly argued to me that he would better take the disappointment than some fiery-tempered wretch, who might have nothing to recommend them but those passions which would serve only to make a woman miserable all her days.

Besides, though I had jested with him, as he supposed it, so often about my poverty, yet when he found it to be true, he had foreclosed all manner of objection, seeing whether he was in jest or in earnest, he had declared he took me without any regard to my portion ; and whether I was in jest or in earnest, I had declared myself to be very poor ; so that in word I had him fast both ways, and though he might say afterwards he was cheated, yet he could never say that I had cheated him.

He pursued me close after this, and as I saw there was no need to fear losing him, I played the indifferent part with him longer than prudence might otherwise have dictated to me. But I considered how much this caution and indifference would give me the advantage over him when I should come to be under the necessity of owning my own circumstances to him ; and I managed it the more warily, because I found he inferred from thence, as indeed he ought to do, that I either had the more money, or the more judgment, and would not venture at all.

I took the freedom one day, after we had talked pretty close to the subject, to tell him that it was true I had received the compliment of a lover from him ; namely, that he would take me without inquiring into my fortune, and I would make him a suitable return in this, viz. that I should make as little inquiry into his as consisted with reason, but I hoped he would allow me to ask a few questions, which he should answer or not as he thought fit ; and that I would not be offended if he did not answer me at all ; one of these questions related to our manner of living, and the place where, because I had heard he had a great plantation in Virginia, and that he had talked of going to live there, and I told him I did not care to be transported.

He began from this discourse to let me voluntarily into all his affairs, and to tell me in a frank open way all his circumstances, by which I found he was very well to pass in the world ; but that great part of his estate consisted of three plantations which he had in Virginia, which brought him in a very good income, generally speaking, to the tune of 300*l.* a year ; but that, if he was to live upon them, would bring him in four times as much. Very well, thought I, you shall carry me thither as soon as you please, though I won't tell you so beforehand.

I jested with him extremely about the figure he would make in Virginia, but I found he would do anything I desired, though he did not seem glad to have me undervalue his plantations ; so I turned my tale ; I told him I had good reason not to desire to go there to live, because if his plantations were worth so much there, I had not a fortune suitable to a gentleman of 1,200*l.* a year, as he said his estate would be.

He replied generously he did not ask what my fortune was, he had told me from the beginning he would not. and he would be as good as his word ; but whatever it was, he assured me he would never desire me to go to Virginia with him, or go thither himself without me, unless I was perfectly willing and made it my choice.

All this, you may be sure, was as I wished, and indeed nothing could have happened more perfectly agreeable ; I carried it on so far as this with a sort of indifference that he often wondered at more than at first, but which was the only support of his courtship, and I mention it the rather to intimate again to the ladies, that nothing but want of courage for such an indifference makes our sex so cheap, and prepares them to be ill used as they are. Would they venture the loss of a pretending fop now and then, who carries it high upon the point of his own merit, they would certainly be slighted less and courted more. Had I discovered really and truly what my great fortune was, and that in all I had not full 500*l.* when he expected 1,500*l.*, yet I had hooked him so fast, and played him so long, that I was satisfied he would have had me in my worst circumstances ; as indeed it was less a surprise to him, when he learnt the truth, than it would have been, because having not the least blame to lay on me, who had carried it with an air of indifference to the last, he could not say one word, except that indeed he thought it had been more, but that if it had been less he did not repent his bargain, only that he should not be able to maintain me so well as he intended.

In short we were married, and very happily married on my side I assure you, as to the man, for he was the best-humoured man that ever a woman had ; but his circumstances were not so good as I imagined, as, on the other hand, he had not bettered himself by marrying so much as he expected.

When we were married I was shrewdly put to it to bring him that little stock I had, and to let him see it was no more ; but there was a necessity for it, so I took my opportunity one day when we were alone, to enter into a short dialogue with him about it. "My dear," said I, "we have been married a fortnight ; is it not time to let you know whether you have got a wife with something or with nothing?"

"Your own time for that, my dear," says he. "I am satisfied that I have got the wife I love ; I have not troubled you much," says he "with my inquiries after it."

"That is true," said I, "but I have a great difficulty upon me about it, which I scarce know how to manage."

"What is that, my dear?" says he.

"Why," says I, "it is a little hard upon me, and it is harder upon you. I am told that Captain —— (meaning my friend's husband) has told you I had a great deal more money than I ever pretended to have, and I am sure I never employed him to do so."

"Well," says he, "Captain —— may have told me so, but what then ? if you have not so much, that may lie at his door ; but you never told me what you had, so I have no reason to blame you if you have nothing at all."

"That is so just," said I, "and so generous, that

it makes my having but a little a double affliction to me."

"The less you have, my dear," says he, "the worse for us both; but I hope your affliction you speak of, is not caused for fear I should be unkind to you for want of a portion; no, no; if you have nothing, tell me plainly and at once: I may perhaps tell the Captain he has cheated me, but I can never say you have cheated me, for did you not give it under your hand that you were poor, and so I ought to expect you to be?"

"Well," said I, "my dear, I am glad I have not been concerned in deceiving you before marriage; if I deceive you since, it's never the worse. That I am poor is too true, but not so poor as to have nothing, neither;" so I pulled out some bank-bills and gave him about a hundred and sixty pounds. "There is something, my dear," says I, "and not quite all neither."

I had brought him so near to expecting nothing by what I said before, that the money, though the sum was small in itself, was doubly welcome to him; he owned it was more than he looked for, and that he did not question by my discourse to him, but that my fine clothes, gold watch, and a diamond ring or two, had been all my fortune.

I let him please himself with that 160*l.* two or three days, and having been abroad that day, and as if I had been to fetch it, I brought him a hundred pounds more home in gold, and told him there was a little more portion for him; and in short, in about a week more I brought him 180*l.* more, and about 60*l.* in linen, which I made him believe I had been obliged to take with the 100*l.* which I gave him in gold, as a composition for a debt of 600*l.*, being little more than five shillings in the pound, and overvalued too.

"And now my dear," says I to him, "I am very sorry to tell you, that there is all, and that I have given you my whole fortune. I added, that if the person who had my 600*l.* had not abused me, I had been worth 1,000*l.* to him, but that as it was, I had been faithful to him, and reserved nothing to myself, but if it had been more he should have had it.

He was so obliged by the manner, and so pleased with the sum, for he had been in a terrible fright lest it had been nothing at all, that he accepted it very thankfully. And thus I got over the fraud of passing for a fortune without money, and cheating a man into marrying me on pretence of a fortune; which, by the way, I take to be one of the most dangerous steps a woman can take, and in which she runs the most hazard of being ill-used afterwards.

My husband, to give him his due, was a man of infinite good nature, but he was no fool; and finding his income not suited to the manner of living which he had intended, if I had brought him what he expected, and being under a disappointment in his return of his plantation in Virginia, he discovered many times his inclination of going over to Virginia to live upon his own; and often would be magnifying the way of living there, how cheap, how plentiful, how pleasant, and the like.

I began presently to understand his meaning, and I took him up very plainly one morning, and told him that I did so; that I found his estate turned to no account at this distance com-

pared to what it would do if he lived upon the spot, and that I found he had a mind to go and live there; and I added, that I was sensible he had been disappointed in a wife; and that, finding his expectations not answered that way, I could do no less to make him amends than tell him that I was very willing to go over to Virginia with him and live there.

He said a thousand kind things to me upon the subject of my making such a proposal to him. He told me, that however he was disappointed in his expectations of a fortune, he was not disappointed in a wife, and that I was all to him that a wife could be, and he was more than satisfied in the whole when the particulars were put together; but that this offer was so kind that it was more than he could express.

To bring the story short, we agreed to go. He told me that he had a very good house there, that it was well-furnished, that his mother was alive and lived in it, and one sister, which was all the relations he had; that as soon as he came there his mother would remove to another house which was her own for life, and his after her decease, so that I should have all the house to myself; and I found all this to be exactly as he had said.

To make this part of the story short, we put on board the ship which we went in a large quantity of good furniture for our house, with stores of linen and other necessities, and a good cargo for sale, and away we went.

To give an account of the manner of our voyage, which was long and full of dangers, is out of my way. I kept no journal, neither did my husband; all that I can say is, that after a terrible passage, frightened twice with dreadful storms, and once with what was still more terrible, I mean a pirate, who came on board and took away almost all our provisions, and which would have been beyond all to me, they having taken my husband to go along with them, but by entreaties were prevailed with to leave him. I say, after all these terrible things, we arrived in York River, in Virginia, and coming to our plantation, we were received with all the demonstrations of tenderness and affection by my husband's mother that were possible to be expressed.

We lived here altogether, my mother-in-law, at my entreaty, continuing in the house, for she was too kind a mother to be parted with; my husband likewise continued the same as at first, and I thought myself the happiest creature alive, when an odd and surprising event put an end to all that felicity in a moment, and rendered my condition the most uncomfortable, if not the most miserable, in the world.

My mother was a mighty cheerful, good-humoured old woman—I may call her old woman, for her son was above thirty—I say, she was very pleasant, good company, and used to entertain me in particular with abundance of stories to divert me, as well of the country we were in as of the people.

Among the rest she often told me how the greatest part of the inhabitants of the colony came thither in very indifferent circumstances from England; that, generally speaking, they were of two sorts, either, first, such as were brought over by masters of ships to be sold as

servants:—"Such we call them, my dear," says she, "but they are more properly called slaves." Or second, such as are transported from Newgate and other prisons, after having been found guilty of felony and other crimes punishable with death.

"When they come here," says she, "we make no difference, the planters buy them and they work together in the field till their time is out; when it is expired," said she, "they have encouragement given them to plant for themselves, for they have a certain number of acres of land allotted them by the country, and they go to work to clear and cure the land, and then to plant it with tobacco and corn for their own use; and as the tradesmen and merchants will trust them with tools and clothes and other necessities upon the credit of their crop before it is grown, so they again plant every year a little more than the year before, and so buy whatever they want with the crop that is before them."

"Hence, child," said she, "many a Newgate bird becomes a great man, and we have," continued she, "several justices of the peace, officers of the train bands, and the magistrates of the towns they live in, that have been burnt in the hand."

She was going on with that part of the story, when her own part in it interrupted her, and with a great deal of good humoured confidence she told me she was one of the second sort of inhabitants herself; that she came away openly, having ventured too far in a particular case, so that she was become a criminal; "and here is the mark of it, child," says she, and pulling off her glove, "look ye here," says she, turning up the palm of her hand, and showed me a very fine white arm and hand, but branded in the inside of the hand, as in such cases it must be.

This story was very moving to me, but my mother, smiling, said, "You need not think such a thing strange, daughter, for as I told you, some of the best men in this country are burnt in the hand, and they are not ashamed to own it; there is Major ——," says she, "he was an eminent pick-pocket; there is Justice Ba——r, was a shoplifter; and both them were burnt in the hand, and I could name you several, such as they are."

We had frequent discourses of this kind, and abundance of instances she gave me of the like; after some time, as she was telling some stories of one that was transported but a few weeks ago, I began in an intimate kind of way to ask her to tell me something of her own story, which she did with the utmost plainness and sincerity; how she had fallen into very ill company in London in her young days, occasioned by her mother sending her frequently to carry victuals and other relief to a kinswoman of hers who was a prisoner in Newgate, and who lay in a miserable starving condition, was afterwards condemned to be hanged, but having got a respite by pleading her belly, died afterwards in the prison.

Here my mother-in-law ran out in a long account of the wicked practices in that dreadful place, and how it ruined more young people than all the towns beside; "and child," says my mother, "perhaps you may know little of it, or it may be, heard nothing about it," says she; "we all know here, that there are more thieves

and rogues made by that one prison of Newgate, than by all the clubs and societies of villains in the nation; it is that cursed place," says my mother, "that half peoples this colony."

Here she went on with her own story so long and in so particular a manner, that I began to be very uneasy, but coming to one particular that required telling her name, I thought I should have sunk down in the place. She perceived I was out of order, and asked me if I was not well, and what ailed me? I told her I was so affected with the melancholy story she had told, and the terrible things she had gone through, that it had overcome me, and I begged of her to talk no more of it.

"Why, my dear," says she, very kindly, "what need these things trouble you? These passages were long before your time, and they give me no trouble at all now; nay I look back on them with a particular satisfaction, as they have been a means to bring me to this place?" Then she went on to tell me how she very luckily fell into a good family, where behaving herself well, and her mistress dying, her master married her, by whom she had my husband and his sister, and that by her diligence and good management after her husband's death she had improved the plantations to such a degree as they then were, so that most of the estate was of her getting, not her husband's, for she had been a widow upwards of sixteen years.

I heard this part of the story with very little attention, because I wanted much to retire and give vent to my passions, which I did soon after, and let any one judge what must be the anguish of my mind when I came to reflect that this was certainly no more or less than my own mother, and I had now had two children, and was now big with another by my own brother, and lay with him still every night.

I was now the most unhappy of all women in the world. O, had the story never been told me all had been well; it had been no crime to have lain with my husband, since as to his being my relation I had known nothing of it.

I had now such a load on my mind that it kept me perpetually waking; to reveal it, which would have been some ease to me, I could not find would be to any purpose, and yet to conceal it would be the next to impossible; nay, I did not doubt but I should talk of it in my sleep and tell my husband of it whether I would or no; if I discovered it the least thing I could expect was to lose my husband, for he was too nice and too honest a man to have continued my husband after he had known I had been his sister, so that I was perplexed to the last degree.

I leave it to any one to judge what difficulties were presented to my view. I was away from my native country, at a distance prodigious, and the return to me unpassable; I lived very well, but in a circumstance unsufferable in itself. If I had discovered myself to my mother it might be difficult to convince her of the particulars, and I had no way to prove them. On the other hand, if she had questioned or doubted me I had been undone, for the bare suggestion would have immediately separated me from my husband, without gaining my mother or him, who would have been neither a husband or brother; so that

between the surprise on one hand and the uncertainty on the other, I had been sure to be undone.

In the mean time, as I was but too sure of the fact, I lived therefore in an open avowed incest and whoredom, and all under the appearance of an honest wife: and though I was not so much touched with the crime of it, yet the action had something in it shocking to nature, and made my husband, as he thought himself, even nauseous to me.

However, upon the most sedate consideration, I resolved that it was absolutely necessary to conceal it all, and not to make the least discovery of it either to mother or husband; and thus I lived with the greatest pressure imaginable for three years more, but had no more children.

During this time my mother used to be frequently telling me old stories of her former adventures, which, however, were no way pleasant to me; for by it, though she did not tell it me in plain terms, yet I could easily understand, joined with what I had heard myself, of my first tutors, that in her younger days she had been both whore and thief; but I verily believe she had lived to repent sincerely of both, and that then she was a very pious, sober and religious woman.

Well, let her life have been what it would then, it was certain that my life was very uneasy to me; for I lived, as I have said, but in the worst sort of whoredom, and as I could expect no good of it, so really no good issue came of it, and all my seeming prosperity wore off and ended in misery and destruction. It was sometime indeed before it came to this; for, but I know not by what ill fate guided, everything went wrong with us afterwards, and that which was worse, my husband grew strangely altered; froward, jealous, and unkind; and I was as impatient of bearing his carriage as the carriage was unreasonable and unjust. These things proceeded so far, that we came at last to be on such ill terms with one another, that I claimed a promise of him which he entered willingly into with me, when I consented to come from England with him, viz., that if I found the country not to agree with me, or that I did not like to live there, I should come away to England again when I pleased, giving him a years' warning to settle his affairs.

I say I now claimed this promise of him, and I must confess I did it not in the most obliging terms neither; but I insisted that he treated me ill, that I was remote from my friends, and could do myself no justice, and that he was jealous without cause, my conversation having been unblameable, and he having no pretence for it; and that to remove to England would take away all occasion from him.

I insisted so peremptorily upon it, that he could not avoid coming to a point, either to keep his word with me or to break it; and this, notwithstanding he used all the skill he was master of, and employed his mother and other agents to prevail with me to alter my resolutions; indeed the bottom of the thing lay at my heart, and that made all his endeavours fruitless, for my heart was alienated from him as a husband; I loathed the thoughts of bedding with him, and used a thousand pretences of illness and humour to prevent his touching me, fearing nothing more than to be with child again by him, which, to be

sure, would have prevented, or at least delayed, my going over to England.

However, at last I put him so out of humour, that he took up a rash and fatal resolution that, in short, I should not go to England; and though he had promised me, yet it was an unreasonable thing for me to desire it, that it would be ruinous to his affairs, would unhinge his whole family, and be next to an undoing him in the world; that, therefore, I ought not to desire it of him, and that no wife in the world that valued her family and her husband's prosperity would insist upon such a thing.

This plunged me again; for when I considered the thing calmly, and took my husband, as he really was, a diligent careful man in the main work of laying up an estate for his children, and that he knew nothing of the dreadful circumstances that he was in; I could not but confess to myself that my proposal was very unreasonable, and what no wife that had the good of her family at heart would have desired.

But my discontents were of another nature; I looked upon him no longer as a husband, but as a near relation, the son of my own mother, and I resolved some how or other to be clear of him, but which way I did not know, nor did it seem possible.

It is said by the ill-natured world of our sex, that if we are set on a thing, it is impossible to turn us from our resolutions: in short, I never ceased poring upon the means to bring to pass my voyage, and came that length with my husband at last, as to propose going without him. This provoked him to the last degree, and he called me not only an unkind wife, but an unnatural mother, and asked me how I could entertain such a thought without horror, as that of leaving my two children (for one was dead) without a mother, and to be brought up by strangers, and never to see them more? It was true, had things been right, I should not have done it, but now, it was my real desire never to see them, or him either, any more; and as to the charge of unnatural I could easily answer it to myself, while I knew that the whole relation was unnatural in the highest degree in the world.

However it was plain there was no bringing my husband to anything; he would neither go with me, or let me go without him, and it was quite out of my power to stir without his consent, as any one that knows the constitution or the country I was in, knows very well.

We had many family quarrels about it, and they began in time to grow up to a dangerous height; for as I was quite estranged from my husband, as he was called, in affection, so I took no heed to my words, but sometimes gave him language that was provoking. And, in short, I strove all I could to bring him to a parting with me, which was what above all things in the world I desired most.

He took my carriage very ill, and indeed he might well do so, for at last I refused to bed with him, and carrying on the breach upon all occasions to extremity, he told me once he thought I was mad, and if I did not alter my conduct, he would put me under cure; that is to say, into a madhouse. I told him he should

find I was far enough from being mad, and that it was not in his power, or any other villains, to murder me. I confess at the same time I was heartily frightened at his thoughts of putting me into a madhouse, which would at once have destroyed all the possibility of breaking the truth out, whatever the occasion might be; for that then no one would have given credit to a word of it.

This therefore brought me to a resolution, whatever came of it, to lay open my whole case; but which way to do it, or to whom, was an inextricable difficulty, and took me up many months to resolve; in the mean time, another quarrel with my husband happened, which came up to such a mad extreme as almost pushed me on to tell it out all to his face; but though I kept it in so as not to come to the particulars, I spoke so much as put him into the utmost confusion, and in the end brought out the whole story.

He began with a calm expostulation upon my being so resolute to go to England, I defended it; and one hard word bringing on another, as is usual in all family strife, he told me I did not treat him as if he was my husband, or talk of my children, as if I was a mother, and in short, that I did not deserve to be used as a wife: that he had used all the fair means possible with me; that he had argued with all the kindness and calmness that a husband or a Christian ought to do, and that I made him such a vile return, that I treated him rather like a dog than a man, and rather like the most contemptible stranger than a husband; that he was very loth to use violence with me, but that in short, he saw a necessity of it now, and that for the future he should be obliged to take such measures as should reduce me to my duty.

My blood was now fired to the utmost, though I knew what he had said was very true, and nothing could appear more provoked; I told him for his fair means and his foul, they were equally contemned by me; that for my going to England, I was resolved on it come what would; and that as to treating him not like a husband, and not showing myself a mother to my children, there might be something more in it than he understood at present; but, for his farther consideration, I thought fit to tell him thus much, that he neither was my lawful husband, nor they lawful children, and that I had reason to regard neither of them more than I did.

I confess I was moved to pity him when I spoke it, for he turned as pale as death, and stood mute as one thunder struck, and once or twice I thought he would have fainted; in short, it put him in a fit of something like an apoplex. He trembled, sweat or dew ran off his face, and yet he was as cold as a clod, so that I was forced to run and fetch something for him to keep life in him; when he recovered from that, he grew sick and vomited, and in a little after was put to bed and in the next morning was, as he had been indeed all night, in a violent fever.

However it went off again, and he recovered, though but slowly, and when he came to be a little better, he told me I had given him a mortal wound with my tongue, and he had but one thing to ask before he desired an explanation.

I interrupted him, and told him I was sorry I had gone so far, since I saw what disorder it put him into, but I desired him not to talk to me of explanations, for that would but make things worse.

This heightened his impatience, and indeed perplexed him beyond all bearing; for now he began to suspect that there was some mystery yet unfolded, but could not make the least guess at the real particulars of it. All that run in his brain was, that I had another husband alive, which I could not say in fact might not be true; but I assured him, however, there was not the least of that in it. And indeed, as to my other husband he was effectually dead in law to me, and had told me I should look on him as such, so I had not the least uneasiness on that score.

But now I found the thing too far gone to conceal it much longer, and my husband himself gave me an opportunity to ease myself of the secret much to my satisfaction. He had laboured with me three or four weeks, but to no purpose, only to tell him, whether I had spoken those words only as the effect of passion, or to put him in a passion; or whether there was any thing of truth in the bottom of them? But I continued inflexible, and would explain nothing, unless he would first consent to my going to England, which he would never do, he said while he lived; on the other hand I said it was in my power to make him willing when I pleased, nay, to make him entreat me to go; and this increased his curiosity, and made him importunate to the highest degree. But it was all to no purpose.

At length he tells all this story to his mother, and sets her upon me to get the main secret out of me, and she used her utmost skill with me indeed; but I put her to a full stop at once, by telling her that the reason and mystery of the whole matter lay in herself, and that it was my respect to her that had made me conceal it, and that in short I could go no farther, and therefore conjured her not to insist upon it.

She was struck dumb at this suggestion, and could not tell what to say or to think; but laying aside the supposition as a policy of mine, continued her importunity on account of her son, and if possible to make up the breach between us two. "As to that, I told her, that it was indeed a good design in her, but that it was impossible to be done; and that if I should reveal to her the truth of what she desired, she would grant it to be impossible, and cease to desire it." At last I seemed to be prevailed on by her importunity, and told her I dared trust her with a secret of the greatest importance, and she would soon see that it was so, and that I would consent to lodge it in her breast, if she would engage solemnly not to acquaint her son with it without my consent.

She was long in promising this part, but rather than not come at the main secret she agreed to that too, and after a great many other preliminaries, I began and told her the whole story. First, I told her how much she was concerned in all the unhappy breach which had happened between her son and me, by telling me her own story, and her London name; and that the surprise she saw I was in, was upon that occasion: then I told her my own story and my name, and

assured her by such other tokens as she could not deny, that I was no other, nor more nor less than her own child—her daughter born of her body in Newgate—the same that had saved her from the gallows by being in her belly, and the same that she left in such and such hands when she was transported.

It is impossible to express the astonishment she was in; she was not inclined to believe the story, or to remember the particulars, for she immediately foresaw the confusions that must follow in the family upon it; but everything concurred so exactly with the stories she had told me of herself, and which, if she had not told me, she would perhaps have been content to have denied, that she had stopped her own mouth, and she had nothing to do but to take me about the neck and kiss me, and cry most vehemently over me, without speaking one word for a long time together.

At last she broke out, "Unhappy child!" says she, "what miserable chance could bring thee hither? And in the arms of my own son too! Dreadful girl!" says she, "why we are all undone! Married to thy own brother! Three children, and two alive, all of the same flesh and blood! My son and my daughter lying together as husband and wife! All confusion and distraction for ever! Miserable family! what will become of us? What is to be said? What is to be done?" and thus she run on for a great while, nor had I any power to speak, or if I had I did not know what to say, for every word wounded me to the soul.

With this kind of amazement on our thoughts we parted for the first time, though my mother was more surprised than I was, because it was more news to her than to me. However, she promised again to me at parting, that she would say nothing of it to her son till we had talked of it again.

It was not long, you may be sure, before we had a second conference upon the same subject; when, as if she had been willing to forget the story she had told me of herself, or to suppose that I had forgot some of the particulars, she began to tell them with alterations and omissions: but I refreshed her memory, and set her to rights in many things which I supposed she had forgot, and then came in so opportunely with the whole history, that it was impossible for her to go from it; and then she fell into her rhapsodies again, and exclamations at the severity of her misfortunes.

When these things were a little over with her, we fell into a close debate about what should be first done before we gave an account of the matter to my husband, but to what purpose could be all consultations. We could neither of us see our way through it, nor see how it could be safe to open such a scene to him. It was impossible to make any judgment, or give any guess at what temper he would receive it in, or what measures he would take upon it; and if he should have so little government of himself as to make it public, we easily foresaw that it would be the ruin of the whole family, and expose my mother and me to the last degree; and if at last he should take the advantage the law would give him, he might put me away with disdain, and

leave me to sue for the little portion that I had, and perhaps waste it all in the suit, and then be a beggar. The children would be ruined too, having no legal claim to any of his effects; and thus I should see him perhaps in the arms of another wife in a few months, and be myself the most miserable creature alive.

My mother was as sensible of this as I, and upon the whole, we knew not what to do. After some time, we came to more sober resolutions; but then it was with this misfortune too, that my mother's opinion and mine were quite different from one another, and indeed inconsistent with one another: for my mother's opinion was, that I should bury the whole thing entirely, and continue to live with him as my husband, till some other event should make the discovery of it more convenient; and that, in the meantime, she would endeavour to reconcile us together again, and restore our mutual comfort and family peace; that we might lie as we used to do together, and so let the whole matter remain a secret as close as death: "For child," says she, "we are both undone if it comes out."

To encourage me to this, she promised to make me easy in my circumstances as far as she was able, and to leave me what she could at her death, secured for me separately from my husband; so that if it should come out afterwards, I should not be left destitute, but be able to stand on my own feet, and procure justice from him.

This proposal did not agree at all with my judgment of the thing, though it was very fair and kind in my mother; but my thoughts run quite another way.

As to keeping the thing in our own breasts, and letting it all remain as it was, I told her it was impossible; and I asked her how she could think I could bear the thoughts of lying with my own brother? In the next place I told her that her being alive was the only support of the discovery, and that while she owned me for her child, and saw reason to be satisfied that I was so, nobody else would doubt it; but if that she should die before the discovery, I should be taken for an impudent creature that had forged such a thing to go away from my husband, or should be counted crazed and distracted: then I told her how he had threatened already to put me into a madhouse, and what concern I had been in about it; and how that was the thing that drove me to the necessity of discovering it to her as I had done.

From all which I told her, that I had on the most serious reflection I was able to make in the case, come to this resolution, which I hoped she would like, as a medium between both, viz. that she would use her endeavours with her son to give me leave to go for England, as I had desired, and to furnish me with a sufficient sum of money, either in goods along with me, or in bills for my support there, all along suggesting, that he might one time or other think it proper to come over to me.

This was my scheme, and my reasons were good. I was really alienated from him in consequence of these things; indeed, I mortally hated him as a husband, and it was impossible to remove that rivetted aversion I had to him. At

the same time, it being an unlawful, incestuous living, added to that aversion, and everything added to make cohabiting with him the most nauseous thing to me in the world, and I think verily it was come to such a height, that I could almost as willingly have embraced a dog as have let him offer the least thing of that kind to me; for which reason I could not bear the thoughts of coming between the sheets with him. I cannot say I was right in point of policy in carrying it such a length,—while, at the same time, I did not resolve to discover the thing to him, but I am giving an account of what was, not of what ought or ought not to be.

In this directly opposite opinion to one another my mother and I continued a long time, and it was impossible to reconcile our judgments; many disputes we had about it, but we could never either of us yield our own, or bring over the other.

I insisted on my aversion to lying with my own brother; and she insisted upon its being impossible to bring him to consent to my going from him to England; and in this uncertainty we continued, not differing so as to quarrel, or any thing like it; but so as not to be able to resolve what we should do to make up the terrible breach that was before us.

At last I resolved on a desperate course, and told my mother my resolution, viz. that in short, I would tell him of it myself. My mother was frightened to the last degree at the very thoughts of it; but I bid her be easy, told her I would do it gradually and softly, and with all the art and good humour I was mistress off, and time it also as well as I could, taking him in good humour too: I told her I did not question but if I could be hypocrite enough to feign more affection to him than I really had, I should succeed in all my designs, and we might part by consent, and with a good agreement, for I might love him well enough for a brother, though I could not for a husband.

All this while he lay at my mother to find out, if possible, what was the meaning of that dreadful expression of mine, as he called it, I mentioned before; namely, that I was not his lawful wife, nor my children his legal children: my mother put him off, told him she could bring me to no explanations, but found there was something that disturbed me very much, and she hoped she should get it out of me in time, and in the meantime recommended to him earnestly to use me more tenderly, and win me with his usual good carriage; told him of his terrifying and affrighting me with his threats of sending me to a madhouse, and the like, and advised him not to make a woman desperate on any account whatever.

He promised her to soften his behaviour, and bid her assure me that he loved me as well as ever, and that he had no such design as that of sending me to a madhouse, whatever he might say in his passion; also he desired my mother to use the same persuasions to me too, that our affection might be renewed, and we might live together in a good understanding as we used to do.

I found the effects of this treaty presently; my husband's conduct was immediately altered.

and he was quite another man to me; nothing could be kinder and more obliging than he was to me upon all occasions; and I could do no less than make some return to it, which I did as well as I could; but it was but in an awkward manner at best, for nothing was more frightful to me than his caresses, and the apprehensions of being with child again by him, was ready to throw me into fits; and this made me see that there was an absolute necessity of breaking the case to him without any more delay, which however I did with all the caution and reserve imaginable.

He had continued his altered carriage to me near a month, and we began to live a new kind of life with one another; and could I have satisfied myself to have gone on with it, I believe it might have continued as long as we continued alive together. One evening as we were sitting and talking very friendly together under a little awning, which served us as an arbour, at the entrance from our house into the garden, he was in a very pleasant agreeable humour, and said abundance of kind things to me, relating to the pleasure of our present good agreement, and the disorders of our past breach, and what a satisfaction it was to him, that we had room to hope we should never have any more of it.

I fetched a deep sigh, and told him there was nobody in the world could be more delighted than I was in the good agreement we had always kept up, or more afflicted with the breach of it, and should be so still, but I was sorry to tell him that there was an unhappy circumstance in our case, which lay too close to heart, and which I knew not how to break to him, that rendered my part of it very miserable, and took from me all the comfort of the rest.

He importuned me to tell him what it was; I told him I could not tell how to do it, that while it was concealed from him I alone was unhappy; but if he knew it also we should be both so; and that, therefore, to keep him in the dark about it was the kindest thing that I could do; and it was on that account alone that I kept a secret from him, the very keeping of which I thought would first or last be my destruction.

It is impossible to express his surprise at this relation, and the double importunity which he used with me to discover it to him. He told me I could not be called kind to him, nay, could not be faithful to him if I concealed it from him; I told him I thought so too, and yet I could not do it. He went back to what I had said before to him, and told me he hoped it did not relate to what I had said in my passion; and that he had resolved to forget all that, as the effect of a rash provoked spirit. I told him I wished I could forget it all too, but that it was not to be done; the impression was too deep, and I could not do it, it was impossible.

He then told me he was resolved not to differ with me in anything, and that, therefore, he would importune me no more about it, resolving to acquiesce in whatever I did or said; only begged I would then agree, that whatever it was, it should no more interrupt our quiet, and our mutual kindness.

This was the most provoking thing he could have said to me, for I really wanted his farther

importunities, that I might be prevailed with to bring out that which indeed it was like death to me to conceal; so I answered him plainly, that I could not say I was glad not to be importuned, though I could not tell how to comply; "but come, my dear," said I, "what conditions will you make with me upon the opening this affair to you?"—"Any conditions in the world," said he, "that you can in reason desire of me." "Well," said I, "come, give it me under your hand, that if you do not find I am in any fault, or that I am willingly concerned in the causes of the misfortune that is to follow, you will not blame me; use me the worse, do me any injury, or make me the sufferer for that which is not my fault."

"That," says he, "is the most reasonable demand in the world: not to blame you for that which is not your fault; "give me a pen and ink," says he; "so I ran and fetched a pen, ink, and paper, and he wrote the conditions down in the very words I had proposed it, and signed it with his name; "well," says he, "what is next, my dear?"

"Why," says I, "the next is, that you will not blame me for not discovering the secret of it to you as soon as I knew it."

"Very just again," says he, "with all my heart." So he wrote down that also, and signed it.

"Well, my dear," says I, "then I have but one condition more to make with you, and that is, that, as there is nobody concerned in it but you and I, you shall not discover it to any person in the world except your own mother; and that in all the measures you shall take upon the discovery, as I am equally concerned in it with you, though as innocent as yourself, you shall do nothing in a passion, nothing to my prejudice, or to your mother's prejudice, without my knowledge and consent."

This a little amazed him; and he wrote down the words distinctly, but read them over and over before he signed them, hesitating at them several times, and repeating them; "my mother's prejudice! and your prejudice! what mysterious thing can this be?" However, at last, he signed it.

"Well," says I, "my dear, I will ask no more under your hand; but as you are to bear the most unexpected and surprising thing that perhaps ever befel any family in the world, I beg you to promise me you will receive it with composure and a presence of mind suitable to a man of sense."

"I will do my utmost," says he; "upon condition you will keep me no longer in suspense, for you terrify me with all these preliminaries."

"Well, then," says I, "it is this, as I told you before in a heat, that I was not your lawful wife, and that our children were not legal children; so I must let you know now in calmness, and in kindness, but with affliction enough, that I am your own sister, and you my own brother, and that we are both the children of our mother now alive, and in the house, who is convinced of the truth of it in a manner not to be denied or contradicted."

I saw him turn pale, and look wild, and I said—"Now, remember your promise, and receive

it with presence of mind; for who could have said more to prepare you for it than I have done? However, I called a servant, and got him a small glass of rum, which is the usual dram of the country, for he was just fainting away.

When he was a little recovered I said to him, "This story you may be sure requires a long explanation, and therefore have patience and compose your mind to hear it out and I will make it as short as I can, and with this I told him what I thought was needful of the fact, and particularly how my mother came to discover it to me as above; and now my dear," says I, "you will see reason for my capitulations, and that I neither have been the cause of this matter nor could be so, and that I could know nothing of it before now."

"I am fully satisfied of that," says he, "but it is a dreadful surprise to me. However, I know a remedy that shall put an end to all your difficulties without your going to England."

"That would be as strange," said I, as all the rest—"

"No, no," says he, "I will make it easy; there is nobody in the way of it all but myself."

He looked a little disordered when he said this, but I did not apprehend anything from it at that time, believing, as it used to be said, that they who do these things never talk of them; or that they who talk of such things never do them.

But things were not come to their height with him, and I observed he became pensive and melancholy, and in a word, as I thought, a little distempered in his head; I endeavoured to talk him into temper, and to reason him into a kind of scheme for our government in the affair, and sometimes he would be well, and talk with some courage about it; but the weight of it lay too heavy upon his thoughts, and in short, it went so far that he made two attempts upon himself, and in one of them had actually strangled himself, and had not his mother come into the room in the very moment, he had died; but with the help of a negro servant she cut him down and recovered him.

Things were now come to a lamentable height in the family. My pity for him now began to revive that affection which at first I really had for him, and I endeavoured sincerely by all the kind carriage I could to make up the breach; but in short it had gotten too great a head, it preyed upon his spirits and it threw him into a long lingering consumption, though it happened not to be mortal. In this distress I did not know what to do as his life was apparently declining, and I might perhaps have married again there very much to my advantage; it had been certainly my business to have staid in the country; but my mind was restless too and uneasy; I hankered after coming to England and nothing would satisfy me without it.

In short, by an unwearied importunity my husband, who was apparently decaying, as I observed, was at last prevailed with, and so my own fate pushing me on, the way was made clear for me, and my mother concurring, I obtained a very good cargo for my coming to England.

When I parted with my brother, for such I am now to call him, we agreed that after arrived he should pretend to have an account that I was dead in England, and so might marry

again when he would; he promised and engaged to me to correspond with me as a sister, and to assist and support me as long as I lived; and that if he died before me he would leave sufficient to his mother to take care of me still in the name of a sister, and he was in some respect careful of me when he heard of me; but it was so oddly managed that I felt the disappointments very sensibly afterwards, as you shall hear in its time.

I came away in the month of August, after I had been eight years in that country, and now a new scene of misfortunes attended me, which perhaps few women have gone through the like of.

We had an indifferent good voyage till we came just upon the coast of England, and where we arrived in two-and-thirty days, but were then ruffled with two or three storms, one of which drove us away to the coast of Ireland, and we put in at Kinsale. We remained there about thirteen days, got some refreshment on shore and put to sea again, though we met with very bad weather again, in which the ship sprung her mainmast, as they called it, for I knew not what they meant. But we got at last into Milford Haven, in Wales, where, though it was remote from our port, yet, having my foot safe upon the firm ground of my native country, the Isle of Britain, I resolved to venture it no more upon the waters, which had been so terrible to me, so getting my clothes and money on shore, with my bills of lading and other papers, I resolved to come for London and leave the ship to get her port as she could; the port whither she was bound was to Bristol, where my brother's chief correspondent lived.

I got to London in about three weeks, where I heard a little while after that the ship was arrived in Bristol, but at the same time had the misfortune to know that by the violent weather she had been in, and the breaking of her mainmast, she had great damage on board, and that a great part of her cargo was spoiled.

I had now a new scene of life upon my hands, and a dreadful appearance it had. I was come away with a kind of final farewell. What I brought with me was indeed considerable had it come safe, and by the help of it I might have married again tolerably well; but as it was I was reduced to between two or three hundred pounds in the whole, and this without any hope of recruit. I was entirely without friends, nay, even so much as without acquaintance, for I found it was absolutely necessary not to revive former acquaintances: and as for my subtle friend that set me up formerly for a fortune, she was dead, and her husband also, as I was informed upon sending a person, unknown, to inquire.

The looking after my cargo of goods soon after obliged me to take a journey to Bristol, and during my attendance upon that affair I took the diversion of going to the Bath, for as I was still far from being old, so my humour, which was always gay, continued so to an extreme; and being now as it were a woman of fortune, though I was a woman without a fortune, I expected something or other might happen in my way that might mend my circumstances, as had been my case before.

The Bath is a place of gallantry enough; expensive and full of snares: I went thither indeed in the view of taking anything that might offer; but I must do myself that justice as to protest I knew nothing amiss, I meant nothing but in an honest way; nor had I any thoughts about me at first that looked the way which afterwards I suffered them to be guided.

Here I stayed the whole latter season, as it is called there, and contracted some unhappy acquaintance, which rather prompted the follies I fell afterwards into than fortified me against them. I lived pleasantly enough, kept good company, that is to say, gay, fine company; but had the discouragement to find this way of living sunk me exceedingly, and that as I had no settled income, so spending upon the main stock was but a certain kind of bleeding to death, and this gave me many sad reflections in the intervals of my other thoughts. However I shook them off, and still flattered myself that something or other might offer for my advantage.

But I was in the wrong place for it; I was not now at Redriff, where, if I had set myself tolerably up, some honest sea-captain or other might have talked with me upon honourable terms of matrimony. But I was at the Bath, where men find a mistress sometimes, but very rarely look for a wife, and consequently all the particular acquaintance a woman can expect to make there must have some tendency that way.

I had spent the first season well enough, for though I had contracted some acquaintance with a gentleman who came to the Bath for his diversion, yet I had entered into no felonious treaty, as it might be called. I had resisted some casual offers of gallantry, and had managed that way well enough; I was not wicked enough to come into the crime for the mere vice of it, and I had no extraordinary offers made me that tempted me with the main thing which I wanted.

However, I went this length the first season, viz. I contracted an acquaintance with a woman in whose house I lodged, who, though she did not keep an ill house, as we call it, yet had none of the best principles in herself: I had on all occasions behaved myself so well as not to get the least slur upon my reputation on any account whatever, and all the men that I had conversed with were of so good reputation that I had not given the least reflection by conversing with them; nor did any of them seem to think there was room for a wicked correspondence, if they had any of them offered it; yet there was one gentleman, as above, who always singled me out for the diversion of my company, as he called it, which, as he was pleased to say, was very agreeable to him, but at that time there was no more in it.

I had many melancholy hours at the Bath after all the company was gone, for though I went to Bristol sometimes for the disposing my effects, and for recruits of money, yet I chose to come back to Bath for my residence, because, being on good terms with the woman in whose house I lodged in the summer, I found that during the winter I lived rather cheaper there than I could do anywhere else; here, I say, I passed the winter as heavily as I had passed the

autumn cheerfully; but having contracted a nearer intimacy with the said woman in whose house I lodged, I could not avoid communicating to her something of what lay hardest upon my mind, and particularly the narrowness of my circumstances, and the loss of my fortune by the damage of my goods by sea: I told her also that I had a good mother and a brother in Virginia in good circumstances, and as I had really written back to my mother in particular to represent my condition, and the great loss I had received, which indeed came to almost 500*l.*, so did not fail to let my new friend know that I expected a supply from thence, and so indeed I did; and as the ships went from Bristol to York river in Virginia, and back again generally in less time than from London, and that my brother corresponded chiefly at Bristol, I thought it was much better for me to wait here for my returns than to go London, where also I had not the least acquaintance.

My new friend appeared sensibly affected with my condition, and indeed was so very kind as to reduce the rate of my living with her to so low a price during the winter, that she convinced me she got nothing by me; and as for lodging during the winter, I paid nothing at all.

When the spring season came on she continued to be as kind to me as she could, and I lodged with her for a time, till it was found necessary to do otherwise; she had some persons of character that frequently lodged in her house, and in particular the gentleman who, as I said, singled me out for his companion the winter before; and he came down again with another gentleman in his company and two servants, and lodged in the same house: I suspected that my landlady had invited him thither, letting him know that I was still with her, but she denied it, and protested to me that she did not, and he said the same.

In a word, this gentleman came down and continued to single me out for his peculiar confidence as well as conversation. He was a complete gentleman, that must be confessed, and his company was very agreeable to me, as mine, if I might believe him, was to him. He made no profession to me but of an extraordinary respect, and he had such an opinion of my virtue that, as he often professed, he believed if he should offer anything else I should reject him with contempt. He soon understood from me that I was a widow that had arrived at Bristol from Virginia by the last ships; and that I waited at Bath till the next Virginia fleet should arrive, by which I expected considerable effects. I understood by him, and by others of him, that he had a wife, but that the lady was distempered in her head, and was under the conduct of her own relations, which he consented to, to avoid any reflections that might, as was not unusual in such cases, be cast on him for mismanaging her cure; and in the meantime he came to Bath to divert his thoughts from the disturbance of such a melancholy circumstance as that was.

My landlady, who of her own accord encouraged the correspondence on all occasions, gave me an advantageous character of him, as of a man of honour and of virtue, as well as of a great estate; and indeed I had a great deal of

reason to say so of him too; for though we lodged both on a floor, and he had frequently come into my chamber, even when I was in bed, and I also into his when he was in bed, yet he never offered anything to me farther than a kiss, or so much as solicited me to anything till long after, as you shall hear.

I frequently took notice to my landlady of his exceeding modesty, and she again used to tell me she believed it was so from the beginning. However, she used to tell me that she thought I ought to expect some gratification from him for my company, for indeed he did, as it were, engross me, and I was seldom from him.

I told her I had not given him the least occasion to think I wanted it, or that I would accept of it from him; she told me she would take that part upon her, and she did so, and managed it so dexterously, that the first time we were together alone, after she had talked with him, he began to inquire a little into my circumstances, as how I had subsisted myself since I came on shore? and whether I did not want money?

I stood off very boldly; I told him that though my cargo of tobacco was damaged, yet that it was not quite lost; that the merchant I had been consigned to had so honestly managed for me that I had not wanted; and that I hoped, with frugal management, I should make it hold out till more should come, which I expected by the next fleet. That in the meantime I had retrenched my expenses, and whereas I kept a maid last season, now I lived without; and whereas I had a chamber and a dining-room then on the first floor, as he knew, I now had but one room up two pair of stairs, and the like; but I live, said I, as well satisfied now as I did then; adding, that his company had been a means to make me live much more cheerfully than otherwise I should have done, for which I was much obliged to him; and so I put off all room for any offer for the present. However, it was not long before he attacked me again, and told me he found that I was backward to trust him with the secret of my circumstances, which he was sorry for; assuring me that he inquired into it with no design to satisfy his own curiosity, but merely to assist me, if there was any occasion; but since I would not own myself to stand in need of any assistance, he had but one thing more to desire of me, and that was, that I would promise him that when I was any way straightened, or like to be so, I would frankly tell him of it, and that I would make use of him with the same freedom that he made the offer, adding, that I should always find I had a true friend, though perhaps I was afraid to trust him.

I omitted nothing that was fit to be said by one infinitely obliged, to let him know that I had a due sense of his kindness; and indeed, from that time, I did not appear so much reserved to him as I had done before, though still within the bounds of the strictest virtue on both sides; but how free soever our conversation was, I could not arrive at that sort of freedom which he desired, viz. to tell him I wanted money, though I was secretly very glad of his offer.

Some weeks passed after this, and still I never asked him for money; when my landlady, a cun-

ning creature, who had often pressed me to it, but found that I could not do it, makes a story of her own inventing, and comes in bluntly to me when we were together.

"O widow," said she, "I have bad news to tell you this morning."

"What is that," said I, "are the Virginia ships taken by the French?" for that was my fear.

"No, no," says she, "but the man you sent to Bristol yesterday for money is come back, and says he has brought you none."

Now I could by no means like her project; I thought it looked too much like prompting him, which indeed he did not want, and I saw clearly that I should lose nothing by being backward to ask, so I took her up short; "I can't imagine why he should say so to you," said I, "for I assure you he brought me all the money I sent him for, and here it is," said I, pulling out my purse with about twelve guineas in it, and added, "I intend you shall have most of it by and by."

He seemed displeased a little at her talking as she did at first, as well as I, taking it as I fancied he would, as something forward of her; but when he saw me give such an answer, he came immediately to himself again. The next morning we talked of it again, when I found he was fully satisfied; and smiling said, he hoped I would not want money and not tell him of it, and I had promised him otherwise. I told him I had been very much dissatisfied at my landlady's talking so publicly the day before of what she had nothing to do with; but I supposed she wanted what I owed her, which was about eight guineas, which I had resolved to give her, and had accordingly given it her the same night she talked so foolishly.

He was in a mighty good humour when he heard me say I had paid her, and it went off into some other discourse at that time; but the next morning having heard me up about my room before him, he called to me, and I answering, he asked me to come into his chamber. He was in bed when I came in, and he made me come and sit down on his bed-side, for he said he had something to say to me which was of some moment. After some very kind expressions, he asked me if I would be very honest to him, and give a sincere answer to one thing he would desire of me.

After some little cavil with him at the word sincere, and asking him if I had ever given him any answers which were not sincere, I promised him I would; why then his request was, he said, to let him see my purse; I immediately put my hand into my pocket, and laughing at him, pulled it out, and there was in it three guineas and a half; then he asked me if there was all the money I had? I told him no, laughing again, not by a great deal.

Well then, he said, he would have me promise to go and fetch him all the money I had, every farthing. I told him I would, and I went into my chamber, and fetched him a little private drawer, where I had about six guineas more, and some silver, and threw it down upon the bed, and told him there was all my wealth, honestly to a shilling. He looked a little at it, but did not tell it, and huddled it all into the drawer again, and

reaching his pocket, pulled out a key, and bid me then open a little walnut-tree box he had upon the table, and bring him such a drawer, which I did, in which drawer there was a great deal of money in gold, I believe near two hundred guineas, but I knew not how much. He took the drawer, and taking my hand, made me put it in, and take a whole handful; I was backward at that, but he held my hand hard in his hand, and put it into the drawer, and made me take out as many guineas almost as I could well take up at once.

When I had done so he made me put them into my lap, and took my little drawer, and poured out all my own money among his, and bad me get me gone, and carry it all home into my own chamber.

I relate this story the more particularly because of the good humour there was in it, and to show the temper with which we conversed. It was not long after this, but he began every day to find fault with my clothes, with my laces, and head-dresses; and, in a word, pressed me to buy better, which by the way I was willing enough to do, though I did not seem to be so, for I loved nothing in the world better than fine clothes; I told him I must housewife the money he had lent me, or else I should not be able to pay him again. He then told me in a few words, that as he had a sincere respect for me, and knew my circumstances, he had not lent me that money, but given it me, and that he thought I had merited it from him, by giving him my company so entirely as I had done.

After this he made me take a maid and keep house and his friend that came with him to the Bath, being gone, he obliged me to diet him, which I did very willingly, believing, as it appeared, that I should lose nothing by it, nor did the woman of the house fail to find her account in it too.

We had lived thus near three months when the company beginning to wear away at the Bath, he talked of going away, and fain he would have me to go to London with him.

I was not very easy in that proposal, not knowing what posture I was to live in there, or how he might use me. But while this was in debate he fell very sick; he had gone out to a place in Somersetshire called Shepton, where he had some business, and was there taken very ill, and so ill that he could not travel; so he sent his man back to the Bath to beg me that I would hire a coach and come over to him. Before he went he had left all his money and other things of value with me, and what to do with them I did not know, but I secured them as well as I could, and locked up the lodgings and went to him, where I found him very ill indeed. I persuaded him to be carried in a litter to the Bath, where there was more help and better advice to be had.

He consented, and I brought him to the Bath, which was about fifteen miles, as I remember. Here he continued very ill of a fever, and kept his bed five weeks, all which time I nursed him and tended him myself, as much and as carefully as if I had been his wife. Indeed if I had been his wife I could not have done more; I sat up with him so much and so often, that at last indeed he would not let me sit up any longer, and

then I got a pallet bed into his room and lay in it just at his bed's feet.

I was indeed sensibly affected with his condition, and with the apprehension of losing such a friend as he was, and was like to be, to me, and I used to sit and cry by him many hours together. However, at last he grew better, and gave hopes that he would recover, as indeed he did, though very slowly.

Were it otherwise than what I am going to say, I should not be backward to disclose it, as it is apparent I have done in other cases in this account; but I affirm, that through all the conversation, abating the freedom of coming into the chamber when he or I was in bed, and abating the necessary offices of attending him night and day when he was sick, there had not passed the least immodest word or action between us. O! that it had been so to the last.

After some time he gathered strength, and grew well apace, and I would have removed my pallet bed, but he would not let me till he was able to venture himself without anybody to sit up with him, and then I removed to my own chamber.

He took many occasions to express his sense of my tenderness and concern for him; and when he grew quite well he made me a present of fifty guineas for my care, and, as he called it, for hazarding my life to save his.

And now he made deep protestations of a sincere, inviolable affection for me; but all along attested it to be with the utmost reserve for my virtue, and his own. I told him I was fully satisfied of it; he carried it that length that he protested to me, that if he was naked in bed with me, he would as sacredly preserve my virtue, as he would defend it if I was assaulted by a ravisher; I believed him, and told him I did so; but this did not satisfy him; he would, he said, wait for some opportunity to give me an undoubted testimony of it.

It was a great while after this that I had occasion, on my own business, to go to Bristol, upon which he hired me a coach, and would go with me, and did so; and now indeed our intimacy increased; from Bristol he carried me to Gloucester, which was merely a journey of pleasure to take the air; and here it was our hap to have no lodging in the inn but in one large chamber with two beds in it. The master of the house going up with us to show his rooms, and coming into that room, said very frankly to him—"Sir, it is none of my business to inquire whether the lady be your spouse or no, but if not, you may lie as honestly in these two beds as if you were in two chambers;" and with that he pulls a great curtain which drew quite across the room, and effectually divided the beds. "Well," says my friend, very readily, "these beds will do, and as for the rest, we are too near akin to lie together, though we may lodge near one another;" and this put an honest face on the thing too. When we came to go to bed he decently went out of the room till I was in bed, and then went to bed in the bed on his own side of the room, but lay there talking to me a great while.

At last, repeating his usual saying, that he could lie in the bed naked with me and not offer me the least injury; he starts out of his bed—"And now, my dear," says he, "you shall see

how just I will be to you, and that I can keep my word, and away he comes to my bed."

I resisted a little, but I must confess I should not have resisted him much, if he had not made those promises at all; so after a little struggle, as I said, I lay still, and let him come to bed; when he was there he took me in his arms, and so I lay all night with him, but he had no more to do with me, or offered anything to me other than embracing me, as I say, in his arms, no, not the whole night, but rose up and dressed him in the morning, and left me as innocent for him as I was the day I was born.

This was a surprising thing to me, and perhaps may be so to others who know how the laws of nature work; for he was a strong, vigorous, brisk person; nor did he act thus on a principle of religion at all, but of mere affection; insisting on it, that though I was to him the most agreeable woman in the world, yet because he loved me he could not injure me.

I own it was a noble principle; but as it was what I never understood before, so it was to me perfectly amazing. We travelled the rest of the journey as we did before, and came back to the Bath, where, as he had opportunity to come to me when he would, he often repeated the moderation, and I frequently lay with him, and he with me; and although all the familiarities between man and wife were common to us, yet he never once offered to go any farther, and he valued himself much upon it; I do not say that I was so wholly pleased with it as he thought I was; for I own I was much wickeder than he, as you shall hear presently.

We lived thus near two years, only with this exception, that he went three times to London in that time, and once he continued there four months; but, to do him justice, he always supplied me with money to subsist me very handsomely.

Had we continued thus, I confess we had had much to boast of; but, as wise men say, it is ill venturing too near the brink of a command, so we found it; and here again I must do him the justice to own that the first breach was not on his part; it was one night that we were in bed together warm and merry, and having drank, I think a little more wine that night, both of us than usual, though not in the least to disorder either of us, when after some other follies, which I cannot name, and being clasped close in his arms, I told him (I repeat it with shame and horror of soul) that I could find in my heart to discharge him of his engagement for one night and no more.

He took me at my word immediately; and after that there was no resisting him. Neither, indeed, had I any mind to resist him any more, let what would come of it.

Thus the government of our virtue was broken, and I exchanged the place of friend for that unmusical, harsh-sounding title of whore. In the morning we were both at our penitentials. I cried very heartily; he expressed himself very sorry; but that was all either of us could do at that time; and the way being thus cleared, and the bars of virtue and conscience being thus removed, we had the less difficulty afterwards to struggle with.

It was but a dull kind of conversation that we

had together for all the rest of that week ; I looked on him with blushes ; and every now and then started that melancholy objection,—what if I should be with child now ? What will become of me then ? He encouraged me by telling me that as long as I was true to him he would be so to me ; and since it was gone such a length (which indeed he never intended), yet if I was with child he would take care of that and of me too. This hardened us both ; I assured him if I was with child, I would die for want of a midwife rather than name him as the father of it ; and he assured me I should never want if I should be with child. These mutual assurances hardened us in the thing ; and after this we repeated the crime as often as we pleased, till at length, as I had feared, so it came to pass, and I was indeed with child.

After I was sure it was so, and I had satisfied him of it too, we began to think of taking measures for the managing it, and I proposed trusting the secret to my landlady, and asking her advice, which he agreed to ; a woman (as I found) who was used to such things, and made light of it. She said she knew it would come to that at last, and made us very merry about it. As I said above, we found her an experienced old lady at such work ; she undertook every thing, engaged to procure a midwife and nurse ; to satisfy all inquiries ; and bring us off with reputation, and she did so very dexterously indeed.

When I grew near my time she desired my gentleman to go away to London, or make as if he did so ; when he was gone, she acquainted the parish officers that there was a lady ready to lie in at her house, but that she knew her husband very well, and gave them, as she pretended, an account of his name, which she called Sir Walter Cleave ; telling them, that he was a very worthy gentleman, and that she would answer for all inquiries and the like. This satisfied the parish officers presently, and I lay in with as much credit as I could have done if I had been my Lady Cleave ; and was assisted in my travail by three or four of the best citizens' wives of Bath, who lived in the neighbourhood, which, however, made me a little the more expensive to him. I often expressed my concern to him about it, but he bid me not be concerned at it.

As he had furnished me very sufficiently with money for the extraordinary expenses of my lying in, I had every thing very handsome about me ; but I did not affect to be gay or extravagant neither ; besides, knowing my own circumstances, and knowing the world as I have done, and that such kind of things do not often last long, I took care to lay up as much money as I could for a wet day, as I called it, making him believe it was all spent upon the extraordinary appearance of things in my lying-in.

By this means, and including what he had given me as above, I had at the end of my lying-in about two hundred guineas by me, including also what was left of my own.

I was brought to bed of a fine boy indeed, and a charming child it was ; and when he heard of it he wrote me a very kind obliging letter about it, and then told me he thought it would look better for me to come away for London as soon as I

was up and well ; that he had provided apartments for me at Hammersmith, as if I came thither only from London, and that after a little while I should go back to the Bath, and he would go with me.

I liked this offer very well, and accordingly hired a coach on purpose, and taking my child and a wet nurse to tend and suckle it, and a maid servant with me, away I went for London.

He met me at Reading in his own chariot, and taking me into that, left the servant and the child in the hired coach, and so he brought me to my new lodgings at Hammersmith ; with which I had abundance of reason to be very well pleased, for they were very handsome rooms, and I was very well accommodated.

And now I was indeed in the height of what I might call my prosperity, and I wanted nothing but to be a wife, which however could not be in this case, there was no room for it ; and therefore on all occasions I studied to save what I could, as I have said above, against a time of scarcity ; knowing well enough that such things as these do not always continue, that men that keep mistresses often change them, grow weary of them, or jealous of them, or something or other happens to make them withdraw their bounty ; and sometimes the ladies that are thus well used are not careful by a prudent conduct to preserve the esteem of their persons, or the nice article of their fidelity, and then they are justly cast off with contempt.

But I was secured in this point, for as I had no inclination to change, so I had no manner of acquaintance in the whole house, and so no temptation to look any farther ; I kept no company but in the family where I lodged, and with a clergyman's lady at next door ; so that when he was absent I visited nobody, nor did he ever find me out of my chamber or parlour whenever he came down ; if I went anywhere to take the air it was always with him.

The living in this manner with him, and his with me, was certainly the most undesigned thing in the world ; he often protested to me, that when he became first acquainted with me, and even to the very night when we first broke in upon our rules, he never had the least design of lying with me ; that he always had a sincere affection for me, but not the least real inclination to do what he had done. I assured him I never suspected him ; that if I had, I should not so easily have yielded to the freedoms which brought it on, but that it was all a surprise, and was owing to the accident of our having yielded too far to our mutual inclinations that night ; and indeed I have often observed since, and leave it as a caution to the readers of this story, that we ought to be cautious of gratifying our inclinations in loose and lewd freedoms, lest we find our resolutions of virtue fail us in the juncture when their assistance should be most necessary.

It is true, and I have confessed it before, that, from the first hour I began to converse with him, I resolved to let him lie with me, if he offered it ; but it was because I wanted his help and assistance, and I knew no other way of securing him than that. But when we were that night together, and, as I have said, had gone such a length, I

found my weakness; the inclination was not to be resisted, but I was obliged to yield up all even before he asked it.

However, he was so just to me that he never upbraided me with that; nor did he ever express the least dislike to my conduct on any occasion, but always protested he was as much delighted with my company as he was the first hour we came together; I mean came together as bed-fellows.

It is true that he had no wife, that is to say, she was no wife to him, and so I was in no danger that way; but the just reflections of conscience oftentimes snatch a man, especially a man of sense, from the arms of a mistress, as it did him at last, though on another occasion.

On the other hand, though I was not without secret reproaches of my own conscience for the life I led, and that even in the greatest height of the satisfaction I ever took, yet I had a terrible prospect of poverty and starving, which lay on me as a frightful spectre, so that there was no looking behind me. But as poverty brought me into it, so fear of poverty kept me in it, and I frequently resolved to leave it quite off, if I could but come to lay up money enough to maintain me. But these were thoughts of no weight, and whenever he came to me they vanished; for his company was so delightful that there was no being melancholy when he was there. The reflections were all the subjects of those hours when I was alone.

I lived six years in this happy but unhappy condition, in which time I brought him three children, but only the first of them lived; and though I removed twice in those six years, yet I came back the sixth year to my first lodgings at Hammersmith. Here it was that I was one morning surprised with a kind but melancholy letter from my gentleman; intimating that he was very ill, and was afraid he should have another fit of sickness, but that his wife's relations being in the house with him, it would not be practicable to have me with him, which, however, he expressed his great dissatisfaction in, and that he wished I could be allowed to tend and nurse him as I did before.

I was very much concerned at this account, and was very impatient to know how it was with him. I waited a fortnight or thereabout, and heard nothing, which surprised me, and I began to be very uneasy indeed. I think, I may say, that for the next fortnight I was near to distracted. It was my particular difficulty, that I did not know directly where he was; for I understood at first he was in the lodgings of his wife's mother; but having removed myself to London, I soon found, by the help of the direction I had for writing my letters to him, how to inquire after him, and there I found he was at a house in Bloomsbury, whither he had, a little before he fell sick, removed his whole family; and that his wife and wife's mother were in the same house, though the wife was not suffered to know that she was in the same house with her husband.

Here I also soon understood that he was at the last extremity, which made me almost at the last extremity too, to have a true account. One night I had the curiosity to disguise myself as a servant-maid, in a round cap and straw bonnet,

and went to the door, as sent by a lady of his neighbourhood where he lived before, and giving her master and mistress's service, I said I was sent to know how Mr ——— did, and how he had rested that night. In delivering this message I got the opportunity I desired; for, speaking with one of the maids, I held a gossip's tale with her, and heard all the particulars of his illness, which I found was a pleurisy, attended with a cough and fever. She told me also who was in the house, and how his wife was, who, by her relation, they were in hopes would recover her understanding; but as to the gentleman himself, in short, she told me, the doctors said, there was very little hope of him; that in the morning they thought he had been dying, and that he was but little better then, for they did not expect he would live over the next night.

This was heavy news for me, and I began now to see an end to my prosperity, and to see that it was well I had played the good housewife, and saved something while he was alive, for I had no view of my own living before me.

It lay very heavy upon my mind, too, that I had a son, a fine lovely boy, above five years old, and no provision made for it, at least that I knew of. With these considerations, and a sad heart, I went home that evening, and began to cast with myself how I should live, and in what manner to bestow myself for the residue of my life.

You may be sure I could not rest without inquiring very quickly what was become of him; and not venturing to go myself, I sent several sham messengers, till, after a fortnight's waiting longer, I found there was hopes of his life, though he was still very ill; then I abated my sending any more to the house, and in some time after I learnt in the neighbourhood that he was about house, and then he was abroad again.

I made no doubt then but that I should soon hear of him, and began to comfort myself with my circumstances being, as I thought, recovered; but with much surprise and amazement I waited near two months and heard nothing but that, being recovered, he was gone into the country for the air, and for the better recovery after his distemper. After this it was yet two months more, and then I understood he was come to his city house again, but still I heard nothing from him.

I had written several letters for him, and directed them as usual, but found two or three of them had been called for, but not the rest. I wrote again in a more pressing manner than ever, and in one of them let him know that I must be forced to wait on him myself, representing my circumstances, the rent of lodgings to pay, and the provision for the child wanting, and my own deplorable condition, destitute of subsistence after his most solemn engagement to take care of and provide for me. I took a copy of this letter, and finding it lay at the house near a month, and was not called for, I found means to have the copy of it put into his own hands at a coffee-house, where I had by inquiry found he used to go.

This letter forced an answer from him, by which, though I found I was to be abandoned, yet I found he had sent a letter to me some time before, desiring me to go down to the Bath again, its contents I shall come to presently.

It is true that sick-beds are the times when such correspondence as this is looked on with different countenance, and seen with other eyes than we saw them with, or than they appeared with before. My lover had been at the gates of death, at the very brink of eternity; and it seems had been struck with a due remorse, and with sad reflections upon his past life of gallantry and levity; and among the rest, this criminal correspondence with me, which was neither more or less than a long continued life of adultery had represented itself, as it really was, and not as it had been formerly thought by him to be, and he looked upon it now with a just and a religious abhorrence.

I cannot but observe also, and leave it for the direction of my sex in such cases of pleasure, that whenever sincere repentance succeeds such a crime as this, there never fails to attend a hatred of the object; and the more the affection might seem to be before, the hatred will be the more in proportion. It will always be so, indeed it can be no otherwise; for there cannot be a true and sincere abhorrence of the offence and the love to the cause of it remain, there will with an abhorrence of the sin be found a detestation of the fellow sinner; you can expect no other.

I found it so here, though good manners and justice in this gentleman kept him from carrying it to any extreme; but the short history of his part in this affair was thus; he perceived by my last letter, and by all the rest, which he went for after, that I was not gone to the Bath, and that his first letter had not come to my hand, upon which he writes me this following:

"Madam,

"I am surprised that my letter, dated the 8th of last month, did not come to your hand; I give you my word it was delivered at your lodgings, and to the hands of your maid.

"I need not acquaint you with what has been my condition for some time past, and how I have been at the edge of the grave: I am, by the unexpected and undeserved mercy of heaven, restored again. In the condition I have been in, it cannot be strange to you that our unhappy correspondence has not been the least of the burthens which lay upon my conscience; I need say no more, those things that must be repented of, must be also reformed.

"I wish you would think of going back to the Bath. I inclose you here a bill for 50*l.* for clearing yourself at your lodgings, and carrying you down, and hope it will be no surprise to you to add, that on this account only, and not for any offence given me on your side, I can see you no more. I will take due care of the child; leave him where he is, or take him with you, as you please. I wish you the like reflections, and that they may be to your advantage. I am," &c.

I was struck with this letter as with a thousand wounds; the reproaches of my own conscience were such as I cannot express, for I was not blind to my own crime; and I reflected that I might with less offence have continued with my brother, and lived with him as a wife, since there was no crime in our marriage on that score, neither of us knowing it.

But I never once reflected that I was all this while a married woman, a wife to Mr — the

linen draper, who, though he had left me by the necessity of his circumstances, had no power to discharge me from the marriage contract which was between us, or to give me a legal liberty to marry again; so that I had been no less than a whore and an adultress all this while; I then reproached myself with the liberties I had taken, and how I had been a snare to this gentleman, and that, indeed, I was principal in the crime; that now he was mercifully snatched out of the gulph by a convincing work upon his mind, but that I was left as if I was forsaken of God's grace, and abandoned by heaven to a continuing in my wickedness.

Under these reflections I continued very pensive and sad for near a month, and did not go down to the Bath, having no inclination to be with the woman who I was with before; lest, as I thought, she should prompt me to some wicked course of life again, as she had done; and besides, I was very loath she should know I was cast off as above.

And now I was greatly perplexed about my little boy; it was death to me to part with the child, and yet when I remembered the danger of being one time or other left with him to keep, without a maintenance to support him, I then resolved to leave him where he was; but then I concluded also to be near him myself too, that I might have the satisfaction of seeing him without the care of providing for him.

I sent my gentleman a short letter therefore, that I had obeyed his orders in all things but that of going back to the Bath, which I could not think of for many reasons. That, however, parting from him was a wound to me that I could never recover, and yet that I was fully satisfied his reflections were just, and would be very far from desiring to obstruct his reformation or repentance.

Then I represented my own circumstances to him in the most moving terms that I was able. I told him that that those unhappy distresses which first moved him to a generous and an honest friendship for me, would, I hoped, move him to a little concern for me now; though the criminal part of our correspondence, which I believed neither of us intended to fall into at that time, was broken off; that I desired to repent as sincerely as he had done, but entreated him to put me in some condition, that I might not be exposed to the temptations which the devil never fails to excite us to, from the frightful prospect of poverty and distress; and if he had the least apprehensions of my being troublesome to him, I begged he would put me in a posture to go back to my mother in Virginia, from whence he knew I came, and that would put an end to all his fears on that account. I concluded, that if he would send me fifty more to facilitate my going away, I would send him back a general release, and would promise never to disturb him more with any importunities; unless it were to hear of the well-doing of the child, who, if I found my mother living, and my circumstances able, I would send for to come over to me, and take him also effectually off his hands.

This was, indeed, all a cheat thus far, viz. that I had no intention to go to Virginia, as the account of my former affairs there may convince

anybody of; but the business was to get this last fifty pounds of him, if possible, knowing well enough it would be the last penny I was ever to expect.

However, the argument I used, namely, of giving him a general release, and never troubling him any more, prevailed effectually with him, and he sent me a bill for the money by a person who brought with him a general release for me to sign, and which I frankly signed, and received the money; and thus, though full sore against my will, a final end was put to this affair.

And here I cannot but reflect upon the unhappy consequence of too great freedoms between persons situated as we were, upon the pretence of innocent intentions, love of friendship, and the like; for the flesh has generally so great a share in those friendships, that it is great odds but inclination prevails at last over the most solemn resolutions; and that vice breaks in at the breaches of decency, which really innocent friendship ought to preserve with the greatest strictness; but I leave the readers of these things to their own just reflections, which they will be more able to make effectual than I, who so soon forgot myself, and am therefore but a very indifferent monitor.

I was now a single person again, as I may call myself; I was loosed from all the obligations either of wedlock or mistress-ship in the world; except my husband the linen-draper, who I having not now heard from in almost fifteen years, nobody could blame me for thinking myself entirely freed from.

I now began to cast up my accounts; I had by many letters, and much importunity, and with the intercession of my mother too, I had a second return of some goods from my brother, as I now call him, in Virginia, to make up the damage of the cargo I brought away with me, and this too was upon the condition of my sealing a general release to him, and to send it him by his correspondent at Bristol, which though I thought hard of, yet I was obliged to promise to do. However, I managed so well in this case, that I got my goods away before the release was signed, and then I always found something or other to say to evade the thing, and to put off the signing it at all; till at length I pretended I must write to my brother, and have his answer, before I could do it.

Including this recruit, and before I got the last fifty, I found my strength to amount, put all together, to about 400*l.*, so that with that I had above 450*l.* I had saved about 100*l.* more, but I met with a disaster with that, which was this, that a goldsmith in whose hands I had trusted it, broke, so I lost 70*l.* of my money, the man's composition not making above 30*l.* out of this 100*l.* I had a little plate, but not much, and was well enough stocked for clothes and linen.

With this stock I had the world to begin again; but you are to consider that I was not now the same woman as when I lived at Redriff; for first of all I was near twenty years older, and did not look the better for my age, nor for my rambles to Virginia and back again; and though I omitted nothing that might set me out to advantage, except painting, for that I never stooped to,

and had pride enough to think that I did not want it, yet there would always be some difference seen between five and twenty and two and forty.

I cast about innumerable ways for my future state of life, and began to consider very seriously what I should do, but nothing offered; I took care to make the world take me for something more than I was, and had it given out that I was a fortune, and that my estate was in my own hands, the last of which was very true, the first of it was as above. I had no acquaintance, which was one of my worst misfortunes, and the consequence of that was, I had no adviser, at least who could advise and assist together; and above all, I had nobody to whom I could in confidence commit the secret of any circumstances to, and could depend upon for their secrecy and fidelity; and I found by experience, that to be friendless is the worst condition, next to being in want, that a woman can be reduced to. I say a woman, because it is evident men can be their own advisers and their own directors, and know how to work themselves out of difficulties and into business better than women; but if a woman has no friend to communicate her affairs to, and to advise and assist her, it is ten to one but she is undone; nay, and the more money she has the more danger she is in of being wronged and deceived; and this was my case in the affair of the hundred pounds which I left in the hands of the goldsmith as above, whose credit, it seems, was upon the ebb before; but I that had no knowledge of things, and nobody to consult with, knew nothing of it, and so lost my money.

When a woman is thus left desolate and void of council, she is just like a bag of money or a jewel dropped on the highway, which is a prey to the next comer. If a man of virtue and upright principles happens to find it, he will have it cried, and the owner may come to hear of it again; but how many times shall such a thing fall into the hands that will make no scruple of seizing it for their own, to once that it shall come into good hands?

This was evidently my case, for I was now a loose unguided creature, and had no help, no assistance, no guide for my conduct. I knew what I aimed at, and what I wanted, but knew nothing how to pursue the end by direct means. I wanted to be placed in a settled state of living, and had I happened to meet with a sober good husband, I should have been as faithful and true a wife to him as virtue itself could have formed. If I had been otherwise, the vice came in always at the door of necessity, not at the door of inclination; and I understood too well, by the want of it, what the value of a settled life was, to do any thing to forfeit the felicity of it; nay, I should have made the better wife for all the difficulties I had passed through, by a great deal; nor did I, in any of the times that I had been a wife, give my husbands the least uneasiness on account of my behaviour.

But all this was nothing, I found no encouraging prospect; I waited; I lived regularly, and with as much frugality as became my circumstances, but nothing offered; nothing presented, and the main stock wasted apace, and what to do I knew not; the terror of approaching poverty

lay hard upon my spirits. I had some money, but where to place it I knew not, nor would the interest of it maintain me, at least not in London.

At length a new scene opened. There was in the house where I lodged a north countrywoman that passed for a gentlewoman, and nothing was more frequent in her discourse than her account of the cheapness of provisions, and the easy way of living in her country; how plentiful and how cheap everything was; what good company they kept, and the like; till at last I told her she almost tempted me to go and live in her country, for I that was a widow, though I had sufficient to live on, yet had no way of increasing it, and that London was an expensive and extravagant place; that I found I could not live here under a hundred pounds a year, unless I kept no company, no servant, made no appearance, and buried myself in privacy, as if I was obliged to it by necessity.

I should have observed, that she was always made to believe, as everybody else was, that I was a great fortune, or at least that I had 3000*l.* or 4000*l.*, if not more, and all in my own hands; and she was mighty sweet upon me when she thought me inclined in the least to go into her country. She said she had a sister lived near Liverpool, that her brother was a considerable gentleman there, and had a great estate also in Ireland; that she would go down there in about two months, and if I would give her my company thither, I should be as welcome as herself for a month or more, as I pleased, till I should see how I liked the country; and if I thought fit to live there, she would undertake they would take care, though they did not entertain lodgers themselves, to recommend me to some agreeable family, where I should be placed to my content.

If this woman had known my real circumstances, she would never have laid so many snares, and taken so many weary steps, to catch a poor desolate creature that was good for little when it was caught; and, indeed, I, whose case was almost desperate, and thought I could not be much worse, was not very anxious about what might befall me, provided they did me no personal injury; so I suffered myself, though not without a great deal of invitation, and great professions of sincere friendship and real kindness, I say I suffered myself to be prevailed upon to go with her, and accordingly I packed up my baggage, and put myself in a posture for a journey, though I did not absolutely know whither I was to go.

And now I found myself in great distress; what little I had in the world was all in money, except as before, a little plate, some linen, and my clothes; as for household stuff I had little or none, for I had lived always in lodgings; but I had not one friend in the world with whom to trust that little I had, or to direct me how to dispose of it, and this perplexed me night and day. I thought of the bank and of the other companies in London, but I had no friend to commit the management of it to; and to keep and carry about with me bank bills, tallies, orders, and such things, I looked upon it as unsafe; that if they were lost my money was lost, and then I was undone; and, on the other hand, I might be

robbed, and perhaps murdered, in a strange place for them. This perplexed me strangely, and what to do I knew not.

It came into my thoughts one morning that I would go to the bank myself, where I had often been to receive the interest of some bills I had, which had interest payable on them, and where I had found the clerk, to whom I applied myself, very honest and just to me, and particularly so fair one time, that when I had mis-told my money and taken less than my due, and was coming away, he set me to rights and gave me the rest, which he might have put into his own pocket.

I went to him and represented my case very plainly, and asked if he would trouble himself to be my adviser, who was a poor friendless widow and knew not what to do. He told me, if I desired his opinion of anything within the reach of his business, he would do his endeavours that I should not be wronged, but that he would also help me to a good sober person who was a grave man of his acquaintance, who was a clerk in such business too, though not in their house, whose judgment was good, and whose honesty I might depend upon; "for," added he, "I will answer for him, and for every step he takes; if he wrongs you, madam, of one farthing, it shall lie at my door; I will make it good; and he delights to assist people in such cases; he does it as an act of charity."

I was a little at a stand at this discourse, but after some pause I told him I had rather have depended upon him, because I had found him honest; but if that could not be, I would take his recommendation sooner than any one else. "I dare say, madam," says he, "that you will be as well satisfied with my friend as with me." It seems he had his hands full of the business of the bank. I had engaged to meddle with no other business than that of his office. He added, that his friend should take nothing off me for his advice or assistance, and this indeed encouraged me very much.

He appointed the same evening, after the bank was shut and business over, for me to meet him and his friend; and, indeed, as soon as I saw his friend, and he began but to talk of the affair, I was fully satisfied that I had a very honest man to deal with; his countenance spoke it, and his character, as I heard afterwards, was everywhere so good that I had no room for any more doubts upon me.

After the first meeting, in which I only said what I had said before we parted, and he appointed me to come the next day to him, telling me, I might in the meantime satisfy myself or him by inquiry, which, however, I knew not how well to do, having no acquaintance myself.

Accordingly I met him the next day, when I entered more freely with him into my case; I told him my circumstances at large; that I was a widow come over from America, perfectly desolate and friendless; that I had a little money, and but a little, and I was almost distracted for fear of losing it, having no friend in the world to trust with the management of it; that I was going into the north of England to live cheap, that my stock might not waste; that I would willingly lodge my money in the bank, but that

I durst not carry the bills about me, and the like, as above, and how to correspond about it, or with who, I knew not.

He told me I might lodge the money in the bank as an account, and its being entered in the books would entitle me to the money at any time, and if I was in the north I might draw bills on the cashier, and receive it when I would; but that then it would be esteemed as running cash, and the bank would give no interest for it; that I might buy stock with it, and so it would lie in store for me, but that then, if I wanted to dispose of it, I must come up to town on purpose to transfer it, and even it would be with some difficulty I should receive the half-yearly dividend, unless I was here in person, or had some friend I could trust with having the stock in his name to do it for me, and that would have the same difficulty in it as before; and with that he looked hard at me and smiled a little. At last, says he, "Why do you not get a head steward, madam, that may take you and your money together into keeping, and then you would have the trouble taken off your hands?"

"Ay, sir, and the money too it may be," said I, "for truly I find the hazard that way is as much as it is the other way;" but I remember, I said, secretly to myself, I wish you would ask me the question fairly, I would consider very seriously on it before I said no.

He went on a good way with me, and I thought once or twice he was in earnest, but to my real affliction, I found at last he had a wife; but when he owned he had a wife he shook his head, and said, with some concern, that indeed he had a wife and no wife. I began to think he had been in the condition of my late lover, and that his wife had been distempered, or lunatic, or some such thing. However, we had not much more discourse at that time, but he told me he was in too much hurry of business then, but that if I would come home to his house after their business was over, he would by that time consider what might be done for me, to put my affairs in a posture of security. I told him I would come, and desired to know where he lived. He gave me a direction in writing, and when he gave it me he read it to me, and said, "There it is, madam, if you dare trust yourself with me."

"Yes, sir," said I, "I believe I may venture to trust you with myself, for you have a wife you say, and I do not want a husband; besides, I dare trust you with my money, which is all I have in the world, and if that were gone, I might trust myself anywhere."

He said some things in jest that were very handsome and mannerly, and would have pleased me very well if they had been in earnest; but that passed over, I took the directions, and appointed to attend him at his house at seven o'clock the same evening.

When I came he made several proposals for my placing my money in the bank, in order to my having interest for it; but still some difficulty or other came in the way, which he objected as not safe; and I found such a sincere disinterested honesty in him, that I began to muse with myself, that I had certainly found the honest man I wanted, and that I could never put myself into better hands; so I told him

with a great deal of frankness, that I had never met with man or woman yet that I could trust, or in whom I could think myself safe, but that I saw he was so disinterestedly concerned for my safety, that I said I would freely trust him with the management of that little I had, if he would accept to be steward for a poor widow that could give him no salary.

He smiled, and standing up with great respect, saluted me. He told me he could not but take it very kindly that I had so good an opinion of him; that he would not deceive me; that he would do anything in his power to serve me and expect no salary; but that he could not by any means accept of a trust, that it might bring him to be suspected of self-interest, and that if I should die he might have disputes with my executors, which he should be very loath to encumber himself with.

I told him if those were all his objections I would soon remove them, and convince him that there was not the least room for any difficulty; for that, first, as for suspecting him, if ever I should do it, now was the time to suspect him, and not put the trust into his hands, and whenever I did suspect him, he could but throw it up then and refuse to go any farther. Then, as to executors, I assured him I had no heirs, nor any relations in England, and I would have neither heirs or executors but himself, unless I should alter my condition before I died, and then his trust and trouble should cease together, which, however, I had no prospect of yet; but I told him, if I died as I was, it should be all his own, and he would deserve it by being so faithful to me as I was satisfied he would be.

He changed his countenance at this discourse, and asked me how I came to have so much good will for him, and looking very much pleased, said, he might very lawfully wish he was a single man for my sake.

I smiled and told him, that as he was not, my offer could have no design upon him in it, and to wish as he did was not to be allowed, it was criminal to his wife.

He told me I was wrong; "for," says he, "madam, as I said before, I have a wife and no wife, and it would be no sin to me to wish her hanged, if that were all."

"I know nothing of your circumstances that way, sir," said I; "but it cannot be innocent to wish your wife dead."

"I tell you," says he again, "she is a wife and no wife; you do not know what I am, or what she is."

"That is true," said I, "sir, I do not know what you are; but I believe you to be an honest man, and that is the cause of all my confidence in you."

"Well, well," says he, "and so I am, I hope, too, but I am something else too, madam, for," says he, "to be plain with you, I am a cuckold, and she is a whore." He spoke it in a kind of a jest, but it was with such an awkward smile, that I perceived it was what stuck very close to him, and he looked dismally when he said it.

"That alters the case indeed, sir," said I, "as to that part you were speaking of; but a cuckold you know may be an honest man, it does not alter that case at all. Besides, I think," said I,

"since your wife is so dishonest to you, you are too honest to her to own her for your wife; but that," said I, "is what I have nothing to do with."

"Nay," says he, "I do think to clear my hands of her, for, to be plain with you, madam," added he, "I am no contented cuckold neither; on the other hand, I assure you it provokes me to the highest degree, but I cannot help myself; she that will be a whore, will be a whore."

I waived the discourse, and began to talk of my business, but I found he could not have done with it, so I let him alone, and he went on to tell me all the circumstances of his case, too long to relate here particularly, that having been abroad out of England some time before he came to the post he was in, she had had two children in the meantime by an officer of the army; and that when he came to England, and, upon her submission, took her again, and maintained her very well, yet she ran away from him with a linen-draper's apprentice; robbed him of what she could come at, and continued to live from him still; "so that, madam," says he, "she is a whore not by necessity, which is the common bait of your sex, but by inclination, and for the sake of the vice."

Well, I pitied him, and wished him well rid of her, and still would have talked of my business, but it would not do; at last he looks steadily at me, "Look you, madam," says he, "you came to ask advice of me, and I will serve you as faithfully as if you were my own sister; but I must turn the tables, since you oblige me to do it, and are so friendly to me, and I think I must ask advice of you; tell me what must a poor abused fellow do with a whore? What can I do to do myself justice upon her?"

"Alas! sir," says I, "it is a case too nice for me to advise in, but it seems she is run away from you, so you are rid of her fairly; what can you desire more?"

"Ay, she is gone indeed," said he, "but I am not clear of her for all that."

"That's true," says I; "she may indeed run you into debt, but the law has furnished you with methods to prevent that also; you may cry her down, as they call it."

"No, no," says he, "that is not the case; I have taken care of all that; 'tis not that part I speak of, but I would be rid of her, that I might marry again."

"Well, sir," says I, "then you must divorce her; if you can prove what you say, you may certainly get that done, and then, I suppose, you are free."

"That is very tedious and expensive," says he.

"Why," says I, "if you can get any woman you like to take your word, I suppose your wife would not dispute their liberty with you that she takes herself."

"Ay," says he, "but it would be hard to bring an honest woman to do that; and for the other sort," says he, "I have had enough of her to meddle with any more whores."

It occurred to me presently, I would have taken your word with all my heart, if you had but asked me the question; but that was to myself; to him I replied, "Why, you shut the door

against any honest woman accepting you, for you condemn all that I should venture upon you at once, and conclude, that really, a woman that takes you now, cannot be honest."

"Why," says he, "I wish you would satisfy me that an honest woman would take me, I would venture it," and then turns short upon me, "will you take me, madam?"

"That is not a fair question," says I, "after what you have said; however, lest you should think I wait only for a recantation of it, I shall answer you plainly, no, not I; my business is of another kind with you, and I did not expect you would have turned my serious application to you in my own distracted case into a comedy."

"Why, madam," says he, "my case is as distracted as yours can be, and I stand in as much need of advice as you do, for I think, if I have not relief somewhere, I shall be mad myself, and I know not what course to take, I protest to you."

"Why, sir," says I, "it is easier to give advice in your case, much easier than it is in mine."

"Speak then," says he, "I beg of you, for now you encourage me."

"Why," says I, "if your case is so plain as you say it is, you may be legally divorced, and then you may find honest women enough to ask the question of fairly; the sex is not so scarce that you can want a wife."

"Well then," said he, "I am in earnest, I will take your advice; but shall I ask you one question seriously beforehand?"

"Any question," said I, "but that you did before."

"No, that answer will not do," said he, "for, in short, that is the question I shall ask."

"You may ask what question you please; but you have my answer to that already. Besides, sir," said I, "can you think so ill of me as that I would give any answer to such a question beforehand? Can any woman alive believe you in earnest, or think you design anything but to banter her?"

"Well, well," says he, "I do not banter you; I am in earnest: consider of it."

"But, sir," says I, a little gravely, "I came to you about my own business; I beg of you let me know what you will advise me to do?"

"I will be prepared," says he, "against you come again."

"Nay," says I, "you have forbid my coming any more."

"Why so," said he, and looked a little surprised.

"Because," said I, "you cannot expect I should visit you on the account you talk of."

"Well," says he, "you shall promise me to come again, however, and I will not say any more of it till I have gotten the divorce, but I desire you will prepare to be better conditioned when that is done, for you shall be the woman, or I will not be divorced at all. Why, I owe it to your unlooked-for kindness, if it were to nothing else, but I have other reasons too."

He could not have said anything in the world that pleased me better; however, I knew that the way to secure him was to stand off while the thing was so remote as it appeared to be, and

that it was time enough to accept of it when he was able to perform it; so I said very respectfully to him it was time enough to consider of these things when he was in a condition to talk of them; in the meantime I told him I was going a great way from him, and he would find objects enough to please him better. We broke off here for the present, and he made me promise him to come again the next day for his resolutions upon my own business, which after some pressing I did; though, had he seen farther into me, I wanted no pressing on that account.

I came the next evening accordingly, and brought my maid with me, to let him see that I kept a maid, but I sent her away as soon as I was gone in. He would have had me let the maid have stayed, but I would not, but ordered her to come for me again about nine o'clock; but he forbid that, and told me he would see me safe home himself, which I was not very well pleased with, supposing that he might do that to inquire into my character and circumstances.

However, I ventured that; for all that the people there or thereabout knew of me was to my advantage, and all the character he had of me, after he had inquired, was, that I was a woman of fortune, and that I was a very modest, sober body; which, whether true or not in the main, yet you may see how necessary it is for all women who expect anything in the world to preserve the character of their virtue, even when perhaps they may have sacrificed the thing itself.

I found, and was not a little pleased with it, that he had provided a supper for me: I found also he lived very handsomely, and had a house very handsomely furnished, all which I was rejoiced at indeed, for I looked upon it as all my own.

We had now a second conference upon the subject matter of the last conference. He laid his business very home indeed; he protested his affection to me, and indeed I had no room to doubt it. He declared that it began from the first moment I talked with him, and long before I had mentioned leaving my effects with him. It is no matter when it begun, thought I, if it will but hold it will be well enough. He then told me how much the offer I had made of trusting him with my effects, and leaving them to him, had engaged him; so I intended it should, thought I, but then I thought you had been a single man too. After we had supped, I observed he pressed me very hard to drink two or three glasses of wine, which, however, I declined; but drank one glass or two. He then said he had a proposal to make to me, which I should promise him I would not take ill, if I should not grant it. I told him I hoped he would make no dishonourable proposal to me, especially in his own house; and that if it was such, I desired he would not propose it, that I might not be obliged to offer any resentment to him that did not become the respect I professed for him, and the trust I had placed in him in coming to his house; and begged of him he would give me leave to go away, and accordingly began to put on my gloves and prepare to be gone, though, at the same time, I no more intended it than he intended to let me.

Well, he importuned me not to talk of going; he assured me he had no dishonourable thing in

his thoughts about me, and was very far from offering anything to me that was dishonourable, and if I thought so, he would choose to say no more of it.

That part I did not relish at all. I told him I was ready to hear anything he had to say, depending that he would say nothing unworthy of himself, or unfit for me to hear. Upon this he told me his proposal was this,—that I would marry him, though he had not yet obtained the divorce from the whore his wife; and to satisfy me that he meant honourably, he would promise not to desire me to live with him, or go to bed to him, till the divorce was obtained. My heart said yes to this offer at first word, but it was necessary to play the hypocrite a little more with him, so I seemed to decline the motion with some warmth, and besides a little condemning the thing as unfair, told him, that such a proposal could be of no signification, but to entangle us both in great difficulties; for if he should not at last obtain the divorce, yet we could not dissolve the marriage, neither could we proceed in it; so that, if he was disappointed in the divorce, I left him to consider what a condition we should both be in.

In short, I carried on the argument against this so far, that I convinced him it was not a proposal that had any sense in it. Well, then, he went from it to another, and that was, that I would sign and seal a contract with him, conditioning to marry him as soon as the divorce was obtained, and to be void if he could not obtain it.

I told him such a thing was more rational than the other. But as this was the first time that ever I could imagine him weak enough to be in earnest in this affair, I did not choose to say yes at first asking, I would consider of it.

I played with this lover as an angler does with a trout. I found I had him fast on the hook, so I jested with his new proposal, and put him off. I told him he knew little of me, and bade him inquire about me; I let him also go home with me to my lodgings, though I would not ask him to go in, for I told him it was not decent.

In a word, I ventured to avoid signing a contract, and the reason why I did it was, because the lady that had invited me to go with her into Lancashire insisted so positively upon it, and promised me such great fortunes and fine things there, that I was tempted to go and try. "Perhaps," said I, "I may mend myself very much;" and then I made no scruple of quitting my honest citizen, who I was not so much in love with as not to leave him for a richer."

In a word, I avoided signing the contract; but told him I would go into the north, that he should know where to write to me on the business I had entrusted with him; that I would give him a sufficient pledge of my respect for him, for I would leave almost all I had in the world in his hands; and I would thus far give him my word, that as soon as he had sued out a divorce from his first wife, if he would send me an account of it, I would come up to London, and that then we would talk seriously of the matter.

It was a base design I went with, that I must confess, though I was invited thither with a design

much worse than mine was, as the sequel will discover.

Well, I went with my friend, as I called her, into Lancashire. All the way we went she caressed me with the utmost appearance of a sincere, undissembled affection; treated me, except my coach hire, all the way; and her brother brought a gentleman's coach to Warrington to receive us, and we were carried from thence to Liverpool with as much ceremony as I could desire. We were also entertained at a merchant's house in Liverpool three or four days very handsomely. I forbear to tell his name, because of what followed. Then she told me she would carry me to an uncle's house of hers, where we should be nobly entertained. She did so; her uncle, as she called him, sent a coach and four horses for us, and we were carried near forty miles, I know not whither.

We came, however, to a gentleman's seat, where was a numerous family, a large park, extraordinary company indeed, and where she was called cousin. I told her if she had resolved to bring me into such company as this, she should have let me have prepared myself, and have furnished myself with better clothes. The ladies took notice of that, and told me very genteelly, they did not value people in their country so much by their clothes as they did in London; that their cousin had fully informed them of my quality, and that I did not want clothes to set me off. In short, they entertained me not like what I was, but like what they thought I had been, namely, a widow, a lady of a great fortune.

The first discovery I made here was, that the family were all Roman Catholics, and the cousin too. Nothing in the world could behave better to me, and I had all the civility shown me that I could have had if I had been of their opinion. The truth is, I had not so much principle of any kind as to be nice in point of religion, and I presently learned to speak favourably of the Romish Church; particularly, I told them I saw little but the prejudice of education in all the differences that were among Christians about religion, and if it had so happened that my father had been a Roman Catholic, I doubted not that I should have been as well pleased with their religion as my own.

This obliged them in the highest degree, and as I was besieged day and night with good company and pleasant discourse, so I had two or three old ladies that lay at me on the subject of religion too. I was so complaisant, that though I would not completely engage, yet I made no scruple to be present at their mass, and to conform to all their gestures as they showed me the pattern; but I would not come too cheap, so that I only in the main encouraged them to expect I would turn Roman Catholic if I was instructed in the Catholic doctrine, as they called it, and so the matter rested.

I stayed here about six weeks; and then my conductor led me back to a country village about six miles from Liverpool, where her brother, as she called him, came to visit me in his own chariot, and in a very good figure, with two footmen in a good livery, and the next thing was to make love to me. As it had happened to me,

one would think I could not have been cheated, and, indeed, I thought so myself, having a safe card at home, which I resolved not to quit unless I could mend myself very much. However, in all appearance, this brother was a match worth listening to; and the least his estate was valued at was a thousand a year, but the sister said it was worth fifteen hundred a year, and lay most of it in Ireland.

I, that was a great fortune, and passed for such, was above being asked how much my estate was; and my false friend, taking it upon a foolish hearsay, had raised it from five hundred to five thousand, and by the time she came into the country she called it fifteen thousand. The Irishman, for such I understood him to be, was stark mad at this bait. In short, he courted me, made me presents, and run in debt like a madman for the expenses of his equipage and of his courtship. He had, to give him his due, the appearance of an extraordinary fine gentleman; he was tall, well-shaped, and had an extraordinary address; talked as naturally of his park and his stables, of his horses, his game-keepers, his woods, his tenants, and his servants, as if we had been in the mansion-house, and I had seen them all about me.

He never so much as asked me about my fortune or estate; but he assured me that when we came to Dublin he would jointure me in six hundred pounds a year in good land; and that he would enter into a deed of settlement, or contract here, for the performance of it.

This was such language, indeed, as I had not been used to, and I was here beaten out of all my measures. I had a she devil in my bosom, every hour telling me how great her brother lived. One time she would come for my orders, how I would have my coaches painted and how lined; and another time what clothes my page should wear. In short, my eyes were dazzled, I had now lost my power of saying no, and, to cut the story short, I consented to be married; but, to be the more private, we were carried farther into the country, and married by a Romish clergyman, which I was assured would marry us as effectually as a church of England parson.

I cannot say but I had some reflections in this affair, upon the dishonourable forsaking my faithful citizen; who loved me sincerely, and who was endeavouring to quit himself of a scandalous whore, by whom he had been indeed barbarously used, and promised himself infinite happiness in his new choice; which choice was now giving up herself to another in a manner almost as scandalous as hers could be.

But the glittering show of a great estate, and of fine things, which the deceived creature that was now my deceiver represented every hour to my imagination, hurried me away and gave me no time to think of London, or of anything there, much less of the obligation I had to a person of infinitely more real merit than what was now before me.

But the thing was done, I was now in the arms of my new spouse, who appeared still the same as before; great even to magnificence, and nothing less than 1000*l.* a year could support the ordinary equipage he appeared in.

After we had been married about a month he began to talk of my going to West Chester, in order to embark for Ireland. However, he did not hurry me, for we stayed near three weeks longer, and then he sent to Chester for a coach to meet us at the Black Rock, as they called it, over against Liverpool. Thither we went in a fine boat they call a pinnace, with six oars, his servants, and horses, and baggage going in the ferry-boat. He made his excuse to me, that he had no acquaintance at Chester, but he would go before and get some handsome apartment for me at a private house. I asked him how long we should stay at Chester? He said, not at all any longer than one night or two, but he would immediately hire a coach to go to Holyhead. Then I told him he should by no means give himself the trouble to get private lodgings for one night or two, for that Chester being a great place, I made no doubt but that there would be very good inns and accommodation enough; so we lodged at an inn in the West street, not far from the cathedral, I forget what sign it was at.

Here my spouse, talking of my going to Ireland, asked me if I had no affairs to settle at London before we went off. I told him no, not of any great consequence, but what might be done as well by letters from Dublin. "Madam," says he, very respectfully, "I suppose the greatest part of your estate, which my sister tells me is most of in money in the Bank of England, lies secure enough; but in case it be required transferring, or any way altering its property, it might be necessary to go up to London, and settle those things before we went over."

I seemed to look strange at it, and told him I knew not what he meant; that I had no effects in the Bank of England that I knew of, and I hoped he could not say that I had ever told him had.

"No," he said. "I had not told him so, but his sister had said the greatest part of my estate lay there. And I only mentioned it, my dear," said he, "that if there was any occasion to settle it, or order anything about it, we might not be obliged to the hazard and trouble of another voyage back again," for, he added, that he did not care to venture me too much upon the sea.

I was surprised at this talk, and began to consider very seriously what the meaning of it must be; and it presently occurred to me that my friend, who called him brother, had represented me in colours which were not my due; and I thought, since it was come to that pitch, that I would know the bottom of it before I went out of England, and before I should put myself into I knew not whose hands, in a strange country.

Upon this I called his sister into my chamber the next morning, and letting her know the discourse her brother and I had been upon the evening before, I conjured her to tell me what she had said to him, and upon what foot it was that she had made this marriage.

She owned that she had told him that I was a great fortune, and said that she was told so in London.

"Told so!" says I, warmly; "did I ever tell you so?"

"No," she said, "it was true I did not tell her so,

but I had said several times that what I had was in my own disposal."

"I did so," returned I, very quickly and hastily, "but I never told you I had anything called a fortune, no, not that I had 100*l.* or the value of 100*l.* in the world; and how did it consist with my being a fortune," said I, "that should come here into the north of England with you, only upon the account of living cheap?"

At these words, which I spoke warm, and sighed, my husband, and her brother, as she called him, came into the room; and I desired him to come and sit down, for I had something of moment to say before them both, which it was absolutely necessary he should hear.

He looked a little disturbed at the assurance with which I seemed to speak it, and came and sat down by me, having first shut the door; upon which I began, for I was very much provoked, and turning myself to him,

"I am afraid," says I, "my dear," for I spoke with kindness on his side, "that you have a very great abuse put upon you, and an injury done you never to be repaired, in your marrying me, which, however, as I have had no hand in it, I desire I may be fairly acquitted of it; and that the blame may lie where it ought to lie and nowhere else, for I wash my hands of every part of it."

"What injury can be done me, my dear," says he, "in marrying you? I hope it is to my honour and advantage every way."

"I will soon explain it to you," says I, "and I fear you will have no reason to think yourself well used. But I will convince you, my dear," says I again, "that I have had no hand in it," and there I stopped awhile.

He looked now scared and wild, and began, I believe, to suspect what followed; however, looking towards me, and saying only, "Go on," he sat silent, as if to hear what I had more to say; so I went on.

"I asked you last night," said I, speaking to him, "if ever I made any boast to you of my estate, or ever told you I had any estate in the Bank of England, or anywhere else, and you owned I had not, as is most true; and I desire you will tell me here, before your sister, if ever I gave you any reason from me to think so, or that ever we had any discourse about it;" and he owned again I had not; but said, I had appeared always as a woman of fortune, and he depended on it that I was so, and hoped he was not deceived.

"I am not inquiring yet whether you have been deceived or not," said I; "I fear you have, and I too; but I am clearing myself from the unjust charge of being concerned in deceiving you. I have been now asking your sister if ever I told her of any fortune or estate I had, or gave her any particulars of it, and she owns I never did. And pray, madam," said I, turning myself to her, "be so just to me, before your brother, to charge me, if you can, if ever I pretended to you that I had an estate; why, if I had, should I come down into this country with you on purpose to spare that little I had, and live cheap?"

She could not deny one word, but said she

had been told in London that I had a very great fortune, and that it lay in the Bank of England.

"And now, dear sir," said I, turning myself to my new spouse again, "be so just to me as to tell me who has abused both you and me so much as to make you believe I was a fortune, and prompt you to court me to this marriage?"

He could not speak a word, but pointed to her, and after some more pause flew out in the most furious passion that ever I saw a man in my life; cursing her and calling her all the whores and hard names he could think of; and that she had ruined him, declaring that she had told him I had fifteen thousand pounds, and that she was to have five hundred pounds of him for procuring this match for him. He then added, directing his speech to me, that she was no sister of his, but had been his whore for two years before; that she had had one hundred pounds of him in part of this bargain, and that he was utterly undone if things were as I said; and in his raving he swore he would let her heart's blood out immediately, which frightened her and me too.

She cried, said she had been told so in the house where I lodged; but this aggravated him more than before, that she should put so far upon him, and run things such a length upon no other authority than a hearsay; and then turning to me again, said very honestly, he was afraid we were both undone; "for to be plain, my dear, I have no estate," says he, "what little I had, this devil has made me run out in waiting on you, in putting me into this equipage." She took the opportunity of his being earnest in talking with me, and got out of the room, and I never saw her more.

I was confounded now as much as he, and knew not what to say; I thought many ways that I had the worst of it, but his saying he was undone, and that he had no estate neither, put me into a mere distraction.

"Why," says I to him, "this has been a hellish juggle, for we are married here upon a double fraud; you are undone by the disappointment, it seems, and if I had had a fortune I had been cheated too, for you say you have nothing."

"You would indeed have been cheated, my dear," says he, "but you would not have been undone, for fifteen thousand pounds would have maintained us handsomely in this country; and I assure you," added he, "I had resolved to have dedicated every groat of it to you; I would not have wronged you of a shilling, and the rest I would have made up in my affection to you, and tenderness of you, as long as I lived."

This was very honest indeed, and I really believe he spoke as he intended, and that he was a man that was as well qualified to make me happy, as to his temper and behaviour, as any man ever was; but his having no estate, and being run in debt on this ridiculous account in the country, made all the prospect dismal and dreadful, and I knew not what to say, or what to think of myself.

I told him it was very unhappy, that so much love, and so much good nature, as I discovered in him, should be thus precipitated into misery;

that I saw nothing before us but ruin; for as to me, it was my unhappiness that what little I had was not able to relieve us for a week, and with that I pulled out a bank bill of twenty pounds, and eleven guineas, which I told him I had saved out of my little income; and that by the account that creature had given me of the way of living in that country, I expected it would maintain me three or four years; that if it was taken from me I should be left destitute, and he knew what the condition of a woman among strangers must be if she had no money in her pocket. However, I told him if he would take it, there it was.

He told me with a great concern, and I thought I saw tears stand in his eyes, that he would not touch it, that he abhorred the thoughts of stripping me and making me miserable; that on the contrary, he had fifty guineas left, which was all he had in the world, and he pulled it out and threw it down on the table, bidding me take it, though he were to starve for the want of it.

I returned, with the same concern for him, that I could not bear to hear him talk so; that on the contrary, if he could propose any probable method of living, I would do any thing that became me on my part, and that I would live as close and as narrow as he could desire.

He begged of me to talk no more at that rate, for it would make him distracted; he said he was bred a gentleman, though he was reduced to a low fortune; and that there was but one way left which he could think of, and that would not do unless I could answer him one question, which however, he said he would not press me to. I told him I would answer it honestly; whether it would be to his satisfaction or no, that I could not tell.

"Why then, my dear, tell me plainly," says he, "will the little you have keep us together in any figure, or in any station or place, or will it not?"

It was my happiness hitherto that I had not discovered myself, or my circumstances at all. No, not so much as my name; and seeing there was nothing to be expected from him, however good humoured, and however honest he seemed to be, but to live on what I knew would soon be wasted, I resolved to conceal every thing but the bank bill and the eleven guineas which I had owned; and I would have been very glad to have lost that, and have been set down where he took me up. I had, indeed, another bank bill about me of thirty pounds, which was the whole of what I brought with me, as well to subsist on in the country, as not knowing what might offer; because this creature, the go-between that had thus betrayed us both, had made me believe strange things of marrying to my advantage in the country, and I was not willing to be without money whatever might happen. This bill I concealed, and that made me freer of the rest, in consideration of his circumstances, for I really pitied him heartily.

But to return to his question; I told him I never willingly deceived him, and I never would. I was very sorry to tell him that the little I had would not subsist us; that it was not sufficient to subsist me alone in the south country; and that this was the reason that made me put

myself into the hands of that woman who called him brother, she having assured me that I might board handsomely at a town called Manchester, where I had not yet been, for about six pounds a year; and my whole income not being above fifteen pounds a year, I thought I might live easy upon it, and wait for better things.

He shook his head and remained silent, and a very melancholy evening we had; however, we supped together and lay together that night, and when we had almost supped he looked a little better and more cheerful, and called for a bottle of wine.

"Come, my dear," says he, "though the case is bad, it is to no purpose to be dejected—come, be as easy as you can, I will endeavour to find out some way or other to live; if you can but subsist yourself, that is better than nothing, I must try the world again; a man ought to think like a man. To be discouraged, is to yield to the misfortune." With this, he filled his glass and drank to me, holding my hand and pressing it hard in his hand all the while the wine went down, and protesting afterwards his main concern was for me.

It was really a true gallant spirit he was of, and it was the more grievous to me. 'Tis something of relief even to be undone by a man of honour rather than by a scoundrel; but here the greatest disappointment was on his side, for he had really spent a great deal of money, and it was remarkable on what poor terms she proceeded. First, the baseness of the creature herself is to be observed, who, for the getting of a hundred pounds herself, could be content to let him spend three or four more, though perhaps it was all he had in the world, and more than all, when she had not the least ground, more than a little tea-table chat, to say that I had an estate, or was a fortune, or the like. It is true, the design of deluding a woman of fortune, if I had been so, was base enough. The putting the face of great things upon poor circumstances was a fraud, and bad enough, but the case a little differed too, and that in his favour, for he was not a rake that made a trade to delude women, and, as some have done, get six or seven fortunes, one after another, and then rifle and run away from them; but he was already a gentleman, unfortunate and low, but had lived well; and though if I had had a fortune, I should have been enraged at the slut for betraying me,—yet, really for the man, her fortune would not have been ill-bestowed upon him, for he was a lovely person indeed; of generous principles, good sense, and of abundance of good humour.

We had a great deal of close conversation that night, for we neither of us slept much; he was as penitent for having put all those cheats upon me as if it had been felony, and that he was going to execution. He offered me again every shilling of the money he had about him, and said, he would go into the army and seek the world for more.

I asked him why he would be so unkind to carry me into Ireland, when I might suppose he could not have subsisted me there? He took me in his arms, "my dear," said he, "depend upon it, I never designed to go to Ireland at all, much less to have carried you thither; but came

hither to be out of the observation of the people, who had heard what I pretended to, and withal, that nobody may ask me for money before I was furnished to supply them."

"But where, then," said I, "were we to have gone next?"

"Why, my dear," said he, "I will confess the whole scheme to you as I had laid it; I purposed here to ask you something about your estate, as you see I did, and when you, as I expected you would, had entered into some account with me of the particulars, I would have made an excuse to you, to have put off our voyage to Ireland for some time, and to have gone first towards London. Then, my dear," said he, "I resolved to have confessed all the circumstances of my own affairs to you, and let you know I had indeed made use of these artifices to obtain your consent to marry me, but have now nothing to do but to ask your pardon, and to tell you how abundantly, as I have said above, I would endeavour to make you forget what was past by the felicity of the days to come."

"Truly," said I to him, "I find you would soon have conquered me; and it is my affliction now that I am not in a condition to let you see how easily I should have been reconciled to you, and have passed by all the tricks you had put upon me, in recompence of so much good humour. But my dear," said I, "what can we do now? We are both undone, and what better are we for our being reconciled together, seeing we have nothing to live on."

We proposed a great many things, but nothing could offer where there is nothing to begin with. He begged me, at last, to talk no more of it, for he said I would break his heart; so we talked of other things a little, till at last he took a husband's leave of me, and so we went to sleep.

He rises before me in the morning, and indeed having lain awake almost all night I was very sleepy, and lay till near eleven o'clock. In this time he took his horses and three servants, and all his linen and baggage, and away he went, leaving a short but moving letter for me on the table, as follows:

"My Dear,

"I AM a dog, I have abused you, but I have been drawn in to do it by a base creature, contrary to my principle, and the general practice of my life. Forgive me, my dear! I ask your pardon with the greatest sincerity; I am the most miserable of men in having deluded you. I have been so happy as to possess you, and am now so wretched as to be forced to fly from you. Forgive me, my dear; once more, I say, forgive me! I am not able to see you ruined by me, and myself unable to support you. Our marriage is nothing, I shall never be able to see you again; I here discharge you from it; if you can marry to your advantage, do not decline it on my account. I here swear to you on my faith, and on the word of a man of honour, I will never disturb your repose if I should know of it, which is not likely. On the other hand, if you should not marry, and if good fortune should befall me, it shall be all yours wherever you are.

"I have put some of the stock of money I have left into your pocket; take places for yourself and your maid in the stage-coach, and go

for London; I hope it will bear your charges thither, without breaking into your own. Again I sincerely ask your pardon, and will do so as often as I shall ever think of you.

"Adieu, my dear, for ever.

"I am yours most affectionately,

"J. E."

Nothing that ever befel me in my life sunk so deep into my heart as this farewell. I reproached him a thousand times, in my thoughts, for leaving me; for I would have gone with him through the world, if I had begged my bread. I felt in my pocket, and there I found ten guineas, his gold watch, and two little rings, one a small diamond ring, worth only about six pounds, and the other a plain gold ring.

I sat me down and looked upon these things two hours together, and scarcely spoke a word till my maid interrupted me by telling me my dinner was ready. I eat but little, and after dinner I fell into a vehement fit of crying, every now and then calling him by his name, which was James.

"O Jemmy!" said I, "come back, come back; I will give you all I have; I will beg, I will give you all I have; I will beg, I will starve with you!" and thus I ran raving about the room several times, and then sat down between whiles, and then walking about again, called him to come back, and then cried again; and thus I passed the afternoon till about seven o'clock, when it was near dusk in the evening, being August, when to my unspeakable surprise he comes back into the inn, but without a servant, and comes directly into my chamber.

It was in the greatest confusion imaginable, and so was I too; I could not imagine what should be the occasion of it, and began to be at odds with myself whether to be glad or sorry; but my affection biassed all the rest, and it was impossible to conceal my joy, which was too great for smiles, for it burst out into tears. He was no sooner entered the room, but he run to me and took me in his arms, holding me fast and almost stopping my breath with his kisses, but spoke not a word; at length I began:

"My dear," said I, "how could you go away from me?" to which he gave no answer, for it was impossible for him to speak.

When our extasies were a little over, he told me he was gone about fifteen miles, but it was not in his power to go any farther without coming back to see me again, and to take his leave of me once more.

I told him how I had passed my time, and how loud I had called him to come back again. He told me he heard me very plain upon Delamere Forest, at a place about twelve miles off. I smiled.

"Nay," says he, "do not think I am in jest; for if ever I heard your voice in my life, I heard you call me aloud, and sometimes I thought I saw you running after me."

"Why," said I, "what did I say?" for I had not named the words to him.

"You called aloud," says he, and said, "O Jemmy! O Jemmy! come back."

I laughed at him. "My dear," says he, "do not laugh, for depend upon it, I heard your voice as plain as you hear mine now; if you please,

I will go before a magistrate and make oath of it."

I then began to be amazed and surprised, and indeed frightened, and told him what I had really done, and how I had called after him as above.

When we had amused ourselves awhile about this, I said to him:

"Well, you shall go away from me no more; I'll go all over the world with you rather."

He told me it would be a very difficult thing for him to leave me, but since it must be, he hoped I would make it as easy to me as I could; but as for him, it would be his destruction; that he foresaw.

However, he told me that he considered he had left me to travel to London alone, which was too long a journey; and that as he might as well go that way as any way else, he was resolved to see me safe thither, or near it; and if he did go away then without taking his leave, I should not take it ill of him, and this he made me promise.

He told me how he had dismissed his three servants, sold their horses, and sent the fellows away to seek their fortunes, and all in a little time, at a town on the road, I know not where; and says he, "It cost me some tears, all alone by myself, to think how much happier they were than their master, for they could go to the next gentleman's house to seek for a service; whereas," said he, "I knew not whither to go, or what to do with myself."

I told him I was so completely miserable in parting with him, that I could not be worse; and that now he was come again I would not go from him, if he would take me with him, let him go whither he would, or do what he would; and in the meantime I agreed that we would go together to London; but I could not be brought to consent he should go away at last, and not take his leave of me, as he proposed to do; but told him, jesting, that if he did, I would call him back again as loud as I did before. Then I pulled out his watch and gave him back, and his two rings, and his ten guineas; but he would not take them, which made me very much suspect that he resolved to go off upon the road, and leave me.

The truth is, the circumstances he was in, the passionate expressions of his letter, the kind, gentlemanly treatment I had from him in all the affair, with the concern he showed for me in it, his manner of parting with that large share which he gave me of his little stock left; all these had joined to make such impressions on me, that I really loved him most tenderly, and I could not bear the thoughts of parting with him.

Two days after this we quitted Chester, I in the stage-coach, and he on horseback; I dismissed my maid at Chester. He was very much against my being without a maid, but she being a servant hired in the country, and I resolving to keep no servant at London, I told him it would have been barbarous to have taken the poor wench, and have turned her away as soon as I came to town; and it would also have been a needless charge on the road; so I satisfied him, and he was easy enough on that score.

He came with me as far as Dunstable, within thirty miles of London, and then he told me

fate and his own misfortunes obliged him to leave me, and that it was not convenient for him to go to London, for reasons which it was of no value to me to know, and I saw him preparing to go. The stage-coach we were in did not usually stop at Dunstable, but I desiring it but for a quarter of an hour, they were content to stand at an inn-door awhile, and we went into the house.

Being in the inn, I told him I had but one favour more to ask of him, and that was, that since he could not go any further, he would give me leave to stay a week or two in the town with him, that we might in that time think of something to prevent such a ruinous thing to us both as a final separation would be, and that I had something of moment to offer to him, which perhaps he might find practicable and to our advantage.

This was too reasonable a proposal to be denied, so he called the landlady of the house and told her his wife was taken ill, that she should not think of going any further in the stage coach, which had tired her almost to death, and asked if she could not get us a lodging for two or three days at a private house, where I might rest me a little, for the journey had been too much for me. The landlady, a good sort of a woman, well bred, and very obliging, came immediately to see me, told me she had two or three very good rooms in a part of the house quite retired; and if I saw them, she did not doubt but I would like them; and I should have one of her maids that should do nothing else but be appointed to wait on me. This was so very kind, that I could not but accept of it, and thank her; so I went to look at the rooms and liked them very well, and indeed they were extraordinarily furnished, and very pleasant lodgings; so we paid the stage coach, took out our baggage, and resolved to stay here awhile.

Here I told him I would live with him now till all my money was spent, but would not let him spend a shilling of his own. We had some kind squabble about that, but I told him it was the last time I was like to enjoy his company, and I desired he would let me be master in that thing only, and he should govern in everything thing else, so he acquiesced.

Here one evening, taking a walk into the fields, I told him I would now make the proposal to him I had told him of. Accordingly, I related to him how I had lived in Virginia; that I had a mother I believed was alive there still, though my husband were dead some years. I told him that had not my effects miscarried, which by the way I magnified pretty much, I might have been fortune good enough to him to have kept us from being parted in this manner. Then I entered into the manner of people's going over to those countries to settle; how they had a quantity of land given them by the Constitution of the place,—and if not, that it might be purchased at so easy a rate that it was not worth naming.

I then gave him a full and distinct account of the nature of planting; how, with carrying over but two or three hundred pounds' value in English goods, with some servants and tools, a man of application would presently lay a foundation for a family, and in a few years would raise an estate.

I let him into the nature of the product of the earth, how the ground was cured and prepared, and what the usual increase of it was, and demonstrated to him that, in a very few years, with such a beginning, we should be as certain of being rich as we were now certain of being poor.

He was surprised at my discourse, for we made it the whole subject of our conversation for near a week together, in which time I laid it down in black and white, as we say, that it was morally impossible, with the supposition of any reasonably good conduct, but that we must thrive there and do very well.

Then I told him what measures I would take to raise such a sum as 300*l.* or thereabouts, and I argued with him how good a method it would be, to put an end to our misfortunes, and restore our circumstances in the world to what we had both expected; and, I added, that after seven years, we might be in a posture to leave our plantation in good hands, and come over again and receive the income of it, and live here and enjoy it, and I gave him examples of some that had done so, and lived now in very good figure in London.

In short, I pressed him so to it that he almost agreed to it; but still something or other drove it off again, till at last he turned the tables, and he began to talk almost to the same purpose of Ireland.

He told me that a man that could confine himself to a country life, and that could but find stock to enter upon any land, should have farms there for 50*l.* a-year, as good as were here let for 200*l.* a-year. That the produce was such, and so rich the land, that if much was not laid up, we were now to live as handsomely upon it as gentlemen of 300*l.* a year could do in England, and that he had laid a scheme to leave me in London and go over and try, and if he found he could lay a handsome foundation for living suitable to the respect he had for me, as he doubted not he should do, he would then come over and fetch me.

I was dreadfully afraid that upon such a proposal he would have taken me at my word, viz. to turn my little income into money, and let him carry it over to Ireland, and try his experiment with it; but he was too just to desire it, or to have accepted it if I had offered it, and he anticipated me in that, for he added, that he would go and try his fortune that way, and if he found he could do anything at it to live, then by adding mine to it when I went over, we should live like ourselves, but that he would not hazard a shilling of mine till he had made the experiment with a little; and he assured me, that if he found nothing to be done in Ireland, he would then come to me and join in my project of Virginia.

He was so earnest upon his project being to be tried first, that I did not withstand him. However, he promised to let me hear from him in a little time after his arriving there, to let me know whether his project answered his design; that if there was not a probability of success, I might take the occasion to prepare for another voyage, and then he assured me he would go with me to America with all his heart.

I could bring him to nothing further than this;

and which entertained us for near a month, during which I enjoyed his company, which was the most entertaining that I ever met with in my life before. In this time he let me into part of the story of his own life, which was indeed surprising and full of an infinite variety, sufficient to fill up a much brighter story for its adventures and incidents than any I ever saw in print; but I shall have occasion to say more of him hereafter.

We parted at last, though with the utmost reluctance on my side; and indeed he took his leave very unwillingly too, but necessity obliged him, for his reasons were very good why he would not come to London, as I understood more fully some time afterwards.

I gave him a direction how to write to me, though still I reserved the grand secret, and never broke my resolution, which was not to let him ever know my true name, who I was, or where to be found. He likewise let me know how to write a letter to him, so that he said he would be sure to receive it.

I came to London the next day, but did not go directly to my old lodgings, but for another nameless reason took a private lodging in St John's-street—or, as it is vulgarly called, St Jones's, Clerkenwell; and here, being perfectly alone, I had leisure to sit down and reflect seriously upon the last seven months, ramble I had made, for I had been abroad no less. The pleasant hours I had with my last husband I looked back on with an infinite deal of pleasure, but that pleasure was very much lessened when I found some time after that I was really with child.

This was a perplexing thing, because of the difficulty which was before me, where I should get to lie in; it being one of the nicest things in the world, at that time of day, for a woman that was a stranger and had no friends to be entertained in that circumstance without security, which by the way I had not, neither could I procure any.

I had taken care all this while to preserve a correspondence with my honest friend at the Bank, or rather he took care to correspond with me, for he wrote to me once a week; and though I had not spent my money so fast as to want any from him, yet I often wrote also to let him know I was alive. I had left directions in Lancashire, so that I had these letters which he sent conveyed to me; and during my recess at St Jones's I received a very obliging letter from him, assuring me that his process for a divorce from his wife went on with success, though he met with some difficulties in it that he did not expect.

I was not displeased with the news that his process was more tedious than he expected; for though I was in no condition to have had him yet, not being so foolish as to marry him when I knew myself to be with child by another man, as some I know have ventured to do; yet I was not willing to lose him, and in a word resolved to have him if he continued in the same mind as soon as I was up again, for I saw apparently I should hear no more from my other husband; and as he had all along pressed me to marry, and had assured me he would not be at all disgusted at it, or ever offer to claim me again; so I made no scruple to resolve to do it

if I could, and if my other friend stood to his bargain; and I had a great deal of reason to be assured that he would stand to it by the letters he wrote to me, which were the kindest and most obliging that could be.

I now grew big, and the people where I lodged perceived it, and began to take notice of it to me, and, as far as civility would allow, intimated that I must think of removing. This put me to extreme perplexity, and I grew very melancholy, for indeed I knew not what course to take; I had money, but no friends, and was like now to have a child upon my hands to keep, which was a difficulty I never had upon me yet, as the particulars of my story hitherto make appear.

In the course of this affair I fell very ill, and my melancholy really increased my distemper. My illness proved at length to be only an ague, but my apprehensions were really that I should miscarry; I should not say apprehensions, for indeed I would have been glad to miscarry, but I could never be brought to entertain so much as a thought of endeavouring to miscarry, or of taking anything to make me miscarry; I abhorred, I say, so much as the thought of it.

However, speaking of it in the house, the gentlewoman who kept the house proposed to me to send for a midwife; I scrupled at first, but after some time consented to it, but told her I had no particular acquaintance with any midwife, and so left it to her.

It seems the mistress of the house was not so great a stranger to such cases as mine was, as I thought at first she had been, as will appear presently, and she sent for a midwife of the right sort, that is to say, the right sort for me.

The woman appeared to be an experienced woman in her business, I mean as a midwife, but she had another calling too, in which she was as expert as most women, if not more. My landlady had told her I was very melancholy, and that she believed that had done me harm; and once, before me, said to her, "Mrs. B——," meaning the midwife, "I believe this lady's trouble is of a kind that is pretty much in your way; and therefore, if you can do anything more for her, pray do, for she is a very civil gentlewoman;" and so she went out of the room.

I really did not understand her, but my Mother Midnight began very seriously to explain what she meant as soon as she was gone: "Madam," says she, "you seem not to understand what your landlady means, and when you do understand it, you need not let her know at all that you do so. She means that you are under some circumstances that may render your lying-in difficult to you, and that you are not willing to be exposed; I need say no more, but tell you, that if you think fit to communicate so much of your case to me, if it be so, as is necessary, for I do not desire to pry into those things, I perhaps may be in a condition to assist you, and to make you perfectly easy, and remove all your dull thoughts upon that subject."

Every word this creature said was a cordial to me, and put new life and new spirit into my very heart; my blood began to circulate immediately, and I was quite another body; I eat my victuals again, and grew better presently after it. She said a great deal more to the same purpose, and

then having pressed me to be free with her, and promised in the solemnest manner to be secret, she stopped a little, as if waiting to see what impression it made on me, and what I would say.

I was too sensible of the want I was in of such a woman, not to accept her offer; I told her my case was partly as she guessed, and partly not, for I was really married, and had a husband, though he was in such circumstances, and so remote at that time, as he could not appear publicly.

She took me short, and told me that was none of her business, all the ladies that came under her care were married women to her. "Every woman," says she, "that is with child has a father for it, and whether that father was a husband or no husband, was no business of hers; her business was to assist me in my present circumstances, whether I had a husband or no; for, madam," says she, "to have a husband that cannot appear, is to have no husband in the sense of the case, and therefore whether you are a wife or a mistress is all one to me."

I found presently, that whether I was a whore or a wife, I was to pass for a whore here, so I let that go; I told her it was true as she said, but that, however, if I must tell her my case, I must tell it her as it was. So I related it to her as short as I could, and I concluded it to her thus: "I trouble you with all this, madam", said I, "not that, as you said before, it is much to the purpose in your affair, but this is to the purpose, namely, that I am not in any pain about being seen, or being public or concealed, for it is perfectly indifferent to me; but my difficulty is, that I have no acquaintance in this part of the nation."

"I understand you, madam," says she, "you have no security to bring, to prevent the parish impertinences usual in such cases; and perhaps," says she, "do not know very well how to dispose of the child when it comes."

"The last," says I, "is not so much my concern as the first."

"Well, madam," answers the midwife, "dare you put yourself into my hands? I live in such a place; though I do not inquire after you, you may inquire after me. My name is B—; I live in such a street," naming the street, "at the sign of the Cradle; my profession is a midwife, and I have many ladies that come to my house to lie-in. I have given security to the parish in general terms, to secure them from any charge from whatsoever shall come into the world under my roof. I have but one question to ask in the whole affair, madam," says she, "and if that be answered, you shall be entirely easy for all the rest."

I presently understood what she meant, and told her, "Madam, I believe I understand you; I thank God, though I want friends in this part of the world, I do not want money, so far as may be necessary, though I do not abound in that either." This I added, because I would not make her expect great things.

"Well, madam," says she, "that is the thing indeed without which nothing can be done in these cases; and yet," says she "you shall see that I will not impose upon you, or offer anything that is unkind to you, and if you desire it, you shall know everything before hand, that you may suit yourself to the occasion, and be either costly or sparing, as you see fit."

"I told her, she seemed to be so perfectly sensible of my condition, that I had nothing to ask of her but this, that as I had told her that I had money sufficient, but not a great quantity, she should order it so that I might be as little superfluous of charge as possible."

She replied that she would bring in an account of the expenses of it in two or three shapes, and like a bill of fare, I should choose as I pleased, and I desired her to do so.

The next day she brought it and the copy of her three bills, which were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
1. For three months, lodging in her house, including my diet, at 10s. per week.	6	0	0
2. For a nurse for the month, and using child-bed linen.	1	10	0
3. For a minister to christen the child, and to the godfathers and clerk.	1	10	0
4. For a supper at the christening, if I had five friends at it. . . .	1	0	0
5. For her fees as a midwife, and the taking the trouble off the parish.	3	3	0
6. For the maid-servant attending.	0	10	0
Total.	13	13	0

This was the first bill; the second was on the same terms:

1. For three months, lodging and diet, &c., at 20s. per week . . .	13	0	0
2. For a nurse for the month, and the use of linen and lace. . . .	2	10	0
3. For the minister to christen the child as above.	2	10	0
4. For a supper and for sweetmeats . . .	3	3	0
5. For her fees as above.	5	5	0
6. For a servant maid.	1	0	0
Total.	27	8	0

This was the second rate bill; the third, she said, was for a degree higher, and when the father or friends appeared.

1. For three months, lodging and diet, having two rooms and a garret for the servant.	30	0	0
2. For a nurse for the month, and the finest suit of child-bed linen.	4	4	0
3. For the minister to christen the child, &c.	2	10	0
4. For a supper, the gentlemen to send in the wine.	6	0	0
5. For my fees.	10	10	0
6. The maid, besides their own maid, only.	0	10	0
Total.	53	14	0

I looked upon all the three bills and smiled, and told her I did not see but that she was very reasonable in her demands, all things considered, and that I did not doubt but her accommodations were good.

She told me I should be judge of that when I saw them.

I told her, I was sorry to tell her that I feared I must be her lowest-rated customer, "and perhaps madam," said I, "you will make me the less welcome upon that account."

"Not at all," said she, "for where I have one of the third sort, I have two of the second, and four to one of the first, and get as much by them in proportion, as by any; but if you doubt my care of you, I will allow any friend you have to overlook, and see if you are well waited on or no."

Then she explained the particulars of her bills. "In the first place, madam," said she, "I would have you observe, that there is three months keeping you at just 10s. a week. I undertake to say you will not complain of my table. I suppose," says she, "you do not live cheaper where you are now."

"No, indeed," said I, "for I give 6s. a week for my chamber, and I find my own diet, which costs me a great deal more."

"Then, madam," says she, "if the child should not live, or should be dead-born, as you know sometimes happens, then there is the minister's article saved, and if you have no friends to come to you, you may save the expense of a supper: so that, take these articles out, madam," says she, "your lying in will not cost you more than 5*l.* 3s. in all, more than your ordinary charge of living."

This was the most reasonable thing that ever I heard of, so I smiled, and told her I would come, and be her customer; but I told her also, that as I had two months and more to go, I might perhaps be obliged to stay longer with her than three months, and desired to know if she would not be obliged to remove me before it was proper.

"No," she said, "because her house was large; and, besides, she never put anybody to remove, that had lain in, till they were willing to go; and if she had more ladies offered, she was not so ill beloved among her neighbours, but she could provide accommodation for twenty, if there was occasion."

I found she was an eminent lady in her way, and, in short, I agreed to put myself into her hands, and promised her. She then talked of other things, looked about in my accommodations, and found fault with my wanting attendance and conveniences, and that I should not be used so at her house.

I told her I was shy of speaking, for the woman of the house looked stranger, or at least I thought so, since I had been ill, because I was with child; and I was afraid she would put some affront or other upon me, supposing that I had been able to give but a slight account of myself.

"O dear," said she, "her ladyship is no stranger to these things; she has tried to entertain ladies in your condition several times, but could not secure the parish; and besides, she is not such a nice lady as you take her to be; however, since you are agoing, you shall not meddle with her, but I'll see you are a little better looked after while you are here than I think you are, and it shall not cost you the more neither."

I did not understand her at all; however, I thanked her, and so we parted: the next morning she sent me a chicken roasted and hot, and a pint bottle of sherry, and ordered the maid to

tell me that she was to wait on me every day as long as I stayed there.

This was surprisingly good and kind, and I accepted it very willingly. At night she sent home again to know if I wanted anything, and to order the maid to come to me in the morning for dinner. The maid had orders to make me some chocolate in the morning before she came away, and at noon she brought me the sweetbread of a breast of veal whole, and a dish of soup, for my dinner; and after this manner she nursed me up at a distance, so that I was mightily well pleased and quickly well; for, indeed, my dejections before were a principal part of my illness.

I expected, as is usually the case among rich people, that the servant she sent me would have been some impudent brazen wench of Drury lane breeding, and I was very uneasy upon that account, so I would not let her lie in the house the first night, but had my eyes about me, as if she had been a public thief.

My gentlewoman guessed presently what was the matter, and sent her back with a short note, that I might depend on the honesty of her maid, that she would be answerable for her upon all accounts, and that she took no servants without good security. I was then perfectly easy, and indeed the maid's behaviour spoke for itself, for a modester, soberer, quieter girl, never came into anybody's family, and I found her so afterwards.

As soon as I was well enough to go abroad, I went with the maid to see the house, and to see the apartment I was to have; and everything was so handsome and so clean, that, in short, I had nothing to say, but was wonderfully pleased, and satisfied with what I had met with, which, considering the melancholy circumstances I was in, was far beyond what I looked for.

It might be expected that I should give some account of the nature of the wicked practice of this woman, in whose hands I was now fallen; but it would be but too much encouragement to the vice to let the world see what easy measures were here taken to rid the women's unwelcome burthen of a child clandestinely gotten. This grave matron had several sorts of practice, and this was one in particular, that if a child was born, though not in her house, for she had occasion to be called to many private labours, she had people at hand, who for a piece of money would take the child off their hands, and off from the hands of the parish too; and those children, as she said, were honestly provided for, and taken care of. What should become of them all, considering so many as by her account she was concerned with, I cannot conceive.

I had many times discourses upon that subject with her; but she was full of this argument, that she saved the life of many an innocent lamb, as she called them, which would otherwise perhaps have been murdered; and of many a woman, who, made desperate by the misfortune, would otherwise be tempted to destroy their children, and bring themselves to the gallows. I granted her that this was true, and a very commendable thing, provided the poor children fell into good hands afterwards, and were not abused, starved and neglected by the nurses that bred them up;

she answered, that she always took care of that, and had no nurses in her business but what were very good honest people, and such as might be depended upon.

I could say nothing to the contrary, and so was obliged to say, "Madam, I do not question you do your part honestly, but what those people do afterwards is the main question;" and she stopped my mouth again with saying, that she took the utmost care about it.

The only thing I found in all her conversation on these subjects, that gave me any distaste, was, that one time in discoursing about my being so far gone with child, and the time I expected to come, she said something that looked as if she could help me off with my burthen sooner, if I was willing; or, in English, that she could give me something to make me miscarry, if I had a desire to put an end to my troubles that way; but I soon let her see that I abhorred the thoughts of it; and to do her justice, she put it off so cleverly, that I could not say she really intended it, or whether she only mentioned the practice as a horrible thing; for she couched her words so well and took my meaning so quickly, that she gave her negative before I could explain myself.

To bring this part into as narrow a compass as possible, I quitted my lodging at St Jones's and went to my new governess, for so they called her in the house, and there I was indeed treated with so much courtesy, so carefully looked to, so handsomely provided, and every thing so well, that I was surprised at it, and could not at first see what advantage my governess made of it; but I found afterwards that she professed to make no profit of the lodgers' diet, nor indeed could she get much by it, but that her profit lay in the other articles of her management, and she made enough that way I assure you; for it is scarce credible what practice she had, as well abroad as at home, and yet all upon the private account, or, in plain English, the whoring account.

While I was in her house, which was near four months, she had no less than twelve ladies of pleasure brought to bed within doors, and I think she had two and thirty, or thereabouts, under her conduct without doors, whereof one, as nice as she was with me, was lodged with my old landlady at St Jones's.

This was a strange testimony of the growing vice of the age, and such an one that, as bad as I had been myself, it shocked my very senses; I began to nauseate the place I was in, and above all the wicked practice, and yet I must say that I never saw, or do I believe there was to be seen, the least indecency in the house the whole time I was there.

Not a man was ever seen to come up stairs except to visit the lying-in ladies within their month, nor then without the old lady with them, who made it a piece of the honour of her management that no man should touch a woman, no, not his own wife, within the month; nor would she permit any man to lie in her house upon any pretence whatever, no, not though she was sure it was with his own wife; and her general saying for it was, that she cared not how many children were born in her house but she would have none got there if she could help it.

It might, perhaps, be carried farther than was

needful, but it was an error of the right hand if it was an error, for by this she kept up the reputation, such as it was, of her business, and obtained this character, that though she did take care of the women when they were debauched, yet she was not instrumental to their being debauched at all, and yet it was a wicked trade she drove too.

While I was here, and before I was brought to bed, I received a letter from my trustee at the bank full of kind obliging things, and earnestly pressing me to return to London. It was near a fortnight old when it came to me, because it had been first sent into Lancashire, and then returned to me. He concluded with telling me that he had obtained a decree, I think he called it, against his wife, and that he would be ready to make good his engagement to me if I would accept of him, adding a great many protestations of kindness and affection, such as he would have been far from offering if he had known the circumstances I had been in, and which, as it was, I had been very far from deserving.

I returned an answer to this letter, and dated it at Liverpool, but sent it by a messenger, alleging that it came in a cover to a friend in town. I gave him joy of his deliverance, but raised some scruples at the lawfulness of his marrying again, and told him I supposed he would consider very seriously upon that point before he resolved on it, the consequence being too great for a man of his judgment to venture rashly upon a thing of that nature; so concluded wishing him very well in whatever he resolved, without letting him into anything of my own mind, or giving any answer to his proposal of my coming to London to him, but mentioned at a distance my intention to return at the latter end of the year, this being dated in April.

I was brought to bed about the middle of May, and had another brave boy, and myself in as good condition as usual on such occasions. My governess did her part as a midwife with the greatest art and dexterity imaginable, and far beyond all that ever I had had any experience of before.

Her care of me in my travail, and after in my lying-in, was such that if she had been my own mother it could not have been better. Let none be encouraged in their loose practices from this dexterous lady's management, for she is gone to her place, and I dare say has left nothing behind her that can or will come up to it.

I think I had been brought to bed about twenty-two days when I received another letter from my friend at the bank, with the surprising news that he had obtained a final sentence of divorce against his wife, and had served her with it on such a day, and that he had such an answer to give to all my scruples about his marrying again as I could not expect, and as he had no desire of, for that his wife, who had been under some remorse before for her usage of him, as soon as she had the account that he had gained his point, had very unhappily destroyed herself that same evening.

He expressed himself very handsomely as to his being concerned at her disaster, but cleared himself of having any hand in it, and that he had only done himself justice in a case in which he was notoriously injured and abused. However, he said that he was extremely afflicted at it and

had no view of any satisfaction left in this world but only in the hope that I would come and relieve him by my company; and then he pressed me violently, indeed, to give him some hopes that I would at least come up to town and let him see me, when he would farther enter into discourse about it.

I was exceedingly surprised at the news, and began now seriously to reflect on my present circumstances, and the inexpressible misfortune it was to me to have a child upon my hands, and what to do in it I knew not. At last I opened my case at a distance to my governess; I appeared melancholy and uneasy for several days, and she lay at me continually to know what troubled me. I could not for my life tell her that I had an offer of marriage after I had so often told her that I had a husband, so that I really knew not what to say to her. I owned I had something which very much troubled me, but at the same time told her I could not speak of it to any one alive.

She continued importuning me several days, but it was impossible, I told her, for me to commit the secret to anybody. This, instead of being an answer to her, increased her importunities; she urged her having been trusted with the greatest secrets of this nature; that it was her business to conceal everything, and that to discover things of that nature would be her ruin; she asked me if I had ever found her tatling of other people's affairs, and how could I suspect her? She told me to unfold myself to her was telling it to nobody; that she was silent as death; that it must be a very strange case indeed that she could not help me out of it; but to conceal it was to deprive myself of all possible help, or means of help, and to deprive her of the opportunity of serving me. In short, she had such a bewitching eloquence and so great a power of persuasion, that there was no concealing anything from her.

So I resolved to unbosom myself to her. I told her the history of my Lancashire marriage, and how both of us had been disappointed,—how we came together and how we parted,—how he absolutely discharged me, as far as lay in him, and gave me liberty to marry again, protesting that if he knew it he would never claim me or disturb or expose me; that I thought I was free, but was dreadfully afraid to venture, for fear of the consequences that might follow in case of a discovery.

Then I told her what a good offer I had; showed her my friend's two last letters inviting me to come to London, and let her see with what affection and earnestness they were written, but blotted out the name, and also the story about the disaster of his wife, only that she was dead.

She fell a-laughing at my scruples about marrying, and told me the other was no marriage, but a cheat on both sides; and that as we were parted by mutual consent, the nature of the contract was destroyed, and the obligation was mutually discharged. She had arguments for this at the tip of her tongue, and, in short, reasoned me out of my reason, not but that it was too by the help of my own inclination.

But then came the great and main difficulty, and that was the child. This she told me in so

many words must be removed, and that so as that it should never be possible for any one to discover it. I knew there was no marrying without entirely concealing that I had had a child, for he would soon have discovered by the age of it that it was born, nay and gotten too, since my parley with him, and that would have destroyed all the affair.

But it touched my heart so forcibly to think of parting entirely with the child, and, for aught I knew, of having it murdered, or starved by neglect and ill-usage (which was much the same), that I could not think of it without horror. I wish all those women who consent to the disposing of their children out of the way, as it is called for decency's sake, would consider that it is only a contrived method for murder; that is to say, a killing their children with safety.

It is manifest to all that understand anything of children, that we are born into the world helpless and incapable either to supply our wants, or so much as to make them known, and that without help we must perish; and this help requires not only an assisting hand, whether of the mother or somebody else; but there are two things necessary in the assisting hand, that is care and skill, without both which half the children that are born would die, nay, though they were not to be denied food; and one half more of those that remained would be cripples or fools, lose their limbs, and perhaps their sense. I question not but that these are partly the reasons why affection was placed by nature in the hearts of mothers to their children, without which they never would be able to give themselves up, as it is necessary they should, to the care and waking pains needful to the support of their children.

Since this care is needful to the life of children, to neglect them is to murder them; again, to give them up to be managed by those people who have none of that needful affection placed by nature in them, is to neglect them in the highest degree; nay, in some it goes farther, and is a neglect in order to their being lost; so that it is even an intentional murder, whether the child lives or dies.

All those things represented themselves to my view, and that in the blackest and most frightful form; and as I was very free with my governess, whom I had now learned to call mother, I represented to her all the dark thoughts which I had upon me about it, and told her what distress I was in. She seemed graver by much at this part than at the other; but as she was hardened in these things beyond all possibility of being touched with the religious part, and the scruples about the murder, so she was equally impenetrable in that part which related to the affection.

She asked me if she had not been careful and tender of me in my lying-in, as if I had been her own child? I told her I owned she had.

"Well, my dear," says she, "and when you are gone, what are you to me? and what would it be to me if you were to be hanged? Do you think there are not women who, as it is their trade, and they get their bread by it, value themselves upon their being as careful of children as their own mothers can be, and understand it

rather better? Yes, yes, child," says she, "fear it not. How were we nursed ourselves? Are you sure you was nursed up by your own mother? and yet you look fat and fair, child," says the old beldam, and with that she stroked me over the face. "Never be concerned, child," says she, going on in her drolling way; "I have no murderers about me; I employ the best and the honestest nurses that can be had, and have as few children miscarry under their hands as there would if they were all nursed by mothers; we want neither care nor skill."

She touched me to the quick when she asked me if I was sure that I was nursed by my own mother; on the contrary, I was sure I was not, and I trembled and looked pale at the very expression.

"Sure," said I to myself, "this creature cannot be a witch, or have any conversation with a spirit that can inform her what was done with me before I was able to know it myself;" and I looked at her as if I had been frightened; but reflecting that it could not be possible for her to know anything about me, that disorder went off, and I began to be easy, but it was not presently.

She perceived the disorder I was in, but she did not know the meaning of it; so she ran on in her wild talk upon the weakness of my supposing that children were murdered because they were not all nursed by the mothers, and to persuade me that the children she disposed of were as well used as if the mothers had the nursing of them themselves.

"It may be true, mother," says I, "for aught I know, but my doubts are very strongly grounded indeed."

"Come, then," says she, "let's hear some of them."

"Why first," says I, "you give a piece of money to these people to take the child off the parent's hands, and to take care of it as long as it lives; now we know, mother," said I, "that those are poor people, and their gain consists in being quit of the charge as soon as they can. How can I doubt but that, as it is best for them to have the child die, they are not over solicitous about its life?"

"This is all vapours and fancy," says the old woman; "I tell you their credit depends upon the child's life, and they are as careful as any mother of you all."

"O mother," says I, "if I was but sure my little baby would be carefully looked to and have justice done it, I should be happy indeed: but it is impossible I can be satisfied in that point unless I saw it, and to see it would be ruin and destruction to me, as now my case stands; so what to do I know not."

"A fine story!" says the governess; "you would see the child, and you would not see the child; you would be concealed and discovered both together; these are things impossible, my dear; so you must do as other conscientious mothers have done before you, and be contented with things as they must be, though they are not as you wish them to be."

I understood what she meant by conscientious mothers, she would have said conscientious whores; but she was not willing to disoblige me, for really in this case I was not a whore, because

legally married, the force of my former marriage excepted.

However, let me be what I would, I was not come up to that pitch of hardness common to the profession, I mean to be unnatural, and regardless of the safety of my child; and I preserved this honest affection so long that I was upon the point of giving up my friend at the Bank, who lay so hard at me to come to him and marry him, that, in short, there was hardly any room to deny him.

At last my old governess came to me with her usual assurance. "Come, my dear," says she, "I have found out a way how you shall be at a certainty that your child shall be used well, and yet the people that take care of it shall never know you, or who the mother of the child is."

"O mother," says I, "if you can do so, you will engage me to you for ever."

"Well," says she, "are you willing to be at some small annual expense, more than what we usually give to the people we contract with?"

"Aye," says I, "with all my heart, provided I may be concealed."

"As to that," says the governess, "you shall be secure; for the nurse shall never so much as dare to inquire about you, and you shall once or twice a year go with me and see your child, and see how it is used, and be satisfied that it is in good hands, and nobody knowing who you are."

"Why," said I, "do you think that when I come to see my child I shall be able to conceal my being the mother of it? Do you think that possible?"

"Well, well," says my governess, "if you discover it the nurse shall be never the wiser, for she shall be forbid to ask any questions about you, or to take any notice; if she offers it she shall lose the money which you are to be supposed to give her, and the child be taken from her too."

I was very well pleased with this: so the next week a country woman was brought from Hertford, or thereabouts, who was to take the child off our hands entirely for ten pounds in money; but if I would allow five pounds a year more to her, she would be obliged to bring the child to my governess's house as often as we desired, or we should come down and look at it, and see how well she used it.

The woman was a very wholesome looking, likely woman, a cottager's wife; but she had very good clothes and linen, and everything well about her, and with a heavy heart and many a tear I let her have my child.

I had been down at Hertford, and looked at her and at her dwelling, which I liked well enough, and I promised her great things if she would be kind to the child. So she knew at first word that I was the child's mother; but she seemed to be so much out of the way, and to have no room to inquire after me, that I thought I was safe enough. So, in short, I consented to let her have the child, and I gave her ten pounds, that is to say, I gave it to my governess, who gave it to the poor woman before my face, she agreeing never to return the child back to me, or to claim anything more for its keeping or bringing up; only that I promised, if she took a great deal of care of it, I would give her something

more as often as I came to see it; so that I was not bound to pay the five pounds, only that I promised my governess that I would do it. And thus my great care was over, after a manner, which, though it did not at all satisfy my mind, yet was the most convenient for me, as my affairs then stood, of any that could be thought on at that time.

I then began to write to my friend at the Bank in a more kindly style, and particularly about the beginning of July I sent him a letter, that I proposed to be in town some time in August. He returned me an answer in the most passionate terms imaginable, and desired me to let him have timely notice, and he would come and meet me two days' journey. This puzzled me scurvily, and I did not know what answer to make to it. Once I was resolved to take the stage coach to West Chester, on purpose only to have the satisfaction of coming back, that he might see me really come in the same coach; for I had a jealous thought, though I had no ground for it at all, lest he should think I was not really in the country, and it was no ill-grounded thought, as you shall hear presently.

I endeavoured to reason myself out of it, but it was in vain, the impression lay so strong on my mind that it was not to be resisted; at last it came as an addition to my new design of going in the country, that it would be an excellent blind to my old governess, and would cover entirely all my other affairs, for she did not know in the least whether my new lover lived in London or in Lancashire, and when I told her my resolution she was fully persuaded it was in Lancashire.

Having taken my measures for this journey I let her know it, and sent the maid that attended me from the beginning to take a place for me in the coach. She would have had me let the maid have waited on me down to the last stage, and come up again in the waggon, but I convinced her it would not be convenient. When I went away she told me she would enter into no measures for correspondence, for she saw evidently that my affection to my child would cause me to write to her, and visit her too when I came to town again. I assured her it would, and so took my leave, well satisfied to have been freed from such a house, however good my accommodations there had been, as I have related before.

I took the place in the coach, not to its full extent, but to a place called Stone, in Cheshire, I think it is, where I not only had no manner of business, but not so much as the least acquaintance with any person in the town or near it. But I knew that with money in the pocket one is at home anywhere, so I lodged there two or three days, until, watching my opportunity, I found room in another stage-coach, and took passage back again for London, sending a letter to my gentleman, that I should be such a certain day at Stony-Stratford, where the coachman told me he was to lodge.

It happened to be a chance coach that I had taken up, which, having been hired on purpose to carry some gentlemen to West Chester, who were going to Ireland, was now returning, and did not tie itself up to exact times or places as the stages did; so that, having been obliged to lie still a Sunday, he had time to get himself

ready to come out, which otherwise he could not have done.

However, his warning was so short that he could not reach to Stony-Stratford time enough to be with me at night, but he met me at a place called Brickill the next morning, as we were just coming into the town.

I confess I was very glad to see him, for I had thought myself a little disappointed over night, seeing I had come so far to contrive my coming on purpose. He pleased me doubly, too, by the figure he came in, for he brought a very handsome (gentleman's) coach and four horses, with a servant to attend him.

He took me out of the stage coach immediately, which stopped at an inn in Brickill, and, putting into the same inn, he set up his own coach, and bespoke dinner. I asked him what he meant by that, for I was for going forward with the journey. He said, no; I had need of a little rest upon the road; and that was a very good sort of a house, though it was but a little town; so we would go no farther that night, whatever came of it.

I did not press him much; for, since he had come so far to meet me, and put himself to so much expense, it was but reasonable I should oblige him a little too, so I was easy as to that point.

After dinner we walked to see the town, to see the church, and to view the fields and the country, as is usual for strangers to do, and our landlord was our guide in going to see the church. I observed my gentleman inquired pretty much about the parson, and I took the hint immediately, that he certainly would propose to be married; and though it was a sudden thought, it followed presently, that in short I would not refuse him; for, to be plain with my circumstances, I was in no condition now to say no; I had no reason now to run any more such hazards.

But while these thoughts ran round in my head, which was the work but of a few moments, I observed my landlord took him aside, and whispered to him, though not very softly neither, for so much I overheard: "Sir, if you shall have occasion——" the rest I could not hear, but it seems it was to this purpose: "Sir, if you shall have occasion for a minister, I have a friend a little way off that will serve you, and be as private as you please."

My gentleman answered loud enough for me to hear, "Very well; I believe I shall."

I was no sooner come back to the inn, but he fell upon me with irresistible words; that since he had had the good fortune to meet me, and every thing concurred, it would be hastening his felicity if I would put an end to the matter just there.

"What do you mean?" says I, colouring a little: "What! in an inn and upon the road! Bless us all!" said I, as if I had been surprised, "how can you talk so?"

"O, I can talk so very well," says he; "I came a purpose to talk so, and I'll show you that I did;" and with that he pulls out a great bundle of papers.

"You fright me," said I. "What are these?"

"Don't be frightened, my dear," says he, and kissed me. This was the first time he had been so free to call me my dear; he then repeated it.

"Don't be frightened—you shall see what it is all;" then he laid them all abroad.

There was first the deed or sentence of divorce from his wife, and the full evidence of her playing the whore; then there was the certificates of the minister and churchwardens of the parish where she lived, proving that she was buried, and intimating the manner of her death; the copy of the coroner's warrant for a jury to sit upon her, and the verdict of the jury, who brought it in *non compos mentis*. All this was indeed to the purpose, and to give me satisfaction, though, by the way, I was not so scrupulous, had he known all, but that I might have taken him without it. However, I looked them all over as well as I could, and told him that this was all very clear indeed, but that he need not have given himself the trouble to have brought them out with him, for it was time enough.

"Well," he said, "it might be time enough for me, but no time but the present time was time enough for him."

There were other papers rolled up, and I asked him what they were.

"Why, ay," says he, "that is the question I wanted to have you ask me." So he unrolls them, and takes out a little chagreen case, and gives me out of it a very fine diamond ring. I could not refuse it if I had a mind to do so, for he put it upon my finger; so I made him a curtsy, and accepted it. Then he takes out another ring, "and this," says he, "is for another occasion;" so he puts that in his pocket.

"Well, but let me see it though," says I, and smiled. "I guess what it is—I think you are mad."

"I should have been mad if I had done less," says he, and still he did not show it me, and I had a great mind to see it; so I says, "Well, but let me see it."

"Hold," says he; "first look here." Then he took up the roll again and read it; and behold! it was a licence for us to be married.

"Why," says I, "are you distracted? Why, you were fully satisfied, sure, that I would comply, and yield at the first word, or resolved to take no denial."

"The last is certainly the case," said he.

"But you may be mistaken," said I.

"No, no," said he; "how can you think so? I must not be denied, I cannot be denied," and with that he fell to kissing me so violently, I could not get rid of him.

There was a bed in the room, and we were walking to and again, eager in the discourse: at last he takes me by surprise in his arms, and threw me on the bed and himself with me, and holding me fast in his arms, but without the least offer of any indecency, courted me to consent with such repeated entreaties and arguments, protesting his affection and vowing he would not let me go till I promised him, that at last I said, "Why, you resolve not to be denied, I think."

"No, no," says he, "I must not be denied, I will not be denied, I can't be denied."

"Well, well," said I, and giving him a slight kiss, "then you shall not be denied," said I. "Let me get up."

He was so transported with my consent, and

the kind manner of it, that I began to think once he took it for a marriage, and would not stay for the form; but I wronged him, for he gave over kissing me, took me by the hand, pulled me up again, and then giving me two or three kisses again, thanked me for my kind yielding to him, and was so overcome with the satisfaction and joy of it, that I saw tears stand in his eyes.

I turned from him, for it filled my eyes with tears too, and I asked him leave to retire a little to my chamber. If ever I had a grain of true repentance for a vicious and abominable life for twenty-four years past, it was then. "Oh! what a felicity is it to mankind," said I to myself, "that they cannot see into the hearts of one another! How happy had it been for me, if I had been wife to a man of so much honesty and so much affection, from the beginning."

Then it occurred to me what an abominable creature am I; and how is this innocent gentleman to be abused by me? How little does he think that having divorced a whore, he is throwing himself into the arms of another; that he is going to marry one that has lain with two brothers, and has had three children by her own brother; one that was born in Newgate, whose mother was a whore, and is now a transported thief; one that has lain with so many men, and has had a child since he saw her. "Poor gentleman," said I, "what is he going to do?"

After this reproaching myself was over, it followed thus: "Well, if I must be his wife, if it please God to give me grace, I will be a true wife to him, and love him suitably to the strange excess of his passion for me. I will make him amends, if possible, by what he shall see, for the cheats and abuses I put upon him, which he does not see."

He was impatient for my coming out of my chamber, but finding me long, he went down stairs, and talked with the landlord about the parson.

The landlord, an officious though well-meaning fellow, had sent away for the neighbouring clergyman; and when my gentleman began to speak of it to him, and talk of sending for him, "Sir," says he to him, "my friend is in the house;" so without any more words he brought them together. When he came to the minister, he asked him if he would venture to marry a couple of strangers that were both willing. The parson said that Mr — had said something to him of it; that he hoped it was no clandestine business; that he seemed to be a grave gentleman, and he supposed madam was not a girl, so that the consent of friends should be wanted.

"To put you out of doubt of that," says my gentleman, "read this paper," and out he pulls the licence.

"I am satisfied," says the minister. "Where is the lady?"

"You shall see her presently," says my gentleman.

When he had said thus, he came up stairs, and I was by that time come out of my room, so he tells me the minister was below, and that he had talked with him, and that upon showing him the licence, he was free to marry us with all his heart; "but he asks to see you, so he asked if I would let him come up."

"It is time enough," said I, "in the morning, is it not?"

"Why," said he, "my dear, he seemed to scruple whether it was not some young girl stolen from her parents, and I assured him we were both of age to command our own consent; and that made him ask to see you."

"Well," said I, "do as you please." So up they bring the parson, and a merry sort of a gentleman he was. He had been told, it seems, that we had met there by accident, that I came in the Chester coach, and my gentleman in his own coach to meet me; that we were to have met last night at Stony Stratford, but that he could not reach so far. "Well, sir," says the parson, "every ill turn has some good in it; the disappointment, sir," says he to my gentleman, "was yours, and the good turn is mine, for if you had met at Stony Stratford I had not had the honour to marry you. Landlord, have you a common prayer-book in the house?"

I started as if I had been frightened. "Lord, sir," says I, "what do you mean? What! to marry in an inn, and at night too?"

"Madam," says the minister, "if you will have it be in the church you shall; but I assure you, your marriage will be as firm here as in the church. We are not tied by the canons to marry nowhere but in the church; and if you will have it in the church, it will be as public as a country fair; and as for the time of day, it does not at all weigh in this case; our princes are married in their chambers, and at eight or ten o'clock at night."

I was a great while before I could be persuaded, and pretended not to be willing at all to be married but in the church. But it was all grimace; so I seemed at last to be prevailed on, and my landlord and his wife and daughter were called up. My landlord was father and clerk and all together; and we were married, and very merry we were; though I confess the self-reproaches which I had upon me before lay close to me, and extorted every now and then a deep sigh from me, which my bridegroom took notice of, and endeavoured to encourage me, thinking, poor man, that I had some little hesitation at the step I had taken so hastily.

We enjoyed ourselves that evening completely, and yet all was kept so private in the inn, that not a servant in the house knew of it, for my landlady and her daughter waited on me, and would not let any one of the maids come up stairs, except while we were at supper. My landlady's daughter I called my bride-maid, and sending for a shop-keeper the next morning, I gave the young woman a good suit of knots, as good as the town would afford, and finding it was a lace-making town, I gave her mother a piece of bone-lace for a head.

One reason that my landlord was so close was, that he was unwilling the minister of the parish should hear of it; but for all that somebody heard of it, so as that we had the bells set at ringing the next morning early; and the music, such as the town would afford, under our window. But my landlord brazened it out, that we were married before we came thither; only that, being his former guests we would have our wedding supper at his house.

We could not find in our hearts to stir the next day; for, in short, having been disturbed by the bells in the morning, and having, perhaps, not slept over much before, we were so sleepy afterwards that we lay in bed till almost twelve o'clock.

I begged my landlady that we might not have any more music in the town nor ringing of bells, and she managed it so well that we were very quiet. But an odd passage interrupted all my mirth for a good while; the great room of this house looked into the street, and my new spouse being below stairs, I had walked to the end of the room, and it being a pleasant warm day, I had opened the window, and was standing at it for some air, when I saw three gentlemen come by on horseback, and go into an inn just against us.

It was not to be concealed, nor was it so doubtful as to leave me any room to question it, but the second of these three was my Lancashire husband. I was frightened to death, I never was in such consternation in my life, I thought I should have sunk into the ground; my blood ran chill in my veins, and I trembled as if I had been in a cold fit of an ague. I say there was no room to question the truth of it; I knew his clothes, I knew his horse, and I knew his face.

The first sensible reflection I made was, that my husband was not by to see my disorder, and that I was very glad of. The gentlemen had not been long in the house, but they came to the window of their room, as is usual; but my window was shut, you may be sure. However, I could not keep from peeping at them, and there I saw him again, heard him call out to one of the servants of the house for something he wanted, and received all the terrifying confirmations of its being the same person that were possible to be had.

My next concern was to know, if possible, what was his business there; but that was impossible. Sometimes my imagination formed an idea of one frightful thing, sometimes of another; sometimes I thought he had discovered me, and was come to upbraid me with ingratitude and breach of honour; and every moment I fancied he was coming up the stairs to insult me; and innumerable fancies came into my head of what was never in his head, nor ever could be, unless the devil had revealed it to him.

I remained in this fright near two hours, and scarce ever kept my eye from the window or door of the inn where they were. At last, hearing a great clatter in the passage of their inn, I ran to the window, and, to my great satisfaction, saw them all three go out again and travel on westward. Had they gone towards London, I should have been still in a fright, lest I should meet him on the road again, and that he should know me; but he went the contrary way, and so I was eased of that disorder.

We resolved to be going the next day, but about six o'clock at night we were alarmed with a great uproar in the street, and people riding as if they had been out of their wits; and what was it but a hue and cry after three highwaymen that had robbed two coaches and some other travellers, near Dunstable Hill; and notice had, it seems, been given that they had been seen at

Brickill, at such a house, meaning the house where those gentlemen had been.

The house was immediately beset and searched, but there were witnesses enough that the gentlemen had been gone above three hours. The crowd having gathered about, we had the news presently; and I was heartily concerned now another way. I presently told the people of the house, that I dared to say those were not the persons, for that I knew one of the gentlemen to be a very good person, and of a good estate in Lancashire.

The constable, who came with the hue and cry, was immediately informed of this, and came over to me to be satisfied from my own mouth, and I assured him that I saw the three gentlemen as I was at the window, that I saw them afterwards at the window of the room they dined in; that I saw them afterwards take horse, and I could assure him I knew one of them to be such a man; that he was a gentleman of a very good estate and an undoubted character in Lancashire, from whence I was just now upon my journey.

The assurance with which I delivered this, gave the mob gentry a check, and gave the constable such satisfaction, that he immediately sounded a retreat, told his people these were not the men, but that he had an account they were very honest gentlemen, and so they went all back again. What the truth of the matter was I knew not, but certain it was that the coaches were robbed at Dunstable Hill, and five hundred and sixty pounds in money taken, besides some of the lace-merchants that always travelled that way had been visited too; as to the three gentlemen, that remains to be explained hereafter.

Well, this alarm stopped us another day, though my spouse was for travelling, and told me that it was always safest travelling after a robbery, for that the thieves were sure to be gone far enough off when they had alarmed the country; but I was afraid and uneasy, and indeed principally lest my old acquaintance should be upon the road still, and should chance to see me.

I never lived four pleasanter days together in my life; I was a mere bride all this while, and my new spouse strove to make me entirely easy in every thing. O! could this state of life have continued! how had all my past troubles been forgot, and my future sorrows have been avoided! But I had a past life of a most wretched kind to account for, some of it in this world as well as in another.

We came away the fifth day; and my landlord, because he saw me uneasy, mounted himself, his son, and three honest country fellows, with good fire-arms, and, without telling us of it, followed the coach, and would see us safe into Dunstable; we could do no less than treat them very handsomely at Dunstable, which cost my spouse about ten or twelve shillings, and something he gave the men for their time too, but my landlord would take nothing for himself.

This was the most happy contrivance for me that could have fallen out, for had I come to London unmarried, I must either have come to him for the first night's entertainment, or have discovered to him that I had not one acquaintance in the whole city of London that could re-

ceive a poor bride for the first night's lodging with her spouse: But now, being an old married woman, I made no scruple of going directly home with him, and there I took possession at once of a house well furnished, and a husband in very good circumstances, so that I had a prospect of a very happy life, if I knew how to manage it; and I had leisure to consider of the real value of the life I was likely to live; how different it was to be from the loose ungoverned part I had acted before, and how much happier a life of virtue and sobriety is than that which we call a life of pleasure.

O! had this particular scene of life lasted, or had I learnt from that time I enjoyed it to have tasted the true sweetness of it, and had not fallen into that poverty which is the sure bane of virtue, how happy had I been, not only here, but perhaps for ever. For while I lived thus I was really a penitent for all my life past; I looked back on it with abhorrence, and might truly be said to hate myself for it. I often reflected how my lover at the Bath, struck by the hand of God, repented and abandoned me, and refused to see me any more, though he loved me to an extreme; but I, prompted by that worst of devils, poverty, returned to the vile practice, and made the advantage of what they call a handsome face be the relief to my necessities, and beauty be a pimp to vice.

Now I seemed landed in a safe harbour, after the stormy voyage of life past was at an end; and I began to be thankful for my deliverance; I sat many an hour by myself, and wept over the remembrance of past follies, and the dreadful extravagances of a wicked life, and sometimes I flattered myself that I had sincerely repented.

But there are temptations which it is not in the power of human nature to resist, and few know what would be their case if driven to the same exigencies. As covetousness is the root of all evil, so poverty is, I believe, the worst of all snares. But I waive that discourse till I come to the experiment.

I lived with this husband in the utmost tranquillity. He was a quiet, sensible, sober man, virtuous, modest, sincere, and in his business diligent and just. His business was in a narrow compass, and his income sufficient to a plentiful way of living in the ordinary way. I do not say to keep an equipage and make a figure, as the world calls it, nor did I expect it or desire it; for as I abhorred the levity and extravagance of my former life, so I chose now to live retired, frugal, and within ourselves; I kept no company, made no visits; minded my family and obliged my husband; and this kind of life became a pleasure to me.

We lived in an uninterrupted course of ease and content for five years, when a sudden blow from an almost invisible hand blasted all my happiness, and turned me out into the world in a condition the reverse of all that had been before it.

My husband having trusted one of his fellow clerks with a sum of money too much for our fortunes to bear the loss of, the clerk failed, and the loss fell very heavy on my husband, yet it was not so great neither, but if he had had spirit and courage to have looked his misfortunes in

the face, his credit was so good that, as I told him, he would easily recover it; for to sink under trouble is to double the weight, and he that will die in it shall die in it.

It was in vain to speak comfortably to him, the wound had sunk too deep, it was a stab that touched the vitals; he grew melancholy and disconsolate, and from thence lethargic, and died. I foresaw the blow, and was extremely oppressed in my mind, for I saw evidently that if he died I was undone.

I had had two children by him and no more; for to tell the truth, it began to be time for me to leave off bearing children, for I was now eight and forty, and I suppose if he had lived I should have had no more.

I was now left in a dismal and disconsolate case indeed, and in several things worse than ever. First, it was past the flourishing time with me when I might expect to be courted for a mistress; that agreeable part had declined some time, and the ruins only appeared of what had been; and that which was worse than all was this, that I was the most dejected, disconsolate creature alive. I that had encouraged my husband, and endeavoured to support his spirits under his trouble, could not support my own; I wanted that spirit in trouble which I told him was so necessary to him for bearing the burden.

But my case was indeed deplorable, for I was left perfectly friendless and helpless, and the loss my husband had sustained had reduced his circumstances so low, that though indeed I was not in debt, yet I could easily foresee that what was left would not support me long; that while it wasted daily for subsistence, I had no way to increase it one shilling, so that it would soon be all spent, and then I saw nothing before me but the utmost distress, and this represented itself so lively to my thoughts, that it seemed as if it was come before it was really very near; also my very apprehensions doubled the misery, for I fancied every sixpence that I paid for a loaf of bread was the last that I had in the world, and that to-morrow I was to fast and be starved to death.

In this distress I had no assistant, no friend to comfort or advise me. I sat and cried, and tormented myself night and day; wringing my hands, and sometimes raving like a distracted woman; and indeed I have often wondered it had not affected my reason, for I had the vapours to such a degree, that my understanding was sometimes quite lost in fancies and imaginations.

I lived two years in this dismal condition, wasting that little I had, weeping continually over my dismal circumstances, and, as it were only bleeding to death, without the least hope or prospect of help from God or man; and now I cried so long, and so often, that tears were, as I might say, exhausted, and I began to be desperate, for I grew poor apace.

For a little relief I had put off my house and took lodgings, and as I was reducing my living, so I sold off most of my goods, which put a little money in my pocket, and I lived near a year upon that, spending very sparingly, and eking things out to the utmost; but still when I looked before me, my very heart would sink within

me at the inevitable approach of misery and want. O let none read this part without seriously reflecting on the circumstances of a desolate state, and how they would grapple with mere want of friends and want of bread; it will certainly make them think not of sparing what they have only, but of looking up to heaven for support, and of the wise man's prayer—"Give me not poverty lest I steal."

Let them remember that a time of distress is a time of dreadful temptation, and all the strength to resist is taken away. Poverty presses, the soul is made desperate by distress, and what can be done? It was one evening, when being brought, as I may say, to the last gasp, I think I may truly say I was distracted and raving, when prompted by I know not what spirit, and, as it were, doing I did not know what or why, I dressed me, for I had still pretty good clothes, and went out. I am very sure I had no manner of design in my head when I went out. I neither knew or considered where to go or on what business; but as the devil carried me out and laid his bait for me, so he brought me to be sure to the place, for I knew not whither I was going or what I did.

Wandering thus about I knew not whither, I passed by an apothecary's shop in Leadenhall street, where I saw lie on a stool just before the counter a little bundle wrapt in a white cloth; beyond it stood a maid servant with her back to it, looking up towards the top of the shop, where the apothecary's apprentice, as I suppose, was standing up on the counter, with his back also to the door, and a candle in his hand, looking and reaching up to the upper shelf for something he wanted, so that both were engaged mightily earnestly, and nobody else in the shop.

This was the bait; and the devil, who I said laid the snare, as readily prompted me as if he had spoke; for I remember, and never shall forget, it was like a voice spoken to me over the shoulder.

"Take the bundle—be quick—do it this moment."

It was no sooner said, but I stepped into the shop, and, with my back to the wench, as if I had stood up for a cart that was going by, I put my hand behind me and took the bundle, and went off with it, the maid or the fellow not perceiving me, or any one else.

It is impossible to express the horror of my soul all the while I did it. When I went away I had no heart to run, or scarce to mend my pace. I crossed the street indeed, and went down the first turning I came to, and I think it was a street that went through into Fenchurch street; from thence I crossed and turned through so many ways and turnings that I could never tell which way it was, nor where I went, for I felt not the ground I stepped on, and the farther I was out of danger the faster I went, till, tired and out of breath, I was forced to sit down on a little bench at a door, and then I began to recover, and found I was got into Thames street near Billingsgate. I rested me a little and went on. My blood was all on fire; my heart beat as if I was in a sudden fright; in short, I was under such a surprise that I still knew not whither I was going or what to do.

After I had tired myself thus with walking a long way about, and so eagerly, I began to consider and make home to my lodging, where I came about nine o'clock at night.

What the bundle was made up for, or on what occasion laid where I found it, I knew not; but when I came to open it, I found there was a suit of child-bed linen in it, very good and almost new, the lace very fine. There was a silver porringer of a pint, a small silver mug, and six spoons; with some other linen, a good smock, and three silk handkerchiefs; and in the mug, wrapt up in a paper, eighteen shillings and sixpence in money.

All the while I was opening these things I was under such dreadful impressions of fear, and in such terror of mind, though I was perfectly safe, that I cannot express the manner of it. I sat me down and cried most vehemently. "Lord," said I, "what am I now?—A thief! Why, I shall be taken next time and carried to Newgate and be tried for my life!" And with that I cried again a long time, and I am sure, as poor as I was, if I had durst, for fear, I would certainly have carried the things back again; but that went off after a while.

Well, I went to bed for that night, but slept little; the horror of the fact was upon my mind, and I knew not what I said or did all night and all the next day. Then I was impatient to hear some news of the loss, and would fain know how it was, whether they were a poor body's goods or a rich. "Perhaps," said I, "it may be some poor widow like me, that had packed up their goods to go and sell them for a little bread for herself and her poor child, and are now starving and breaking their hearts for want of that little they would have fetched;" and this thought tormented me worse than all the rest for three or four days. But my own distresses silenced all these reflections, and the prospect of my starving, which grew every day more frightful to me, hardened my heart by degrees. It was then particularly heavy upon my mind that I had been reformed, and had, as I hoped, repented of all my past wickedness; that I had lived a sober, grave, retired life for several years. But now I should be driven, by the dreadful necessity of my circumstances, to the gates of destruction, soul and body; and two or three times I fell upon my knees, praying to God, as well as I could, for deliverance. But I cannot but say my prayers had no hope in them. I knew not what to do. It was all fear without, and dark within; and I reflected upon my past life as not sincerely repented of, that heaven was now beginning to punish me on this side the grave, and would make me as miserable as I had been wicked.

Had I gone on here I had perhaps been a true penitent. But I had an evil councillor within, and he was continually prompting me to relieve myself by the worst means; so one evening he tempted me again by the same wicked impulse that had said "Take that bundle," and go and seek for what might happen.

I went out now by daylight, and wandered about I knew not whither, and in search of I knew not what, when the devil put a snare in my way of a dreadful nature indeed, and such a one as I have never had before or since. Going

through Aldersgate street, there was a pretty little child had been at a dancing-school, and was going home all alone, and my prompter, like a true devil, set me upon this innocent creature. I talked to it, and it prattled to me again, and I took it by the hand and led it along till I came to a paved alley that goes into Bartholomew close, and I led it in there. The child said that was not its way home.

I said, "Yes, my dear, it is; I will show you the way home."

The child had a little necklace on of gold beads, and I had my eye upon that, and in the dark of the alley I stood, pretending to mend the child's clog that was loose, and took off her necklace, and the child never felt it, and so led the child on again.

Here, I say, the devil put me upon killing the child in the dark alley, that it might not cry; but the very thought frightened me so that I was ready to drop down, but I turned the child about and bade it go back again, for that was not its way home. She said she would, and I went through Bartholomew close, and then turned round to another passage that goes into Long lane; so away into Charterhouse square, and out into St John's street; then crossing into Smithfield, went down Chick-lane and into Field lane to Holborn bridge, when mixing with the crowd of people usually passing there, it was not possible to have been found out; and thus I enterprised my second sally into the world.

The thoughts of this booty put out all the thoughts of the first, and the reflections I had made wore quickly off. Poverty, as I have said, hardened my heart, and my own necessities made me regardless of anything. The last affair left no great concern upon me, for as I did the poor child no harm, I only said to myself. I had given the parents a just reproof for their negligence in leaving the poor little lamb to come home by itself, and it would teach them to take more care of it another time.

This string of beads was worth about twelve or fourteen pounds; I suppose it might have been formerly the mother's, for it was too big for the child's wear, but that perhaps the vanity of the mother to have her child look fine at the dancing-school had made her let the child wear it. And no doubt the child had a maid to take care of it; but she, like a careless jade, was taken up perhaps with some fellow that had met her, and so the poor baby wandered till it fell into my hands.

However, I did the child no harm; I did not so much as frighten it, for I had a great many tender thoughts about me yet, and did nothing but what, as I may say, mere necessity drove me to.

I had a great many adventures after this, but I was young in the business, and did not know how to manage, otherwise than as the devil put things into my head; and indeed he was seldom backward to me. One adventure I had which was very lucky to me; I was going through Lombard street in the dusk of the evening, just by the end of the Three King court, when on a sudden comes a fellow running by me as swift as lightning, and throws a bundle that was in his hand just behind me, as I stood up against the

corner of the house at the turning into the alley. Just as he threw it in he said, "God bless you, mistress, let it lie there a little," and away he runs as swift as the wind: after him comes two more, and immediately a young fellow without his hat, crying "Stop thief," and after him two or three more. They pursued the two last fellows so close that they were forced to drop what they had got, and one of them was taken into the bargain, the other got off free.

I stood stock still all this while till they came back, dragging the poor fellow they had taken, and lugging the things they had found, extremely well satisfied they had recovered the booty, and taken the thief; and thus they passed by me, for I looked only like one who stood up while the crowd was gone.

Once or twice I asked what was the matter, but the people neglected answering me, and I was not very importunate; but after the crowd was wholly passed, I took my opportunity to turn about and take up what was behind me and walk away. This indeed I did with less disturbance than I had done formerly, for these things I did not steal, but they were stolen to my hand. I got safe to my lodging with this cargo, which was a piece of fine black lustring silk, and a piece of velvet; the latter was but part of a piece of about eleven yards; the former was a whole piece of near fifty yards.

I had pretty good luck thus far, and I made several adventures more, though with but small purchase, yet with good success; but I went in daily dread that some mischief would befall me, and that I should certainly come to be hanged at last. The impression this made on me was too strong to be slighted, and it kept me from making attempts that for aught I know might have been very safely performed; but one thing I cannot omit, which was a bait to me many a day. I walked frequently out into the villages round the town to see if nothing would fall in my way there; and going by a house near Stepney, I saw on the window board two rings, one a small diamond ring, and the other a plain gold ring; to be sure laid there by some thoughtless lady that had more money than forecast, perhaps only till she washed her hands.

I walked several times by the window to observe if I could see whether there was anybody in the room or no, and I could see nobody, but still I was not sure; it came presently into my thoughts to rap at the glass, as if I wanted to speak to somebody, and if anybody was there they would be sure to come to the window, and then I would tell them to remove those rings, for that I had seen two suspicious fellows take notice of them. This was a ready thought; I rapped once or twice and nobody came, when seeing the coast clear, I thrust hard against the square of glass, and broke it with very little noise, and took out the two rings, and walked away with them very safe. The diamond ring was worth about three pounds, and the other about nine shillings.

I was now at a loss for a market for my goods, and especially for my two pieces of silk. I was very loth to dispose of them for a trifle, as the poor unhappy thieves in general do, who, after they have ventured their lives for, perhaps, a thing

of value, are forced to sell it for a song when they have done. But I was resolved I would not do this, whatever shift I made. However, I did not well know what course to take; at last I resolved to go to my old governess, and acquaint myself with her again. I had punctually supplied the five pounds a year to her for my little boy as long as I was able, but at last was obliged to put a stop to it. However, I had written a letter to her, wherein I had told her my circumstances were reduced very low; that I had lost my husband, and that I was not able to do it any longer, and begged that the poor child might not suffer too much for its mother's misfortunes.

I now made her a visit, and I found that she drove something of the old trade still, but that she was not in such flourishing circumstances as before; for she had been sued by a certain gentleman who had had his daughter stolen from him and who, it seems, she had helped to convey away; and it was very narrowly that she escaped the gallows. The expense also had ravaged her, and she was become very poor; her house was but meanly furnished, and she was not in such repute for her practice as before; however, she stood upon her legs, as they say, and as she was a stirring bustling woman, and had some stock left, she was turned pawn-broker, and lived pretty well.

She received me very civilly, and with her usual obliging manner told me she would not have the less respect for me for my being reduced; that she had taken care my boy was very well looked after, though I could not pay for him, and that the woman that had him was easy, so that I needed not trouble myself about him, till I might be better able to do it effectually.

I told her that I had not much money left, but that I had some things that were monies worth, if she could tell me how I might turn them into money. She asked me what it was I had. I pulled out the string of gold beads, and told her it was one of my husband's presents to me; then I showed her the two parcels of silk which I told her I had from Ireland, and brought up to town with me, and the little diamond ring. As to the small parcel of plate and spoons, I had found means to dispose of them myself before; and as for the child-bed linen I had, she offered me to take it herself, believing it to be my own. She told me she was turned pawn-broker, and that she would sell those things for me as pawned to her, and so she sent presently for proper agents that bought them, being in her hands, without any scruple, and gave good prices too.

I now began to think this necessary woman might help me a little in my low condition to some business, for I would gladly have turned my hand to any honest employment if I could have got it; but here she was deficient. Honest business did not come within her reach; if I had been younger, perhaps she might have helped me to a spark, but my thoughts were of that kind of livelihood as being quite out of the way after fifty, which was my case, and so I told her.

She invited me at last to come, and be at her house till I could find something to do, and it should cost me very little; and this I gladly accepted of, and now living a little easier, I entered

into some measures to have my little son by my last husband taken care of; and this she made easy too, reserving a payment only of five pounds a year, if I could pay it. This was such a help to me, that for a good while I left off the wicked trade that I had so newly taken up; and gladly I would have got my bread by the help of my needle if I could have got work, but that was very hard to do for one that had no manner of acquaintance in the world.

However, at last I got some quilting-work for ladies' beds, petticoats, and the like; and this I liked very well and worked very hard, and with this I began to live; but the diligent devil, who resolved I should continue in his service, continually prompted me to go out and take a walk, that is to say, to see if anything would offer in the old way.

One evening I blindly obeyed his summons, and fetched a long circuit through the streets, but met with no purchase, and came home very weary, and empty; but not content with that, I went out the next evening too, when going by an alehouse I saw the door of a little room open, next the very street, and on the table a silver tankard, things much in use in public houses at that time. It seems some company had been drinking there, and the careless boys had forgot to take it away.

I went into the box frankly, and setting the silver tankard on the corner of the bench, I sat down before it and knocked with my foot; a boy came presently, and I bade him fetch me a pint of warm ale, for it was cold weather. The boy ran, and I heard him go down to the cellar to draw ale. While the boy was gone, another boy came into the room, and cried, "Do you call?" I spoke with a melancholy air, and said, "No, child, the boy is gone for a pint of ale for me."

While I sat here I heard the woman in the bar say, "Are they all gone in No. 5?" which was the box I sat in, and the boy said "Yes."

"Who fetched the tankard away?" says the woman.

"I did," says another boy; "that is it, pointing, it seems, to another tankard which he had fetched from another box by mistake; or else it must be that the rogue forgot that he had not brought it in, which certainly he had not."

I heard all this, much to my satisfaction, for I found plainly that the tankard was not missed, and that they concluded it was fetched away; so I drank my ale, called to pay, and as I went I said, "Take care of your plate, child," meaning a silver pint mug, which he brought me drink in. The boy said, "Yes, madam; very welcome," and away I came.

I came home to my governess, and now I thought it was a time to try her, that if I might be put to the necessity of being exposed, she might offer me some assistance. When I had been at home some time and had an opportunity of talking to her, I told her I had a secret of the greatest consequence in the world to commit to her, if she had respect enough for me to keep it a secret. She told me she had kept one of my secrets faithfully, why should I doubt her keeping another? I told her the strangest thing in the world had befallen me, and that it had made

a thief of me, even without any design; and so told her the whole story of the tankard.

"And have you brought it away with you, my dear?" says she.

"To be sure I have," says I, and showed it her.

"But what shall I do now?" says I; "must not I carry it again?"

"Carry it again!" says she, "ay, if you are minded to be sent to Newgate for stealing it."

"Why," says I, "they cannot be so base to stop me when I carry it to them again?"

"You don't know those sort of people, child," says she; "they will not only carry you to Newgate, but hang you too, without any regard to the honesty of returning it; or bring in an account of all the other tankards they have lost for you to pay for."

"What must I do then?" says I.

"Nay," says she, "as you have played the cunning part and stole it, you must even keep it; there is no going back now; besides, child," says she, "don't you want it more than they do? I wish you could light of such a bargain once a week."

This gave me a new notion of my governess, and that since she was turned pawnbroker she had a sort of people about her that were none of the honest ones that I had met with there before.

I had not been long there, but I discovered it more plainly than before, for every now and then I saw hilts of swords, spoons, forks, tankards, and all such kind of ware brought in, not to be pawned, but to be sold downright; and she bought everything that came without asking any questions, but had very good bargains, as I found by her discourse.

I found also that in the following this trade she always melted down the plate she bought that it might not be challenged; and she came to me and told me one morning that she was going to melt, and if I would, she would put my tankard in, that it might not be seen by anybody.

I told her with all my heart; so she weighed it, and allowed me the full value in silver again; but I found she did not do the same to the rest of her customers.

Some time after this, as I was at work and very melancholy, she begins to ask me what the matter was, as she was used to do.

I told her my heart was heavy, I had little work, and nothing to live on, and knew not what course to take.

She laughed and told me I must go out again and try my fortune, it might be that I might meet with another piece of plate.

"Oh, mother," says I, "that is a trade I have no skill in, and if I should be taken I am undone at once."

Says she, "I could help you to a schoolmistress that shall make you as dexterous as herself."

I trembled at that proposal, for hitherto I had had no confederates, nor any acquaintance among that tribe; but she conquered all my modesty and all my fears; and in a little time, by the help of this confederate, I grew as impudent a thief, and as dexterous as ever Moll Cut-Purse was,

though, if fame does not belie her, not half so handsome.

The comrade she helped me to dealt in three sorts of craft; viz. shop-lifting, stealing of shop-books and pocket-books, and taking off gold watches from the ladies' sides, and this last she did so dexterously that no woman ever arrived to the perfection of that art, so as to do it like her. I liked the first and the last of these things very well, and I attended her some time in the practice, just as a deputy attends a midwife without any pay.

At length she put me to practise. She had shown me her art, and I had many times unhooked a watch from her own side with great dexterity. At last she showed me a prize, and this was a young lady big with child, who had a charming watch; the thing was to be done as she came out of church. She goes on one side of the lady, and pretends, just as she came to the steps, to fall, and fell against the lady with so much violence as put her into a great fright, and both cried out terribly. In the very moment that she jostled the lady, I had hold of the watch, and holding it the right way, the start she gave drew the hook out, and she never felt it. I made off immediately, and left my schoolmistress to come out of her pretended fright gradually, and the lady too; and presently the watch was missed.

"Aye," says my comrade, "then it was those rogues that thrust me down, I warrant ye; I wonder the gentlewoman did not miss her watch before, then we might have taken them."

She humoured the thing so well that nobody suspected her, and I was got home a full hour before her. This was my first adventure in company; the watch was indeed a very fine one, and had a great many trinkets about it, and my governess allowed us twenty pounds for it, of which I had half; and thus I was entered a complete thief, hardened to a pitch above all the reflections of conscience or modesty, and to a degree which I must acknowledge I never thought possible in me.

Thus the devil who began, by the help of an irresistible poverty, to push me into this wickedness, brought me on to a height beyond the common rate, even when my necessities were not so great or the prospect of my misery so terrifying; for I had now got into a little vein of work, and as I was not at a loss to handle my needle, it was very probable, as acquaintance came in, I might have got my bread honestly enough.

I must say, that if such a prospect of work had presented itself at first when I began to feel the approach of my miserable circumstances—I say, had such a prospect of getting my bread by my working presented itself, then I had never fallen into this wicked trade, or into such a wicked gang as I was now embarked with; but practice had hardened me, and I grew audacious to the last degree, and the more so because I had carried it on so long, and had never been taken; for, in a word, my new partner in wickedness and I went on together so long without being ever detected, that we not only grew bold, but we grew rich, and had at one time one-and-twenty gold watches in our hands.

I remember that one day, being a little more serious than ordinary, and finding I had so good a

stock beforehand as I had, for I had near two hundred pounds in money for my share, it came strongly into my mind, no doubt from some kind spirit, if such there be, that as at first poverty excited me, and my distresses drove me to these dreadful shifts, so seeing those distresses were now relieved, and I could also get something towards a maintenance by working, and had so good a bank to support me, why should I not now leave off, as they say, while I was well? that I could not expect to go always free, and if I was once surprised and miscarried I was undone.

This was, doubtless, the happy minute when, if I had hearkened to the blessed hint, from whatsoever hand it came, I had still a cast for an easy life; but my fate was otherwise determined; the busy devil that so industriously drew me in, had too fast hold of me to let me go back; but as poverty brought me into the mire so avarice kept me in till there was no going back. As to the arguments which my reason dictated for persuading me to lay down, avarice stepped in and said "Go on, go on; you have had very good luck; go on till you have gotten four or five hundred pounds and then you shall leave off; and then you may live easy without working at all."

Thus I, that was once in the devil's clutches, was held fast there as with a charm, and had no power to go without the circle till I was ingulphed in labyrinths of trouble too great to get out at all.

However, these thoughts left some impression upon me, and made me act with some more caution than before, and more than my directors used for themselves. My comrade, as I called her, but rather she should have been called my teacher, with another of her scholars, was the first in the misfortune, for happening to be upon the hunt for a purchase, they made an attempt upon a linen-draper in Cheapside, but were snapped by a hawk's-eyed journeyman, and seized with two pieces of cambric, which were taken also upon them.

This was enough to lodge them both in Newgate, where they had the misfortune to have some of their former sins brought to remembrance; two other indictments being brought against them, and the facts being proved upon them they were both condemned to die; they both pleaded their bellies and were both voted quick with child, though my tutoress was no more with child than I was.

I went frequently to see them and condole with them, expecting that it would be my turn next; but the place gave me so much horror, reflecting that it was the place of my unhappy birth and of my mother's misfortunes, that I could not bear it, so I left off going to see them; and, oh! could I but have taken warning by their disasters, I had been happy still, for I was yet free, and had nothing brought against me; but I could not be—my misfortunes were not yet filled up.

My comrade, having the brand of an old offender, was executed; the younger offender was spared, having obtained a reprieve, but lay starving a long while in prison, till at last she got her name into what they call a circuit pardon, and so she came off.

This terrible example of my comrade frightened me heartily, and for a good while I made

no excursions ; but one night in the neighbourhood of my governess's house they cried fire ; my governess looked out, for we were all up, and cried immediately that such a gentlewoman's house was all of a light fire a-top, and so indeed it was.

Here she gave me a jog, "Now, child," says she, "there is a rare opportunity, the fire being so near that you may go to it before the street is blocked up with the crowd." She presently gave me my cue. "Go, child," says she, "to the house, and run in and tell the lady, or anybody you see, that you come to help them, and that you came from such a gentlewoman (that is one of her acquaintance farther up the street.)" She gave me the like cue to the next house, naming another name that was also an acquaintance of the gentlewoman of the house.

Away I went, and coming to the house I found them all in confusion, you may be sure. I ran in, and finding one of the maids, "Lord, sweetheart," said I, "how came this dismal accident? Where is your mistress, and how does she do? Is she safe? and where are the children? I come from Madam — to help you."

Away runs the maid—"Madam, madam," says she, screaming as loud as she could yell, "here is a gentlewoman come from Madam — to help us."

The poor woman half out of her wits, with a bundle under her arm and two children, comes towards me.

"Lord, madam," says I, "let me carry the poor children to Madam —; she desires you to send them ; she will take care of the poor lambs;" and immediately I takes one of them out of her hand, and she lifts the other up into my arms.

"Ay, do, for God's sake," says she, "carry them to her. Oh thank her for her kindness."

"Have you anything else to secure, madam?" says I, "she will take care of it."

"Oh dear! ay," says she, "God bless her, and thank her; take this bundle of plate and carry it to her too. Oh, she is a good woman. Oh Lord! we are utterly ruined—utterly undone:" and away she runs from me out of her wits and the maid after her, and away comes I with the two children and the bundle.

I was no sooner got into the street but I saw another woman come to me. "Oh!" says she, "mistress," in a piteous tone, "you will let fall the child. Come, come, this is a sad time, let me help you;" and immediately lays hold of the bundle to carry it for me.

"No," says I; "if you will help me, take the child by the hand, and lead it for me but to the upper end of the street; I will go with you and satisfy you for your pains."

She could not avoid going after what I said; but the creature, in short, was one of the same business with me and wanted nothing but the bundle. However, she went with me to the door, for she could not help it. When we were come there I whispered to her—"Go, child," said I, "I understand your trade,—you may meet with purchase enough."

She understood me, and walked off. I thundered at the door with the children, and as the people were raised before by the noise of the fire I was soon let in, and I said, "Is madam awake?"

pray tell her Mrs — desires the favour of her to take the two children in. Poor lady! she will be undone, their house is all of a flame."

They took the children in very civilly, pitied the family in distress, and away came I with my bundle. One of the maids asked me if I was not to leave the bundle too? I said "No, sweetheart, it is to go to another place. It does not belong to them."

I was a great way out of the hurry now, and so I went on, clear of anybody's inquiry, and brought the bundle of plate, which was very considerable, straight home, and gave it to my old governess. She told me she would not look into it, but bade me go out again to look out for more.

She gave me the like cue to the gentlewoman at the next house to that which was on fire, and I did my endeavour to go; but by this time the alarm of fire was so great, and so many engines playing, and the street so thronged with people, that I could not get near the house, whatever I could do; so I came back again to my governess's, and taking the bundle up into my chamber, I began to examine it. It is with horror that I tell what a treasure I found there; it is enough to say, that besides most of the family plate, which was considerable, I found a gold chain, an old-fashioned thing, the locket of which was broken, so that I suppose it had not been used for some years, but the gold was none the worse for that; also a little box of burying rings, the lady's wedding ring, and some broken bits of old lockets of gold, a gold watch, and a purse with about twenty-four pounds value in old pieces of gold coin, and several other things of value.

This was the greatest and the worst prize that ever I was concerned in; for indeed, though, as I have said above, I was hardened now beyond the power of all reflection in other cases, yet it really touched me to the very soul when I looked into this treasure, to think of the poor disconsolate gentlewoman, who had lost so much by the fire besides, and who would think, to be sure, that she had saved her plate and best things. How she would be surprised and afflicted when she would find that she had been deceived, and should find that the person who had taken her children and her goods had not come, as was pretended from the gentlewoman at the farther end of the street.

I say I confess the inhumanity of this action moved me very much, and made me relent exceedingly, and tears stood in my eyes upon that subject. But with all my sense of its being cruel and inhuman, I could never find in my heart to make any restitution. The reflection wore off, and I began quickly to forget the circumstances that attended the taking them.

Nor was this all, for though by this job I was become considerably richer than before, yet the resolution I had formerly taken of leaving off this horrid trade, when I had gotten a little more, did not return; but I must still get farther and more; and the avarice joined so with the success, that I had no more thoughts of coming to a timely alteration of life; though without it I could expect no safety, no tranquillity in the possession of what I had so wickedly gained; but a little more and a little more was the case still.

At length, yielding to the importunities of my

crime, I cast off all remorse and repentance ; and all the reflections on that head turned to no more than this, that I might perhaps come to have one booty more that might complete my desires ; but though I certainly had that one booty, yet every hit looked towards another, and was so encouraging to me to go on with the trade, that I had no gust to the thoughts of laying it down.

In this condition, hardened by success, and resolving to go on, I fell into the snare in which I was appointed to meet with my last reward for this kind of life. But even this was not yet, for I met with several successful adventures more in this way of being undone.

I remained still with my governess, who was for a while really concerned for the misfortune of my comrade that had been hanged, and who, it seems, knew enough of my governess to have sent her the same way, and which made her very uneasy ; indeed she was in a very great fright.

It is true, that when she was gone, and had not opened her mouth to tell what she knew, my governess was easy as to that point, and perhaps glad she was hanged ; for it was in her power to have obtained a pardon at the expense of her friends : but, on the other hand, the loss of her, and the sense of her kindness in not making her market of what she knew, moved my governess to mourn her very sincerely. I comforted her as well as I could, and she in return hardened me to merit more completely the same fate.

However, as I have said, it made me the more weary, and particularly I was very shy of shop-lifting, especially among the mercers and drapers, who are a set of fellows that have their eyes very much about them. I made a venture or two among the lace folks and the milliners, and particularly at one shop, where I got notice of two young women who were newly set up, and had not been bred to the trade. There, I think, I carried off a piece of bone-lace worth six or seven pounds, and a paper of thread ; but this was but once, it was a trick that would not serve again.

It was always reckoned a safe job when we heard of a new shop, and especially when the people were such as were not bred to shops ; such may depend upon it that they will be visited once or twice at their beginning, and they must be very sharp indeed if they can prevent it.

I made another adventure or two, but they were but trifles too, though sufficient to live on. After this nothing considerable offering for a good while, I began to think that I must give over the trade in earnest ; but my governess, who was not willing to lose me, and expected great things of me, brought me one day into the company with a young woman and a fellow that went for her husband, though, as appeared afterwards, she was not his wife ; but they were partners, it seems, in the trade they carried on, and partners in something else too. In short, they robbed together, lay together, were taken together, and at last were hanged together.

I came into a kind of league with these two, by the help of my governess, and they carried me out into three or four adventures, where I saw them commit some coarse and unhandy robberies, in which nothing but a great stock of impudence on their side, and gross negligence on the people's side who were robbed, could have made

them successful ; so I resolved from that time forward to be very cautious how I adventured upon anything with them ; and indeed when two or three unlucky projects were proposed by them, I declined the offer, and persuaded them against it.

One time they particularly proposed robbing a watchmaker of three gold watches, which they had eyed in the daytime, and found the place where he laid them ; one of them had so many keys of all kinds, that he made no question to open the place where the watchmaker had laid them, and so we made a kind of an appointment ; but when I came to look narrowly into the thing, I found they proposed breaking into the house, and this, is a thing out of my way, I would not embark in ; so they went without me. They did get into the house by main force, and broke up the locked place where the watches were, but found but one of the gold watches and a silver one, which they took, and got out of the house again very clear ; but the family being alarmed cried out thieves, and the man was pursued and taken ; the young woman had got off too, but unhappily was taken at a distance, and the watches found upon her ; and thus I had a second escape, for they were convicted and both hanged, being old offenders, though but young people ; as I said before, that they robbed together and lay together, so now they hanged together, and there ended my new partnership.

I began now to be weary, having so narrowly escaped a scurring, and having such an example before me ; but I had a new tempter, who prompted me every day, I mean my governess ; and now a prize presented, which, as it came by her management, so she expected a good share of the booty. There was a great quantity of Flanders lace lodged in a private house, where she had got intelligence of it ; and Flanders lace being then prohibited, it was a good booty to any custom-house officer that could come at it. I had a full account from my governess, as well of the quantity, as of the very place where it was concealed ; and I went to a custom-house officer, and told him I had such a discovery to make to him of such a quantity of lace, if he would assure me that I should have my due share of the reward. This was so just an offer that nothing could be fairer ; so he agreed, and taking a constable and me with him, we beset the house. As I told him I could go directly to the place, he left it to me ; and the hole being very dark, I squeezed myself into it with a candle in my hand, and so reached the pieces out to him, taking care, as I gave him some, to secure as much about myself as I could conveniently dispose of. There was near three hundred pounds' worth of lace in the hole, and I secured about fifty pounds' worth of it to myself. The people of the house were not owners of the lace, but a merchant who had entrusted them with it, so that they were not so surprised as I thought they would be.

I left the officer overjoyed with his prize, and fully satisfied with what he had got, and appointed to meet him at a house of his own directing, where I came after I had disposed of the cargo I had about me, of which he had not the least suspicion. When I came to him he began to capitulate with me, believing I did not understand

the right I had to a share in the prize, and would fain have put me off with twenty pounds; but I let him know that I was not so ignorant as he supposed I was, and yet I was glad, too, that he offered to bring me to a certainty. I asked one hundred pounds, and he rose up to thirty; I fell to eighty pounds, and he rose up again to forty. In a word, he offered fifty pounds, and I consented, only demanding a piece of lace, which I thought came to about eight or nine pounds, as if it had been for my own wear, and he agreed to it; so I got fifty pounds in money paid to me that same night, and made an end of the bargain; nor did he ever know who I was, or where to inquire for me; so that if it had been discovered that part of the goods had been embezzled, he would have made no challenge upon me for it.

I very punctually divided this spoil with my governess, and I passed with her from this time for a very dexterous manager in the nicest cases. I found that this last was the best and easiest sort of work that was in my way; and I made it my business to inquire out prohibited goods, and after buying some, usually betrayed them. None of these discoveries amounted to anything considerable, like that I related just now; but I was willing to act safe, and was still cautious of running the great risks which I found others did, and in which they miscarried every day.

The next thing of moment was an attempt at a gentlewoman's gold watch. It happened in a crowd, at a meeting-house, where I was in very great danger of being taken. I had full hold of her watch, but giving a great jostle, as if somebody had thrust me against her, and in the juncture giving the watch a fair pull, I found it would not come, so I let it go that moment, and cried out as if I had been killed, that somebody had trod upon my foot, and that there was certainly pickpockets there; for somebody or other had given a pull at my watch, for you are to observe, that on these adventures we always went very well dressed, and I had very good clothes on, and a gold watch by my side, as like a lady as other folks.

I had no sooner said so, but the other gentlewoman cried out a pickpocket too, for somebody, she said, had tried to pull her watch away.

When I touched her watch I was close to her, but when I cried out I stopped as it were short, and the crowd bearing her forward a little, she made a noise too, but it was at some distance from me, so that she did not in the least suspect me; but when she cried out a pickpocket, somebody cried "Ah, and here has been another; this gentlewoman has been attempted too."

At that very instant, a little farther in the crowd, and very luckily too, they cried out a pickpocket again, and really seized a young fellow in the very fact. This, though unhappy for the wretch, was very opportunely for my case, though I had carried it off handsomely enough before; but now it was out of doubt, and all the loose part of the crowd ran that way, and the poor boy was delivered up to the rage of the street, which is a cruelty I need not describe, and which, however, they are always glad of, rather than to be sent to Newgate, where they lie often a long time, till they are almost perished, and

sometimes they are hanged; and the best they can look for, if they are convicted, is to be transported.

This was a narrow escape to me, and I was so frightened, that I ventured no more at gold watches for a great while. There was indeed a great many concurring circumstances in this adventure which assisted to my escape; but the chief was, that the woman whose watch I had pulled at was a fool, that is to say, she was ignorant of the nature of the attempt, which one would have thought she should not have been, seeing she was wise enough to fasten her watch so that it could not be slipped off; but she was in such a fright that she had no thought about her proper for the discovery, for she, when she felt the pull, screamed out and pushed herself forward, and put all the people about her into disorder, but said not a word of her watch, or of a pickpocket, for at least two minutes' time, which was time enough for me and to spare; for as I had cried out behind her, as I have said, and bore myself back to the crowd as she bore forward, there were several people, at least seven or eight, the throng being still moving on, that were got between me and her in that time; and then I crying out a pickpocket rather sooner than she, or at least as soon, she might as well be the person suspected as I, and the people were confused in their inquiry; whereas, had she, with the presence of mind needful on such an occasion, as soon as she felt the pull, not screamed out in the manner she did, but turned immediately round and seized the next person that was behind her, she had infallibly taken me.

This is a direction not of the kindest sort to the fraternity, but it is certainly a key to the clue of a pickpocket's motions; and whoever can follow it will as certainly catch the thief as he will be sure to miss if he does not.

I had another adventure which puts this matter out of doubt, and which may be an instruction to posterity in the case of a pickpocket. My good old governess, to give a short touch at her history, though she had left off the trade, was, as I may say, born a pickpocket; and, as I understood afterwards, had run through all the several degrees of that art, and yet had never been taken but once, when she was so grossly detected, that she was convicted and ordered to be transported; but being a woman of a rare tongue, and withal having money in her pocket, she found means, the ship putting into Ireland for provisions, to get on shore there, where she lived and practised her old trade for some years, when falling into another set of bad company, she turned midwife and procuress, and played a hundred pranks there, which she gave me a little history of in confidence between us as we grew more intimate; and it was to this wicked creature that I owed all the art and dexterity I arrived to, in which there were few that ever went beyond me, or that practised so long without any misfortune.

It was after these adventures in Ireland, and when she was pretty well known in that country, that she left Dublin and came over to England, where the time of her transportation not being yet expired, she left her former trade for fear of falling into bad hands again, for then she was

sure to have gone to wreck. Here she set up the same trade she followed in Ireland, in which she soon, by her admirable management and a good tongue, arrived to the height which I have already described; and, indeed, began to be rich, though her trade fell off afterwards.

I mention thus much of the history of this woman here, the better to account for the concern she had in the wicked life I was now leading, into all the particulars of which she led me, as it were, by the hand, and gave me such directions, and I so well followed them, that I grew the greatest artist of my time, and worked myself out of every danger with such dexterity, that when several more of my comrades ran themselves into Newgate by a time they had been half a year at the trade, I had now practised upwards of five years, and the people at Newgate did not so much as know me; they had heard much of me indeed, and often expected to see me there; but I always got off, though many times in the extremest danger.

One of the greatest dangers I was now in was that I was too well known among the trade, and some of them whose hatred was owing rather to envy than to any injury I had done them, began to be angry that I should always escape when they were always caught and hurried to Newgate. These were they that gave me the name of MOLL FLANDERS, for it had no more affinity with my real name, or with any of the names I had ever gone by, than black is of kin to white, except that once, as before, I called myself Mrs Flanders when I sheltered myself in the Mint; but that these rogues never knew, nor could I ever learn how they came to give me the name, or what the occasion of it was.

I was soon informed that some of these who were gotten fast into Newgate had vowed to impeach me; and as I knew that two or three of them were but too able to do it, I was under a great concern about it, and kept within doors for a good while; but my governess, who I always made partner in my success, and who now played a sure game with me, for that she had a share of the gain, and no share in the hazard, I say my governess was something impatient of my leading such a useless, unprofitable life, as she called it; and she laid a new contrivance for my going abroad, and this was to dress me up in men's clothes, and so put me into a new kind of practice.

I was tall and personable, but a little too smooth-faced for a man; however, as I seldom went abroad but in the night, it did well enough; but it was a long time before I could behave in my new clothes; I mean as to my craft. It was impossible to be so nimble, so ready, so dexterous at these things in a dress so contrary to nature; and as I did everything clumsily, so I had neither the success nor the easiness of escape that I had before, and I resolved to leave it off; but that resolution was confirmed soon after by the following accident.

As my governess had disguised me like a man, so she joined me with a man, a young fellow that was nimble enough at his business, and for about three weeks we did very well together. Our principal trade was watching shopkeepers' counters, and slipping off any kind of goods we could

see carelessly laid anywhere, and we made several very good bargains, as we called them, at this work. And as we kept always together, so we grew very intimate, yet he never knew that I was not a man; nay, though I several times went home with him to his lodgings, according as our business directed, and four or five times lay with him all night. But our design lay another way, and it was absolutely necessary to me to conceal my sex from him, as appeared afterwards. The circumstances of our living, coming in late, and having such and such business to do as required that nobody should be trusted with coming into our lodgings, were such as made it impossible to me to refuse lying with him, unless I would have owned my sex, and, as it was, I effectually concealed myself.

But his ill and my good fortune soon put an end to this life, which I must own I was sick of, too, on several other accounts. We had made several prizes in this new way of business, but the last would have been extraordinary. There was a shop in a certain street which had a warehouse behind it that looked into another street, the house making the corner of the turning. Through the window of the warehouse we saw lying on the counter or show-board which was just before it, five pieces of silks, besides other stuffs; and though it was almost dark, yet the people being busy in the fore shop with customers, had not had time to shut up those windows, or else had forgot it.

This the young fellow was so overjoyed with that he could not restrain himself. It lay all within his reach, he said, and he swore violently to me that he would have it, if he broke down the house for it. I dissuaded him a little, but saw there was no remedy, so he ran rashly upon it, slipped a square out of the sash window dexterously enough, and without noise, and got out four pieces of the silks, and came with them towards me, but was immediately pursued with a terrible clatter and noise. We were standing together indeed, but I had not taken any of the goods out of his hand, when I said to him hastily, "You are undone! fly, for God's sake!" He ran like lightning and I too, but the pursuit was hotter after him, because he had the goods, than after me. He dropt two of the pieces, which stopped them a little, but the crowd increased and pursued us both. They took him soon after with the other two pieces upon him, and then the rest followed me. I ran for it, and got into my governess's house, whither some quick-eyed people followed me so warmly as to fix me there. They did not immediately knock at the door, by which I got time to throw off my disguise, and dress me in my own clothes; besides, when they came there, my governess, who had her tale ready, kept the door shut, and called out to them and told them there was no man come in there; the people affirmed there did a man come in there, and swore they would break open the door.

My governess, not at all surprised, spoke calmly to them; told them they should very freely come and search her house, if they would bring a constable, and let none in but such as the constable would admit, for it was unreasonable to let in the whole crowd. This they could not refuse, though

they were a crowd; so a constable was fetched immediately, and she very freely opened the door. The constable kept the door, and the men he appointed searched the house, my governess going with them from room to room. When she came to my room she called to me, and said aloud, "Cousin, pray open the door; here are some gentlemen that must come and look into your room."

I had a little girl with me, which was my governess's grand-child, as she called her; and I bade her open the door, and there sat I at work with a great litter of things about me, as if I had been at work all day, being myself quite undressed, with only night clothes on my head, and a loose morning gown wrapt about me. My governess made a kind of excuse for their disturbing me, telling me partly the occasion of it, and that she had no remedy but to open the door to them, and let them satisfy themselves, for all she could say to them would not satisfy them. I sat still and bid them search the room if they pleased, for if there was anybody in the house, I was sure they were not in my room; and as for the rest of the house, I had nothing to say to that; I did not understand what they looked for.

Everything looked so innocent and so honest about me, that they treated me civiler than I expected; but it was not till they had searched the room to a nicety, even under the bed, in the bed, and everywhere else where it was possible anything could be hid; when they had done this, and could find nothing, they asked my pardon for troubling me, and went down.

When they had thus searched the house from bottom to top, and then from top to bottom, and could find nothing, they appeased the mob pretty well; but they carried my governess before the justice. Two men swore that they saw the man whom they pursued go into her house. My governess rattled and made a great noise that her house should be insulted, and that she should be used thus for nothing; that if a man did come in he might go out again presently for aught she knew, for she was ready to make oath that no man had been within her doors all that day as she knew of, and that was very true indeed; that it might be indeed that as she was above stairs any fellow in a fright might find the door open, and run in for shelter when he was pursued, but that she knew nothing of it; and if it had been so he certainly went out again, perhaps at the other door, for she had another door into an alley, and so had made his escape and cheated them all.

This was indeed probable enough, and the justice satisfied himself with giving her an oath that she had not received or admitted any man into her house to conceal him, or protect or hide him from justice. This oath she might justly take, and did so, and so she was dismissed.

It is easy to judge what a fright I was in upon this occasion, and it was impossible for my governess ever to bring me to dress in that disguise again; for, as I told her, I should certainly betray myself.

My poor partner in this mischief was now in a bad case, for he was carried before my lord mayor, and by his worship committed to Newgate, and the people that took him were so willing, as well

as able, to prosecute him, that they offered themselves to enter into recognizances to appear at the sessions, and pursue the charge against him.

However, he got his indictment deferred, upon promise to discover his accomplices, and particularly the man that was concerned with him in this robbery, and he failed not to do his endeavour, for he gave in my name, whom he called Gabriel Spencer, which was the name I went by to him, and here appeared the wisdom of my concealing my name and sex from him, which if he had ever known I had been undone.

He did all he could to discover this Gabriel Spencer; he described me—he discovered the place where he said I lodged, and in a word all the particulars that he could of my dwelling; but having concealed the main circumstances of my sex from him I had a vast advantage, and he never could hear of me; he brought two or three families into trouble by his endeavouring to find me, but they knew nothing of me, any more than that I had a fellow with me that they had seen, but knew nothing of; and as for my governess, though she was the means of his coming to me, yet it was done at second hand, and he knew nothing of her. This turned to his disadvantage, for having promised discoveries, and not being able to make it good, it was looked upon as a trifling with the justice of the city, and he was the more fiercely pursued by the shopkeepers who took him.

I was, however, terribly uneasy all this while and that I might be quite out of the way, I went away from my governess's for a while, but not knowing whither to wander, I took a maid servant with me, and took the stage coach to Brickill to my old landlord and landlady, where I was married to my late husband the banker. Here I told them a formal story, that I expected my husband every day from Ireland, and that I had sent a letter to him that I would meet him at Brickill at their house, and that he would certainly land, if the wind was fair, in a few days, so that I was come to spend a few days with them till he should come, for he would either come post or in the West Chester coach, I knew not which; but whichever it was, he would be sure to come to that house to meet me.

My landlady was mighty glad to see me, and my landlord made such a stir with me that if I had been a princess I could not have been better used, and here I might have been welcome a month or two if I had thought fit.

But my business was of another nature; I was very uneasy (though so well disguised that it was scarce possible to detect me) lest this fellow should some how or other find me out; and though he could not charge me with this robbery, having persuaded him not to venture, and having also done nothing in it myself but run away, yet he might have charged me with other things, and have bought his own life at the expense of mine.

This filled me with horrible apprehensions; I had no resource, no friend, no confidant but my old governess, and I knew no remedy but to put my life in her hands, and so I did, for I let her know where to send to me, and had several letters from her while I stayed here; some of them almost scared me out of my wits; but at last she sent me the joyful news that he was hanged,

which was the best news to me that I had heard a great while.

I had stayed here five weeks, and lived very comfortably indeed (the secret anxiety of my mind excepted), but when I received this letter I looked pleasantly again, and told my landlady that I had received a letter from my spouse in Ireland, that I had the good news of his being very well, but had the bad news that his business would not permit him to come away so soon as he expected, and so I was like to go back again without him.

My landlady complimented me upon the good news, however, that I had heard he was well. "For I have observed, madam," says she, "you have not been so pleasant as you used to be; you have been over head and ears in care for him, I dare say," says the good woman; "it is easy to be seen there is an alteration in you for the better," says she.

"Well, I am sorry he cannot come yet," says my landlord, "I should have been heartily glad to have seen him; but I hope when you have certain news of his coming you will take a step hither again, madam," says he. "You shall be very welcome whenever you please to come."

With all these fine compliments we parted, and I came merry enough to London, and found my governess as well pleased as I was; and now she told me she would never recommend any partner to me again, for she always found, she said, that I had the best luck when I ventured by myself; and so indeed I had, for I was seldom in any danger when I was by myself, or if I was I got out of it with more dexterity than when I was entangled with the dull measures of other people, who had perhaps less forecast, and were more rash and impatient than I; for though I had as much courage to venture as any of them, yet I used more caution before I undertook a thing, and had more presence of mind when I was to bring myself off.

I have often wondered even at my own hardness another way, that when my companions were surprised, and fell so suddenly into the hands of justice, and that I so narrowly escaped, yet I could not all that while enter into one serious resolution to leave off this trade; and especially considering that I was now very far from being poor, that the temptation of necessity, which is generally the introduction of all such wickedness, was now removed; for I had near five hundred pounds by me in ready money, on which I might have lived very well if I had thought fit to have retired; but I say I had not so much as the least inclination to leave off; no, not so much as I had before when I had but two hundred pounds beforehand, and when I had no such frightful examples before my eyes as these were. From hence it is evident to me, that when once we are hardened in a crime no fear can affect us, no example give us any warning.

I had, indeed, one comrade whose fate went very near me for a good while, though I wore it off too in time; that case was indeed very unhappy. I had made a prize of a piece of very good damask in a mercer's shop, and went clear off myself, but had conveyed the piece to this companion of mine when we went out of the shop, and she went one way, and I went another. We

had not been long out of the shop, but the mercer missed his piece of stuff, and sent his messengers, one one way and one another, and they presently seized her that had the piece of damask upon her; as for me, I had very luckily stepped into a house where there was a lace-chamber up one pair of stairs, and had the satisfaction, or the terror indeed, of looking out of the window upon the noise they made, and seeing the poor creature dragged away in triumph to the justice, who immediately committed her to Newgate.

I was careful to attempt nothing in the lace-chamber, but tumbled their goods about pretty much to spend time, then bought a few yards of edging, and paid for it, and came away very sad-hearted indeed for the poor woman who was in tribulation for what I only had stolen.

Here, again, my own caution stood me in good stead, namely, that though I often robbed with these people I never let them know who I was or where I lodged; nor did they ever find out my lodging, though they often endeavoured to watch me to it. They all knew me by the name of Moll Flanders, though even some of them neither believed I was she nor knew me to be so. My name was public among them, indeed, but how to find me out they knew not, not so much as how to guess at my quarters, whether they were at the east end of the town or the west; and this wariness was my safety upon all occasions.

I kept close a great while upon the occasion of this woman's disaster. I knew that if I should do anything that should miscarry, and should be carried to prison, she would be there and ready to witness against me, and perhaps save her life at my expense. I considered that I began to be very well known by name at the Old Bailey, though they did not know my face, and that if I should fall into their hands I should be treated as an old offender; and for this reason I was resolved to see what this poor creature's fate should be before I stirred abroad, though several times in her distress I conveyed money to her for her relief.

At length she came to her trial, and she pleaded she did not steal the things; but that one Mrs Flanders, as she heard her called, (for she did not know her) gave the bundle to her after they came out of the shop, and bade her carry it home to her lodging. They asked her where this Mrs Flanders was? but she could not produce her, neither could she give the least account of me; and the mercer's men swearing positively that she was in the shop when the goods were stolen; that they immediately missed them, and pursued her, and found them upon her; thereupon the jury brought her in guilty; but the court considering that she really was not the person that stole the goods, an inferior assistant, and that it was very possible she could not find out this Mrs Flanders, meaning me, though it would save her life, which indeed was true; I say, considering all this, they allowed her to be transported, which was the utmost favour she could obtain, only that the court told her that if she could in the meantime produce the said Mrs Flanders, they would intercede for her pardon; that is to say, if she could find me out and hang me, she should not be transported. This I took care to make impossible to her, and so she was shipped

off in pursuance of her sentence a little while after.

I must repeat it again, that the fate of this poor woman troubled me exceedingly; and I began to be very pensive, knowing that I was really the instrument of her disaster; but the preservation of my own life, which was so evidently in danger, took off all my tenderness; and seeing she was not put to death, I was very easy at her transportation, because she was then out of the way of doing me any mischief, whatever should happen.

The disaster of this woman was some months before that of the last recited story, and was indeed partly the occasion of my governess proposing to dress me up in men's clothes that I might go about unobserved, as indeed I did; but I was soon tired of that disguise, as I said, for indeed it exposed me to too many difficulties.

I was now easy as to all fear of witnesses against me, for all those that had either been concerned with me, or that knew me by the name of Moll Flanders, were either hanged or transported; and if I should have had the misfortune to be taken I might call myself anything else as well as Moll Flanders, and no old sins could be placed to my account; so I began to run a tick again with the more freedom, and several successful adventures I made, though not such as I had made before.

We had at that time another fire happened not a great way off from the place where my governess lived, and I made an attempt there, as before; but as I was not soon enough before the crowd of people came in, and could not get to the house I aimed at, instead of a prize I got a mischief, which had almost put a period to my life, and all my wicked doings together; for the fire being very furious, and the people in a great fright in removing their goods, and throwing them out of windows, a wench from out of a window threw a feather-bed just upon me. It is true, the bed being soft, it broke no bones, but as the weight was great, and made greater by the fall, it beat me down and laid me dead for a while; nor did the people concern themselves much to deliver me from it, or to recover me at all; but I lay like one dead or neglected a good while; till somebody going to remove the bed out of the way, helped me up; it was indeed a wonder the people in the house had not thrown other goods out after it, and which might have fallen upon it, and then I had been inevitably killed; but I was reserved for further afflictions.

This accident, however, spoiled my market for that time, and I came home to my governess much hurt and bruised, and frightened to the last degree, and it was a good while before she could set me upon my feet again.

It was now a merry time of the year, and Bartholomew fair was begun. I had never made any walks that way, nor was the common part of the fair of much advantage to me, but I took a turn this year into the cloisters, and among the rest, I fell into one of the raffling shops. It was a thing of no great consequence to me, nor did I expect to make much of it; but there came a gentleman extremely well dressed, and very rich, and as 'tis frequent to talk to everybody in those shops, he singled me out, and was very particu-

lar with me. First he told me he would put in for me to raffle, and did so; and some small matter coming to his lot, he presented it to me; I think it was a feather muff. Then he continued to keep talking to me with a more than common appearance of respect; but still very civil and much like a gentleman.

He held me in talk so long till at last he drew me out of the raffling place to the shop door, and then to take a walk in the cloister, still talking of a thousand things cursorily, without anything to the purpose; at last he told me that, without compliment, he was charmed with my company, and asked me if I durst trust myself in a coach with him; he told me he was a man of honour, and would not offer any thing to me unbecoming him as such. I seemed to decline it a while, but suffered myself to be importuned a little, and then yielded.

I was at a loss in my thoughts to conclude at first what this gentleman designed; but I found afterwards he had had some drink in his head, and that he was not very unwilling to have some more. He carried me in the coach to the Spring-garden at Knight's-bridge, where we walked in the gardens, and he treated me very handsomely, but I found he drank very freely; he pressed me also to drink, but I declined it.

Hitherto he kept his word with me, and offered me nothing amiss; we came away in the coach again, and he brought me into the streets, and by this time it was near ten o'clock at night, and he stopped the coach at a house, where it seems he was acquainted, and where they made no scruple to show us up stairs into a room with a bed in it. At first I seemed to be unwilling to go up, but after a few words I yielded to that too, being indeed willing to see the end of it, and in hopes to make something of it at last. As for the bed, &c., I was not much concerned about that part.

Here he began to be a little freer with me than he had promised; and I by little and little yielded to everything, so that in a word he did what he pleased with me; I need say no more. All this while he drank freely too, and about one in the morning we went into the coach again. The air and the shaking of the coach made the drink he had got more up in his head than it was before, and he grew uneasy in the coach, and was for acting over again what he had been doing before; but as I thought my game now secure, I resisted him and brought him to be a little still, which had not lasted five minutes, but he fell fast asleep.

I took this opportunity to search him to a nicety: I took a gold watch, with a silk purse of gold, his fine full-bottom perriwig, and silver-fringed gloves, his sword and fine snuff-box, and gently opening the coach door, stood ready to jump out while the coach was going on; but the coach stopping in a narrow street beyond Temple-bar to let another coach pass, I got softly out, fastened the door again, and gave my gentleman and the coach the slip both together, and got off very securely.

This was an adventure indeed unlooked for, and perfectly undesigned by me; though I was not so past the merry part of life as to forget how to behave when a fop so blinded by his appetite should not know an old woman from a

young one. I did not indeed look so old as I was by ten or twelve years; yet I was not a young wench of seventeen, and it was easy enough to be distinguished. There is nothing so absurd, so surfeiting, so ridiculous as a man heated by wine in his head, and a wicked gust in his inclination together; he is in possession of two devils at once, and can no more govern himself by his reason than a mill can grind without water. His vice tramples upon all that was in him that had any good in it, if any such thing there was; nay, his very sense is blinded by its own rage, and he acts absurdities even in his view; such as drinking more when he is drunk already; picking up a common woman, without regard to what she is or who she is, whether sound or rotten, clean or unclean, whether ugly or handsome, whether old or young, and so blinded as not really to distinguish. Such a man is worse than a lunatic; prompted by his vicious corrupted head, he no more knows what he is doing than this wretch of mine knew when I picked his pocket of his watch and his purse of gold.

These are men of whom Solomon says, "they go like an ox to the slaughter till a dart strike through their liver;" an admirable description, by the way, of the foul disease, which is a poisonous deadly contagion mingling with the blood, whose centre or fountain is in the liver, from whence by the swift circulation of the whole mass, that dreadful nauseous plague strikes immediately through his liver, and his spirits are infected, his vitals stabbed through as with a dart.

It is true this poor unguarded wretch was in no danger from me, though I was greatly apprehensive at first of what danger I might be in from him; but he was really to be pitied in one respect, that he seemed to be a good sort of a man in himself, a gentleman that had no harm in his design, a man of sense and of fine behaviour, a comely handsome person, a sober solid countenance, a charming beautiful face, and everything that could be agreeable; only had unhappily had some drink the night before, had not been in bed, as he told me when we were together; was hot, and his blood fired with wine, and in that condition his reason, as it were asleep, had given him up.

As for me, my business was his money, and what I could make of him; and after that if I could have found out any way to have done it, I would have sent him safe home to his house and to his family, for it was ten to one but he had an honest, virtuous wife and innocent children, that were anxious for his safety, and would have been glad to have gotten him home, and have taken care of him till he was restored to himself; and then with what shame and regret would he look back upon himself! How would he reproach himself with associating himself with a whore? picked up in the worst of all holes, the cloister, among the dirt and filth of all the town. How would he be trembling for fear he had got the pox, for fear a dart had struck through his liver, and hate himself every time he looked back upon the madness and brutality of this debauch! How would he, if he had any principles of honour, as I verily believe he had; I say how would he abhor the thought of giving any ill distemper, if he had it, as for aught he knew he might, to his modest

and virtuous wife, and thereby sowing the contagion in the life-blood of his posterity?

Would such a gentleman but consider the contemptible thoughts which the very women they are concerned with in such cases as these have of them, it would be a surfeit to them. As I said above, they value not the pleasure, they are raised by no inclination to the man; the passive jade thinks of no pleasure but the money; and when he is, as it were, drunk in the ecstasies of his wicked pleasure, her hands are in his pockets searching for what she can find there; and of which he can no more be sensible in the moment of his folly, than he can fore-think of it when he goes about it.

I knew a woman that was so dexterous with a fellow, who indeed deserved no better usage, that, while he was busy with her another way, conveyed his purse, with twenty guineas in it, out of his fob-pocket, where he had put it for fear of her, and put another purse with gilded counters in it, in the room of it. After he had done, he says to her, "Now, hav'nt you picked my pocket?"—She jested with him, and told him she supposed he had not much to lose. He put his hand to his fob, and with his finger felt his purse was there, which fully satisfied him, and so she brought off his money. And this was a trade with her; she kept a sham gold watch, and a purse of counters in her pocket to be ready on all such occasions, and I doubt not practised it with success.

I came home with this last booty to my governess, and really, when I told her the story, it so affected her that she was hardly able to forbear tears, to think how such a gentleman run a daily risk of being undone, every time a glass of wine got into his head.

But as to the purchase I got, and how entirely I stript him, she told me it pleased her wonderfully well. "Nay, child," said she, "the usage may, for aught I know, do more to reform him than all the sermons that ever he will hear in his life;" and if the remainder of the story be true, so it did.

I found the next day she was wonderfully inquisitive about this gentleman. The description I gave her of him, his dress, his person, his face, all concurred to make her think of a gentleman whose character she knew. She mused awhile, and I going on in the particulars, says she, "I'll lay a hundred pounds I know the man."

"I am sorry if you do," says I; "for I would not have him exposed on any account in the world; he has had injury enough already, and I would not be instrumental to do him any more."

"No, no," says she, "I will do him no injury, but you may let me satisfy my curiosity a little; for if it is he, I warrant you I find it out." I was a little startled at that, and I told her, with an apparent concern in my face, that by the same rule he might find me out, and then I was undone. She returned warmly, "Why, do you think I will betray you, child? No, no," says she, "not for all he is worth in the world. I have kept your counsel in worse things than these; sure you may trust me in this." So I said no more.

She laid her scheme another way, and without acquainting me with it, but she was resolved

to find it out; so she goes to a certain friend of hers who was acquainted in the family that she guessed at, and told her she had some extraordinary business with such a gentleman, (who, by the way, was no less than a baronet, and of a very good family), and that she knew not how to come at him without somebody to introduce her. Her friend promised her readily to do it, and accordingly goes to the house, to see if the gentleman were in town.

The next day she came to my governess and tells her that Sir — was at home, but that he had met with a disaster, and was very ill, and there was no speaking to him.—“What disaster?” says my governess, hastily, as if she was surprised at it.—“Why,” says her friend, “he had been at Hampstead to visit a gentleman of his acquaintance, and as he came back again he was set upon and robbed, and having got a little drink too, as they suppose, the rogues abused him, and he is very ill.”—“Robbed?” says my governess; “and what did they take from him?”—“Why,” says her friend, “they took his gold watch and his gold snuff-box, his fine perriwig, and what money he had in his pocket, which was considerable, to be sure, for Sir — never goes without a purse of guineas about him.”

“Pshaw,” says my old governess, jeering, “I warrant you he has got drunk now, and got a whore, and she has picked his pocket, and so he came home to his wife and tells her he has been robbed; that’s an old sham; a thousand such tricks are put upon the women every day.”

“Fie,” says her friend; “I find you do not know Sir —. Why, he is as civil a gentleman, there is not a finer man, nor a soberer, graver, modester person in the whole city. He abhors such things; there’s nobody that knows him will think such a thing of him.”—“Well, well,” says my governess, “that’s none of my business; if it was, I warrant you I should find there was something of that kind in it. Your modest men, in common opinion, are sometimes no better than other people, only they keep a better character, or, if you please, are the best hypocrites.”

“No, no,” says her friend, “I can assure you Sir — is no hypocrite; he is really an honest, sober gentleman, and he has certainly been robbed.”—“Nay,” says my governess, “it may be that he has; it’s no business of mine I tell you. I only want to speak with him; my business is of another nature.”—“But,” says her friend, “let your business be of what it will, you cannot see him yet, for he is not yet to be seen, for he is very ill, and bruised very much.”—“Ay,” says my governess, “nay, then he has fallen into bad hands to be sure.” And then she asked very gravely, “Pray, where is he bruised?”—“Why, in the head,” says her friend, “and one of his hands and his face, for they used him barbarously.”—“Poor gentleman,” says my governess, “I must wait then till he recovers,” and adds, “I hope it will not be long, for I very much want to speak with him.”

Away she comes to me and tells me this story. “I have found out your fine gentleman, and a fine gentleman he was,” says she, “but mercy on him, he is in a sad pickle now; I wonder what the devil you have done to him; why, you

have almost killed him.”—I looked at her with disorder enough. “I killed him?” says I; “you must mistake the person; I am sure I did nothing to him; he was very well when I left him,” said I, “only drunk and fast asleep.”—“I know nothing of that,” says she, “but he is in a sad pickle now;” and so she told me all that her friend had said.—“Well, then,” says I, “he fell into bad hands after I left him, for I left him safe enough.”

About ten days after, or a little more, my governess goes again to her friend, to introduce her to this gentleman. She had inquired other ways in the meantime, and found that he was about again, if not abroad again, so she got leave to speak to him.

She was a woman of an admirable address, and wanted nobody to introduce her. She told her tale much better than I shall be able to tell it for her, for she was a mistress of her tongue, as I said already. She told him that she came, though a stranger, with a sincere desire of doing him a service, and he should find she had no other end in it; that as she came purely on so friendly an account, she begged a promise from him, that if he did not accept what she should officiously propose, he would not take it ill that she meddled with what was not her business. She assured him that as what she had to say was a secret that belonged to him only, so whether he accepted the offer or not, it should remain a secret to all the world, unless he exposed it himself; nor should his refusing her service in it make her so little show her respect as to do him the least injury, so that he should be entirely at liberty to act as he thought fit.

He looked very shy at first, and said he knew nothing that related to him that required much secrecy; that he had never done any man any wrong, and cared not what anybody might say of him; that it was no part of his character to be unjust to anybody, nor could he imagine in what any man could render him any service; but that if it was as she said, he could not take it ill from any one that they should endeavour to serve him; and so, as it were, left her at liberty either to tell him, or not to tell him, as she thought fit.

She found him so perfectly indifferent, that she was almost afraid to enter into the point with him; but, however, after some other circumlocutions, she told him, that by a strange and unaccountable accident she came to have a particular knowledge of the late unhappy adventure he had fallen into; and that in such a manner, that there was nobody in the world but herself and him that were acquainted with it; no, not the very person that was with him.

He looked a little angry at first. “What adventure?” said he.—“Why, sir,” said she, “of your being robbed coming from Knightsbridge, Hampstead, sir, I should say,” says she. “Be not surprised, sir,” says she, “that I am able to tell you every step you took that day, from the Cloister in Smithfield to the Spring Gardens at Knightsbridge, and thence to the — in the Strand, and how you were left asleep in the coach afterwards: I say, let not this surprise you, for sir, I do not come to make a booty of you. I ask nothing of you, and I assure you the woman that was with you knows nothing who you are, and

never shall ; and yet perhaps I may serve you further still ; for I did not come barely to let you know that I was informed of these things, as if I wanted a bribe to conceal them ; assure yourself, sir," said she, "that whatever you think fit to do or say to me, it shall be all a secret as it is, as much as if I were in my grave."

He was astonished at her, and said gravely to her, "Madam, you are a stranger to me ; but it is very unfortunate that you should be let into the secret of the worst action of my life, and a thing I am so justly ashamed of, that the only satisfaction of it to me was that I thought it was known only to God and my own conscience."

"Pray, sir," says she, "do not reckon the discovery of it to me to be any part of your misfortune ; it was a thing, I believe, you were surprised into, and perhaps the woman used some art to prompt you to it ; however, you will never find any just cause," said she, "to repent that I came to hear of it, nor can your own mouth be more silent in it than I have been, and ever shall be."

"Well," says he, "but let me do some justice to the woman too ; whoever she is, I do assure you she prompted me to nothing, she rather declined me ; it was my own folly and madness that brought her into it too. As to what she took from me, I could expect no less from her in the condition I was in, and to this hour I know not whether she robbed me or the coachman. If she did it, I forgive her ; I think all gentlemen that do so should be used in the same manner ; but I am more concerned for some other things than I am for all that she took from me."

My governess now began to come into the whole matter, and he offered himself freely to her. First, she said to him, in answer to what he said about me : "I am glad, sir, you are so just to the person that you were with ; I assure you she is a gentlewoman and no woman of the town, and however you prevailed on her so far as you did, I am sure it is not her practice. You ran a great venture indeed, sir, but if that be any part of your care, I am persuaded you may be perfectly easy, for I dare assure you no man has touched her before you, since her husband, and he has been dead now almost eight years."

It appeared that this was his grievance, and that he was in a very great fright about it ; however, when my governess said this to him, he appeared very well pleased, and said : "Well, Madam, to be plain with you, if I was satisfied of that, I should not so much value what I lost ; for as to that, the temptation was great, and perhaps she was poor and wanted it."—"If she had not been poor, sir," says my governess, "I assure you she would not have yielded to you ; and as her poverty first prevailed with her to let you do as you did, so the same poverty prevailed with her to pay herself at last, when she saw you was in such a condition, that if she had not done it, perhaps the next coachman or chairman might have done it."

"Well," says he, "much good may it do her ; I say again, all the gentlemen that do so ought to be used in the same manner, and then they would be cautious themselves. I have no more concern about it, but on the score which you hinted at before, madam."

Here he entered into some freedoms with her on the subject of what passed between us, which are not so proper for a woman to write, and the great terror that was upon his mind with relation to his wife, for fear he should have received an injury from me, and should communicate it further ; and asked her at last if she could not procure him an opportunity to speak with me. My governess gave him further assurances of my being a woman clear from any such thing, and that he was as entirely safe in that respect as he was with his own lady ; but as for seeing me, she said it might be of dangerous consequence ; but, however, that she could talk with me, and let him know my answer ; using at the same time some arguments to persuade him not to desire it, and that it could be of no service to him, saying she hoped he had no desire to renew a correspondence with me, and that on my account it was a kind of putting life into his hands.

He told her he had a great desire to see me ; that he would give her any assurances that were in his power not to take any advantage of me ; and that, in the first place, he would give me a general release from all demands of any kind. She insisted, as it might tend to a further divulging the secret, and might in the end be injurious to him, entreating him not to press for it, so at length he desisted.

They had some discourse upon the subject of the things he had lost, and he seemed to be very desirous of his gold watch, and told her if she could procure that for him, he would willingly give as much for it as it was worth ; she told him she would endeavour to procure it for him, and leave the valuing it to himself.

Accordingly the next day she carried the watch, and he gave her thirty guineas for it, though it seems it cost much more. Then he spoke something of his perriwig, which it seems cost him threescore guineas, and his snuff box, and in a few days more she carried them too, which obliged him very much, and he gave her thirty more. The next day I sent him his fine sword and cane GRATIS, and demanded nothing of him, but I had no mind to see him, unless it had been so, that he might be satisfied I knew who he was, which he was not willing to.

Then he entered into a long tale with her, of the manner how she came to know all this matter. She framed a long talk of that part : how she had it from me, that I had told the whole story to, and that was to help me to dispose of the goods, and this confidante brought the things to her, she being by profession a pawnbroker ; and she hearing of his worship's disaster, guessed at the thing in general ; that having gotten the things into her hands, she had resolved to come and try as she had done. She then gave him repeated assurances that it should never go out of her mouth, and though she knew the woman very well, yet she had not let her know, meaning me, anything of it ; that is to say, who the person was, which, by the way, was false ; but, however, it was not to his damage, for I never opened my mouth of it to anybody.

I had a great many thoughts in my head about my seeing him again, and was often sorry that I had refused it. I was persuaded, that if I had seen him and let him know that I knew him, I

should have made some advantage of him, and perhaps have had some maintenance from him; and though it was a life wicked enough, yet it was not so full of danger as this I was engaged in. However, these thoughts wore off, and I declined seeing him again for that time; but my governess saw him often, and he was very kind to her, giving her something almost every time he saw her. One time, in particular, she found him very merry, and, as she thought, he had some wine in his head; and he pressed her again very earnestly to let him see that woman that, as he said, had bewitched him so that night. My governess, who, from the beginning, was for my seeing him, told him, as he was so desirous of it, that she could almost yield to it, if she could prevail with me; adding, that if he would please to come to her house in the evening, she would endeavour it, upon his repeated assurances of forgetting what was passed.

Accordingly she came to me and told me all the discourse; in short, she soon pressed me to consent in a case which I had some regret in my mind for declining before; so I prepared to see him. I dressed me to all advantage possible, I assure you, and for the first time used a little art. I say for the first time, for I had never yielded to the baseness of paint before, having always had vanity enough to believe I had no need of it.

At the hour appointed he came; and, as she observed before, so it was plain still that he had been drinking, though very far from being what we call in drink. He appeared exceedingly pleased to see me, and entered into a long discourse with me upon the old affair. I begged his pardon very often for my share in it; protested I had not any such design when first I met him; that I had not gone out with him but that I took him for a very civil gentleman, and that he made me so many promises of offering no incivility to me.

He alleged the wine he drank, and that he scarce knew what he did, and that if he had not been so, I should never have found him take the freedom with me that he had done. He protested to me that he had never touched any woman but me since he was married to his wife, and it was a surprise to him. Then he complimented me upon being so particularly agreeable to him, and the like, and talked so much of that kind, till I found he had talked himself almost in a temper to do the same thing over again. But I took him up short; I protested I had never suffered any man to touch me since my husband died, which was near eight years. He said he believed it to be so truly; and added, that madam had intimated as much to him, and that it was his opinion of that part which made him desire to see me; and that since he had once broken in upon his virtue with me, and found no ill consequences, he could be safe in venturing there again; and so, in short, it went on to what I expected, and to what will not bear relating.

My old governess had foreseen it as well as I, and therefore led him into a room which had not a bed in it, and yet had a chamber within it which had a bed, whither we withdrew for the rest of the night; and, in short, after some time being together, he went to bed and lay there all night. I withdrew, but came again undressed

before it was day, and lay with him the rest of the time.

Thus you see having committed a crime once, is a second handle to the committing of it again. All the the reflections wear off when the temptation renews itself: had I not yielded to see him again, the corrupt desire in him had worn off, and it is very probable he had never fallen into it with anybody else, as I really believe he had not done before.

When he went away I told him I hoped he was satisfied that he had not been robbed again. He told me he was satisfied in that point, and could trust me again; and putting his hand in his pocket gave me five guineas, which was the first money I had gained in that way for many years.

I had several visits of the like kind from him, but he never came into a settled way of maintenance, which was what I should have been best pleased with. Once, indeed, he asked me how I did to live. I answered him pretty quick that I assured him I had never taken that course that I took with him; but that indeed I worked at my needle and could just maintain myself; that sometimes it was as much as I was able to do, and I shifted hard enough.

He seemed to reflect upon himself that he should be the first person to lead me into that which he assured me he had never intended himself; and it touched him a little, he said, that he should be the cause of his own sin and mine too. He would often make just reflections also upon the crime itself, and upon the particular circumstances of it with respect to himself,—how wine introduced the inclinations,—how the devil led him to the place, and found out an object to tempt him, and he made the moral always himself.

When these thoughts were upon him he would go away and, perhaps, not come again in a month's time, or longer; but then, as the serious part wore off the lewd part would wear in, and then he would come prepared for the wicked part. That we lived for some time; and though he did not keep me, as they call it, yet he never failed doing things that were handsome, and sufficient to maintain me without working, and, which was better, without following my old trade.

But this affair had its end too; for after about a year I found that he did not come so often as usual, and at last he left it off altogether without any dislike, or bidding adieu; and so there was an end of that short scene of life, which added no great store to me, only to make more work for repentance.

However, during this interval I confined myself pretty much at home; at least, being thus provided for, I made no adventure, no, not for a quarter of a year after he left me; but then finding the fund fail, and being loath to spend upon the main stock, I began to think of my old trade, and to look abroad into the street again, and my first step was lucky enough.

Now I dressed myself up in a very mean habit, for, as I had several shapes to appear in, I was now in an ordinary stuff gown, a blue apron and a straw hat; and I placed myself at the door of the Three Cups Inn in St John street.

There were several carriers used the inn, and the

coaches for Barnet, for Totteridge, and other towns that way, stood always in the street in the evening, when they prepared to set out; so that I was ready for anything that offered for either one or other. The meaning was this:—people come frequently with bundles and small parcels to those inns, and call for such carriers or coaches as they want to carry them into the country; and there generally attend women, porters' wives or daughters, ready to take in such things for their respective people that employ them.

It happened very oddly that I was standing at the inn gate, and a woman that had stood there before, and which was the porter's wife belonging to the Barnet stage coach having observed me, asked if I waited for any of the coaches. I told her yes, I waited for my mistress that was coming to go to Barnet. She asked me who was my mistress, and I told her any madam's name that came next me. But as it seemed I happened upon a name, a family of which name lived at Hadley, just beyond Barnet.

I said no more to her, or she to me a good while; but by and by somebody calling her at a door a little way off, she desired me that if anybody called for the Barnet coach I would step and call her at the house, which it seems was an ale-house; I said yes very readily, and away she went.

She was no sooner gone, but comes a wench and a child, puffing and sweating, and asks for the Barnet coach. I answered presently, here.—“Do you belong to the Barnet coach?” says she.—“Yes, sweetheart,” said I; “what do ye want?”—“I want room for two passengers,” says she.—“Where are they, sweetheart?” said I.—“Here's this girl, pray let her go into the coach,” says she, “and I'll go and fetch my mistress.”—“Make haste then, sweetheart,” says I, “for we may be full else.” The maid had a great bundle under her arm; so she put the child into the coach, and I said, “You had best put your bundle into the coach too.”—“No,” says she, “I am afraid somebody should slip it away from the child.”—“Give it me, then,” said I; “and I will take care of it.”—“Do then,” says she; “and be sure you take care of it.”—“I'll answer for it,” said I, “if it were for twenty pounds' value.”—“There, take it then,” says she, and away she goes.

As soon as I had got the bundle, and the maid was out of sight, I goes on towards the ale-house where the porter's wife was; so that if I had met her I had then only been going to give her the bundle, and to call her to her business, as if I was going away and could stay no longer; but as I did not meet her I walked away, and turning into Charterhouse lane made off through Charterhouse yard into Long lane, then crossed into Bartholomew close, so into Little Britain, and through the Blue Coat Hospital into Newgate street.

To prevent being known I pulled off my blue apron and wrapt the bundle in it, which before was made up in a piece of painted calico, and very remarkable I also wrapt up my straw-hat in it, and so put the bundle upon my head; and it was very well that I did thus, for coming through the Blue Coat Hospital who should I meet but the wench that had given me the

bundle to hold; it seems she was going with her mistress, who she had been to fetch to the Barnet coach.

I saw she was in haste, and I had no business to stop her; so away she went, and I brought my bundle safe home to my governess. There was no money, nor plate, or jewels in the bundle; but a very good suit of Indian damask; a gown and petticoat, a laced head and ruffles of very good Flanders lace, and some linen, and other things, such as I knew very well the value of.

This was not indeed my own invention, but was given me by one that had practised it with success, and my governess liked it extremely; and indeed I tried it again several times, though never twice near the same place; for the next time I tried it in Whitechapel, just by the corner of Petticoat lane, where the coaches stand that go out to Stratford and Bow, and that side of the country, and another time at the Flying Horse, without Bishopsgate, where the Cheston coaches then lay, and I had always the good luck to come off with some booty.

Another time I placed myself at a warehouse by the water side, where the coasting vessels from the north come, such as from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sunderland, and other places. Here the warehouse being shut, comes a young fellow with a letter; and he wanted a box and hamper that was come from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I asked him if he had the marks of it, so he shows me the letter, by virtue of which he was to ask for it, and which gave an account of the contents, the box being full of linen, and the hamper full of glass ware. I read the letter, and took care to see the name and the marks, the name of the person that sent the goods, and the name of the person that they were sent to; then I bade the messenger come in the morning, for that the warehouse-keeper would not be there any more that night.

Away went I, and getting materials in a public house, I wrote a letter from Mr John Richardson, of Newcastle, to his dear cousin Jemmy Cole in London, with an account that he had sent by such a vessel (for I remembered all the particulars to a tittle) so many pieces of huckaback linen, so many ells of Dutch Holland and the like, in a box, and a hamper of flint glasses from Mr Henzill's glass-house, and that the box was marked I. C. No. 1, and the hamper was directed by a label on the cording.

About an hour after I came to the warehouse, found the warehouse-keeper, and had the goods delivered me without any scruple; the value of the linen being about twenty-two pound.

I could fill up the whole discourse with the variety of such adventures which daily invention directed to, and which I managed with the utmost dexterity, and always with success.

At length, as when does the pitcher come safe home that goes so often to the well, I fell into some broils, which, though they could not affect me fatally, yet made me known, which was the worst thing, next to being found guilty, that could befall me.

I had taken the disguise of a widow's dress; it was without any real design in view, only waiting for anything that might offer. It happened that, as I often did, while I was going along a street in

Covent-garden, there was a great cry of "stop thief!" Some artists had, it seems, put a trick upon a shopkeeper; and being pursued, some of them fled one way, and some another; and one of them was, they said, dressed up in widow's weeds, upon which the mob gathered about me, and some said I was the person, others said no; immediately came the mercer's journeyman, and he swore aloud I was the person, and so seized on me. However, when I was brought back by the mob to the mercer's shop, the master of the house said freely, that I was not the woman that was in his shop, and would have let me go immediately; but another fellow said gravely, "Pray, stay till Mr ——" (meaning the journeyman) "comes back, for he knows her;" so they kept me by force near half an hour. They had called a constable, and he stood in the shop as my gaoler; and in talking with the constable, I inquired where he lived and what trade he was; the man not apprehending in the least what happened afterwards, readily told me his name and trade, where he lived; and told me as a jest, that I might be sure to hear of his name when I came to the Old Bailey.

The servants likewise used me saucily, and had much to do to keep their hands off me. The master, indeed, was more civil to me than they, but he would not let me go, though he owned he could not say I was in his shop before.

I began to be a little surly with him, and told him I hoped he would not take it ill if I made myself amends upon him another time; and desired I might send for friends to see me have right done. "No, no," he said, "he could give no such liberty; I might ask it when I came before the justice of peace; and, seeing I threatened him, he said, "He would take care of me in the meantime, and would lodge me safe in Newgate." I told him it was his time now, but it would be mine by and by, and governed my passion as well as I was able. However, I spoke to the constable to call me a porter, which he did, and then I called for pen, ink, and paper, but they would let me have none. I asked the porter his name and where he lived, and the poor man told it me very willingly. I bid him observe and remember how I was treated there; that he saw I was detained there by force. I told him I should want him in another place, and it should not be the worse for him to speak. The porter said he would serve me with all his heart; "But, madam," says he, "let me hear them refuse to let you go, then I may be able to speak the plainer."

With that I spoke aloud to the master of the shop, and said, "Sir, you know in your own conscience that I am not the person you look for, and that I was not in your shop before; therefore I demand that you detain me here no longer, or tell me the reason of your stopping me." The fellow upon this grew surlier than before, and said he would do neither till he thought fit. "Very well," said I to the constable and to the porter, "you will be pleased to remember this, gentlemen, another time." The porter said, "Yes, madam;" and the constable began not to like it, and would have persuaded the mercer to dismiss him and let me go. "Good sir," says the mercer to him, tauntingly, "are you a jus-

tice of peace, or a constable? I charged you with her, pray do your duty." The constable told him, a little moved, but very handsomely, "I know my duty and what I am, sir; I doubt you hardly know what you are doing." They had some other hard words, and, in the meantime, the journeymen, impudent and unmanly to the last degree, used me barbarously; and one of them, the first that seized upon me, pretended he would search me, and began to lay hands on me. I spit in his face, called out to the constable, and bid him take notice of my usage. "And pray, Mr Constable," said I, "ask that villain's name," pointing to the man. The constable reproved him decently, told him that he did not know what he did, for he knew that his master acknowledged I was not the person; "And," says the constable, "I am afraid your master is bringing himself and me too into trouble—if this gentlewoman comes to prove who she is and where she was—and it appears that she is not the woman you pretend to."—"Damn her," says the fellow again, with an impudent hardened face, "she is the lady, you may depend upon it; I'll swear she is the same body that was in the shop, and that I gave the piece of satin that is lost into her own hand. You shall hear more of it when Mr William and Mr Anthony (those were other journeymen) come back; they will know her again as well as I."

Just as the insolent rogue was talking thus to the constable, comes back Mr William and Mr Anthony, as he called them, and a great rabble with them, bringing along with them the true widow that I was pretended to be; and they came sweating and blowing into the shop, and, with a great deal of triumph, dragging the poor creature in a most butcherly manner up towards the master, who was in the back shop, and cried out aloud, "Here's the widow, sir; we've caught her at last!"—"What do ye mean by that?" says the master, "Why, we have her already; there she sits," says he; "and Mr——" says he "can swear that is she." The other man, whom they called Mr Anthony, replied, "Mr—— may say what he will, and swear what he will, but this is the woman, and there's the remnant of satin she stole; I took it out of her clothes with my own hand."

I sat still now, and began to take better heart, but smiled, and said nothing. The master looked pale; the constable turned about and looked at me. "Let them alone, Mr Constable," said I, "let them go on." The case was plain, and could not be denied; so the constable was charged with the right thief, and the mercer told me very civilly he was sorry for the mistake, and hoped I would not take it ill; that they had so many things of this nature put upon them every day, that they could not be blamed for being very sharp in doing themselves justice. "Not take it ill, sir!" said I; "how can I take it well? If you had dismissed me when your insolent fellow seized on me in the street, and brought me to you, and when you yourself acknowledged I was not the person, I would have put it by and not taken it ill, because of the many ill things I believe you have put upon you daily; but your treatment of me since has been insufferable, and especially that of your

servant; I must and will have reparation for that."

Then he began to parley with me; said he would make me any reasonable satisfaction, and would fain have had me told him what it was I expected. I told him I should not be my own judge—the law should decide it for me; and as I was to be carried before a magistrate, I should let him hear there what I had to say. He told me there was no occasion to go before the justice now; I was at liberty to go when I pleased; and, calling to the constable, told him he might let me go, for I was discharged. The constable said calmly to him—"Sir, you asked me just now if I knew whether I was a constable or a justice, and bade me do my duty, and charged me with this gentlewoman as a prisoner. Now, sir, I find you do not understand what is my duty, for you would make me a justice indeed; but I must tell you it is not in my power. I may keep a prisoner when I am charged with him, but it is the law and the magistrate alone that can discharge that prisoner; therefore it is a mistake, sir; I must carry her before a justice now, whether you think well of it or not." The mercer was very high with the constable at first; but the constable happening to be not a hired officer, but a good, substantial kind of a man (I think he was a corn-chandler, and a man of good sense), stood to his business—would not discharge me without going to a justice of the peace, and I insisted upon it too. When the mercer saw that—"Well," says he to the constable, "you may carry her where you please; I have nothing to say to her."—"But, sir," says the constable, "you will go with us, I hope, for it is you that charged me with her."—"No, not I," says the mercer; "I tell you I have nothing to say to her."—"But, pray sir, do," says the constable, "I desire it of you for your own sake, for the justice can do nothing without you." "Pry-thee fellow," says the mercer, "go about your business; I tell you I have nothing to say to this gentlewoman; and I charge you in the king's name to dismiss her."—"Sir," says the constable, "I find now I don't know what it is to be a constable; I beg of you, don't oblige me to be rude to you."—"I think I need not; you are rude enough already," says the mercer."—"No, sir," says the constable, "I am not rude; you have broken the peace in bringing an honest woman out of the street when she was about her lawful occasions; confining her in your shop, and ill-using her by your servants; and now you say I am rude to you. I think I am civil to you, in not commanding you, or charging you in the king's name, to go with me, and charging every man I see that passes by your door to aid and assist me in carrying you by force; this you cannot but know I have power to do, and yet I forbear it, and once more entreat you to go with me." Well, he would not for all this, and gave the constable ill language. However, the constable kept his temper, and would not be provoked; and then I put in, and said, "Come, Mr Constable, let him alone; I shall find ways enough to fetch him before a magistrate—I don't fear that; but there's the fellow," says I; "he was the man that seized on me as I was innocently going along the street, and you are the

witness of his violence unto me since; give me leave to charge you with him, and carry him before the justice."—"Yes, madam," says the constable; and turning to the fellow—"Come, young gentleman," says he to the journeyman, "you must go along with us; I hope you are not above the constable's power, though your master is."

The fellow looked like a condemned thief, and hung back, and then looked at his master, as if he could help him; and he, like a fool, encouraged the fellow to be rude; and he, truly, resisted the constable, and pushed him back with a great force when he went to lay hold of him; at which the constable knocked him down, and called out for help, and immediately the shop was filled with people, and the constable seized the master and man, and all his servants.

The first ill consequence of this fray was, that the woman who was really the thief made off, and got clear away in the crowd, and two others that they had stopped also. Whether they were really guilty or not, that I can say nothing to.

By this time, some of his neighbours having come in, and seeing how things went, had endeavoured to bring the mercer to his senses, and he began to be convinced that he was in the wrong; and so at length we went all very quietly before the justice, with a mob of about five hundred people at our heels; and all the way we went I could hear the people ask what was the matter; and others reply, and say, "A mercer had stopped a gentlewoman instead of a thief, and had afterwards taken the thief, and now the gentlewoman had taken the mercer, and was carrying him before the justice." This pleased the people strangely, and made the crowd increase, and they cried out as they went, "Which is the rogue? Which is the mercer?" and especially the women. Then, when they saw him, they cried out, "That's he! that's he!" and every now and then came a good dab of dirt at him; and thus we marched a good while, till the mercer thought fit to desire the constable, to call a coach to protect himself from the rabble; so we rode the rest of the way, the constable and I, and the mercer and his man.

When we came to the justice, which was our ancient gentleman in Bloomsbury, the constable giving first a summary account of the matter, the justice bade me speak, and tell what I had to say. And first, he asked my name, which I was very loath to give, but there was no remedy; so I told him my name was Mary Flanders; that I was a widow, my husband being a sea-captain, having died on a voyage to Virginia; and some other circumstances I told, which he could never contradict; and that I lodged at present in town with such a person, naming my governess; but that preparing to go over to America, where my husband's effects lay, and that I was going that day to buy some clothes to put myself into second mourning, but had not yet been in any shop, when that fellow (pointing to the mercer's journeyman) came rushing upon me with such fury as very much frightened me, and carried me back to his master's shop; where, though his master acknowledged I was not the person, yet he would not dismiss me, but charged the constable with me.

Then I proceeded to tell how the journeyman treated me; how they would not suffer me to send for any of my friends; how afterwards they found the real thief, and took the very goods they had lost upon her, and all the particulars as before.

Then the constable related his case; his dialogue with the mercer about discharging me; and, at last, his servant's refusing to go with him when I had charged him with him, and the mercer's encouraging him to do so; and, at last, his striking the constable, and the like, all as I have told it already.

The justice then heard the mercer and his man. The mercer, indeed, made a long harangue of the great loss they have daily by lifters and thieves; that it was easy for them to mistake; and that when he found it he would have dismissed me, &c., as above. As to the journeyman, he had very little to say, but that he pretended other of the servants told him that I was really the person.

Upon the whole, the justice first of all told me very particularly that I was discharged; that he was very sorry that the mercer's man should, in his eager pursuit, have so little discretion as to take up an innocent person for a guilty one; that if he had not been so unjust as to detain me afterwards, he believed I would have forgiven the first affront; that, however, it was not in his power to award me any reparation, other than by openly reproving them, which he should do; that he supposed I should apply to such methods as the law directed; in the meantime he would bind him over.

But as to the breach of the peace committed by the journeyman, he told me that he should give me some satisfaction for that, for he should commit him to Newgate for assaulting the constable, and for assaulting of me also.

Accordingly he sent the fellow to Newgate for that assault, and his master gave bail, and so we came away; but I had the satisfaction of seeing the mob wait upon them both as they came out, hallooing and throwing stones and dirt at the coaches as they rode in, and so I came home.

After this bustle, coming home and telling my governess the story, she fell a-laughing at me. "Why are you so merry?" says I; "the story has not so much laughing room in it as you may imagine; I am sure I have had a great deal of hurry and fright too with a pack of ugly rogues."

"Laugh," says my governess; "I laugh, child, to see what a lucky creature you are. Why, this job will be the best bargain to you that ever you made in your life, if you manage it well. I warrant you, you shall make the mercer pay five hundred pounds for damages, besides what you shall get of the journeyman."

I had other thoughts of the matter than she had, and especially because I had given in my name to the justice of peace; and I knew that my name was so well known among the people at Hicks's hall, the Old Bailey, and such places, that if this cause came to be tried openly, and my name came to be inquired into, no court would give much damages for the reputation of a person of such a character. However, I was obliged to begin a prosecution in form, and accordingly my governess found me out a very

creditable sort of a man to manage it, being an attorney of very good business and of good reputation, and she was certainly in the right of this; for had she employed a pettyfogging, hedge solicitor, or a man not known, I should have brought it to but little.

I met this attorney, and gave him all the particulars at large, as they are recited above; and he assured me it was a case, as he said, that he did not question but that a jury would give very considerable damages; so taking his full instructions he began the prosecution, and the mercer, being arrested, gave bail. A few days after his giving bail, he comes with his attorney to my attorney to let him know that he desired to accommodate the matter; that it was all carried on in the heat of an unhappy passion; that his client, meaning me, had a sharp, provoking tongue, and that I used them ill, gibing at them and jeering them, even while they believed me to be the very person, and that I had provoked them, and the like.

My attorney managed well on my side; made them believe I was a widow of fortune; that I was able to do myself justice, and had great friends to stand by me too, who had all made me promise to sue to the utmost, and that if it cost me a thousand pounds I would be sure to have satisfaction, for that the affronts I had received were insufferable.

However, they brought my attorney to this, that he promised he would not blow the coals; that if I inclined to an accommodation, he would not hinder me, and that he would rather persuade me to peace than to war, for which they told him he should be no loser, all which he told me very honestly, and told me that if they offered him any bribe I should certainly know it; but, upon the whole, he told me very honestly that if I would take his opinion he would advise me to make it up with them; for that as they were in a great fright, and were desirous, above all things, to make it up, and knew that let it be what it would they must bear all the costs, he believed they would give me freely more than any jury would give upon a trial. I asked him what he thought they would be brought to; he told me he could not tell as to that, but he would tell me more when I saw him again.

Some time after this they came again to know if he had talked with me. He told them he had; that he found me not so averse to an accommodation as some of my friends were, who resented the disgrace offered me, and set me on; that they blowed the coals in secret, prompting me to revenge, or to do myself revenge, as they called it; so that he could not tell what to say to it. He told them he would do his endeavour to persuade me, but he ought to be able to tell me what proposal they made. They pretended they could not make any proposal, because it might be made use of against them: and he told them that by the same rule he could not make any offer, for that might be pleaded in abatement of what damages a jury might be inclined to give. However, after some discourse and mutual promises that no advantage should be taken on either side of what was transacted then, or at any other of those meetings, they came to a kind of treaty, but so remote and so wide from one

another, that nothing could be expected from it, for my attorney demanded five hundred pounds and charges, and they offered fifty pounds without charges; so they broke off, and the mercer proposed to have a meeting with me myself, and my attorney agreed to that very readily.

My attorney gave me notice to come to this meeting in good clothes, and with some state, that the mercer might see I was something more than I seemed to be at the time they used me so ill. I came in a new suit of second mourning, according to what I had said at the justice's. I set myself out, too, as well as a widow's dress in second mourning would admit. My governess also furnished me with a good pearl necklace, that shut in behind with a locket of diamonds, which she had in pawn; and I had a very good gold watch by my side; so that, in a word, I made a very good figure, and as I stayed till I was sure they were come, I came to the door in a coach with my maid with me.

When I came into the room the mercer was surprised. He stood up and made his bow, which I took little notice of, and but a little, and went and sat down where my own attorney had pointed to me to sit, for it was his house. After a little while the mercer said he did not know me again, and began to make some compliments in his way. I told him I believed he did not know me at first, and that if he had, I believed he would not have treated me as he did.

He told me he was very sorry for what had happened, and that it was to testify the willingness he had to make all possible reparation that he had appointed this meeting; that he hoped I would not carry things to extremity, which might not only be too great loss to him, but might be the ruin of his business and shop, in which case I might have the satisfaction of repaying an injury with an injury ten times greater; but that I should then get nothing, whereas he was willing to do me any justice that was in his power, without putting himself or me to the trouble or charge of a suit of law.

I told him I was glad to hear him talk so much more like a man of sense than he did before; that it was true an acknowledgment in most cases of affronts was counted reparation sufficient, but this had gone too far to be made up so; that I was not revengeful, nor did I seek his ruin, nor any man's else, but that all my friends were unanimous not to let me so far neglect my character as to adjust a thing of this kind without a sufficient reparation of honour. That to be taken up for a thief was such an indignity as could not be put up; that my character was above being treated so by any that knew me; but because, in my condition of a widow, I had been for some time careless of myself and negligent of myself, I might be taken for such a creature; but that for the particular usage I had from him afterwards, and then I repeated all as before, I had scarce patience to repeat it.

Well, he acknowledged all, and was mighty humble indeed: he made proposals very handsome, and he came up to a hundred pounds, and to pay all law charges, and added, that he would make me a present of a very good suit of clothes. I came down to three hundred pounds, and I demanded that I should publish an advertise-

ment of the particulars in the common newspapers.

This was the clause he never could comply with; however, at last he came up, by good management of my attorney, to one hundred and fifty pounds, and a suit of black silk clothes, and there I agreed, and, as it were at my attorney's request, complied with it, he having my attorney's bill and charges, and gave us a good supper into the bargain.

When I came to receive the money I brought my governess with me; dressed like an old duchess, and a gentleman very well dressed, who we pretended courted me, but I called him cousin, and the lawyer was only to hint privately to him that this gentleman courted the widow.

He treated us very handsomely, and paid the money cheerfully enough; so that it cost him two hundred pounds in all, or rather more. At our last meeting, when all was agreed, the case of the journeyman came up, and the mercer begged very hard for him, told me he was a man that had kept a shop of his own, and been in good business; had a wife and several children, and was very poor; that he had nothing to make satisfaction with, but he should come to beg my pardon on his knees, if I desired it, as openly as I pleased. I had no spleen at the saucy rogue, nor were his submissions anything to me, since there was nothing to be got by him; so I thought it was as good to throw that in generously as not; so I told him I did not desire the ruin of any man, and therefore at his request I would forgive the wretch, it was below me to seek any revenge.

When we were at supper he might be brought in to make acknowledgement, which he would have done with as much mean humility as his offence was with insulting haughtiness and pride; in which was an instance of a complete baseness of spirit and impious cruelty; relentless when uppermost and in prosperity, abject and low-spirited when down in affliction. However, I abated his cringes, told him I forgave him, and desired he might withdraw, as if I did not care for the sight of him though I had forgiven him.

I was now in good circumstances, indeed, if I could have known my time for leaving off, and my governess often said I was the richest of the trade in England; so I believe I was, for I had seven hundred pounds by me in money, besides clothes, rings, some plate, and two gold watches, and all of them stolen, for I had innumerable jobs besides those I have mentioned. O! had I even now the grace of repentance, I had still leisure to have looked back upon my follies, and have made some reparation; but the satisfaction I have to make for the public mischiefs I had done were yet left behind; and I could not forbear going abroad again, as I called it, now, any more than I could when my extremity really drove me out for bread.

It was not long after the affair with the mercer was made up, that I went out in an equipage quite different from any I had ever appeared in before. I dressed myself like a beggar-woman, in the coarsest and most despicable rags I could get, and I walked about, peering and peeping into every door and window I came near; and indeed I was in such a plight now, that I knew as

ill how to behave in as ever I did in any. I naturally abhorred dirt and rags; I had been bred up tight and cleanly, and could be no other, whatever condition I was in; so that this was the most uneasy disguise to me that ever I put on. I said presently to myself that this would not do, for this was a dress that everybody was shy and afraid of; and I thought everybody looked at me, as if they were afraid I should come near them, lest I should take something from them, or afraid to come near me, lest they should get something from me. I wandered about all the evening, the first time I went out, and made nothing of it, but came home again wet, draggled, and tired. However, I went out again the next night, and then I met with a little adventure, which had like to have cost me dear. As I was standing near a tavern door, there comes a gentleman on horseback, and lights at the door; and wanting to go into the tavern, he calls one of the drawers to hold his horse. He stayed pretty long in the tavern, and the drawer heard his master call, and thought he would be angry with him. Seeing me stand by him, when he called to me, "Here woman," says he, "hold this horse awhile till I go in, if the gentleman comes, he will give you something."—"Yes," says I, and takes the horse and walks off with him very soberly, and carried him to my governess.

This had been a booty to those that had understood it; but never was poor thief more at a loss to know what to do with anything that was stolen; for when I came home my governess was quite confounded, and what to do with the creature we neither of us knew; to send him to stable was doing nothing, for it was certain that public notice would be given in the Gazette, and the horse described, so that we durst not go to fetch it again.

All the remedy we had for this unlucky adventure was to go and set up the horse at an inn, and send a note by a porter to the tavern, that the gentleman's horse that was lost such a time, was left at such an inn, and that he might be had there; that the poor woman that held him, having led him about the street, not being able to lead him back again, had left him there. We might have waited till the owner had published and offered a reward, but we did not care to venture the receiving the reward.

So this was a robbery and no robbery, for little was lost by it, and nothing was got by it, and I was quite sick of going out in a beggar's dress, it did not answer at all; and besides, I thought it was ominous and threatening.

While I was in this disguise, I fell in with a parcel of folks of a worse kind than any I ever sorted with, and I saw a little into their ways too; these were coiners of money, and they made some very good offers to me as to profit. But the part they would have had me embark in was the most dangerous part; I mean that of the very working the dye, as they call it, which, had I been taken, had been certain death, and that at a stake, I say, to be burnt to death at a stake. So that though I was to appearance but a beggar, and they promised mountains of gold and silver to me to engage, yet it would not do. It is true, if I had been really a beggar, or had been des-

perate as when I began, I might, perhaps, have closed with it; for what care they to die that cannot tell how to live? But at present this was not my condition; at least I was for no such terrible risks as those; besides, the very thoughts of being burnt at a stake struck terror into my very soul, chilled my blood, and gave me the vapours to such a degree as I could not think of it without trembling.

This put an end to my disguise too, for as I did not like the proposal, so I did not tell them so; but seemed to relish it, and promised to meet again. But I durst see them no more; for if I had seen them, and not complied, though I had declined it with the greatest assurance of secrecy in the world, they would have gone near to have murdered me to make sure work, and make themselves easy as they call it. What kind of easiness that is, they may best judge that understand how easy men are that can murder people to prevent danger. However, in a short time after two of the men were hanged, and a woman burnt at a stake.

This and horse stealing were things quite out of my way, and I might easily resolve I would have no more to say to them. My business seemed to lie another way, and though it had hazard enough in it too, yet it was more suitable to me; and what had more of art in it, more room to escape and more chances for a coming off, if a surprise should happen.

I had several proposals made also to me about that time, to come into a gang of house-breakers. But that was a thing I had no mind to venture at neither, any more than I had at the coining trade. I offered to go along with two men and a woman, that made it their business to get into houses by stratagem, and with them I was willing enough to venture; but there was three of them already, and they did not care to part, nor I to have too many in a gang, so I did not close with them, but declined them, and they paid dear for their next attempt.

But at length I met with a woman that had often told me what adventures she had made, and with success, at the water-side, and I closed with her, and we drove on our business pretty well. One day we came among some Dutch people at St Catherine's, where we went on pretence to buy goods that were privately got on shore. It was two or three times in a house where we saw a good quantity of prohibited goods, and my companion once brought away three pieces of Dutch black silk that turned to good account, and I had my share of it. But in all the journeys I made by myself, I could not get an opportunity to do any thing, so I laid it aside; for I had been so often, that they began to suspect something, and were so shy that I saw nothing was to be done.

This balked me a little, and I resolved to push at something or other, for I was not used to come back so often without purchase. So the next day I dressed myself up fine, and took a walk to the other end of the town. I passed through the Exchange in the Strand, but had no notion of finding anything to do there, when on a sudden I saw a great clutter in the place, and all the people, shopkeepers as well as others, standing up and staring; and what should it be

but some great duchess coming into the Exchange; and they said the queen was coming. I set myself close up to a shop side, with my back to the counter, as if to let the crowd pass by, when keeping my eye upon a parcel of lace, which the shopkeeper was showing to some ladies that stood by me. The shopkeeper and her maid were so taken up with looking to see who was coming, and what shop they would go to, that I found means to slip a paper of lace into my pocket, and come clear off with it, so the lady milliner paid dear enough for her gaping after the queen.

I went off from the shop as if driven along by the throng, and mingling myself with the crowd went out at the other door of the Exchange, and so got away before they missed their lace; and because I would not be followed I called a coach and shut myself up in it. I had scarce shut the coach doors up but I saw the milliner's maid and five or six more come running out into the street, crying out as if they were frightened. They did not cry "stop thief," because nobody ran away, but I could hear the words "robbed" and "lace" two or three times, and saw the wench wringing her hands and run staring too and again like one scared. The coachman that had taken me up was getting up into the box, but was not quite up, so that the horses had not begun to move, so that I was terrible uneasy, and I took the packet of lace and laid it ready to have dropt it out of the flap of the coach which opens before, just behind the coachman; but to my great satisfaction in less than a minute the coach began to move, that is to say, as soon as the coachman had got up and spoken to his horses. So he drove away without any interruption, and I brought off my purchase, which was worth near twenty pounds.

The next day I dressed me up again, but in quite different clothes, and walked the same way again, but nothing offered till I came into St James's Park, where I saw abundance of fine ladies in the Park walking in the Mall, and among the rest there was a little miss, a young lady of about twelve or thirteen years old, and she had a sister, as I suppose it was, with her, that might be about nine years old. I observed the biggest had a fine gold watch on, and a good necklace of pearl, and they had a footman in livery with them. But as it is not usual for the footmen to go behind the ladies in the Mall, so I observed the footman stopped at their going into the Mall, and the biggest of the sisters spoke to him, which I perceived was to bid him be just there when they came back.

When I heard her dismiss the footman I stepped up to him, and asked him what little lady that was, and held a little chat with him about what a pretty child it was with her, and how genteel and well carriaged a lady the eldest would be,—how womanish and how grave; and the fool of a fellow told me presently who she was, that she was Sir Thomas ———'s eldest daughter, of Essex, and that she was a great fortune; that her mother was not come to town yet, but she was with Sir William ———'s lady, of Suffolk, at her lodgings in Suffolk street, and a great deal more; that they had a maid and a woman to wait on them, besides Sir

Thomas's coach, the coachman and himself; and that young lady was governess to the whole family as well here as at home to; and, in short, told me abundance of things enough for my business.

I was very well dressed indeed, and had my gold watch as well as she; so I left the footman, and I put myself in a rank with this young lady, and having stayed till she had taken one double turn in the Mall and was going forward again, by and by I saluted her by her name with the title of Lady Betty. I asked her when she heard from her father, when my lady her mother would be in town, and how she did?

I talked so familiarly to her of her whole family, that she could not suspect but that I knew them all intimately. I asked her why she would come abroad without Mrs Chime with her (that was the name of her woman) to take care of Mrs Judith (that was her sister). Then I entered into a long chat with her about her sister, what a fine little lady she was, and asked if she had learned French, and a thousand other little things to entertain her, when on a sudden we see the guards come, and the crowd run to see the king go by to the parliament-house.

The ladies ran all to the side of the Mall, and I helped my lady to stand upon the edge of the boards on the side of the Mall, that she might be high enough to see, and took the little one and lifted her quite up; during which I took care to convey the gold watch so clean away from the Lady Betty that she never felt it nor missed it till all the crowd was gone, and she was gotten into the middle of the Mall among the other ladies.

I took my leave of her in the very crowd, and said to her as if in haste, "Dear Lady Betty, take care of your little sister;" and so the crowd did as it were thrust me away from her, and on that I was obliged unwillingly to take my leave.

The hurry in such cases is immediately over, and the place clear, as soon as the king is gone by; but as there is always a great running and clattering just as the king passes, so having dropped the two little ladies, and done my business with them without any miscarriage, I kept hurrying on among the crowd as if I ran to see the king, and so I got before the crowd and kept so till I came to the end of the Mall, when the king going on towards the Horse-guards, I went forward to the passage which went then through against the lower end of the Haymarket, and there I bestowed a coach upon myself, and made off; and I confess I have not yet been so good as my word, viz., to go and visit my Lady Betty.

I was once of the mind to venture staying with Lady Betty till she missed the watch, and so have made a great outcry about it with her, and have got her into her coach and put myself in the coach with her, and have gone home with her; for she appeared so fond of me, and so perfectly deceived by my so readily talking to her of all her relations and family, that I thought it was very easy to push the thing farther, and to have got at least the necklace of pearl. But when I considered though the child would not perhaps have suspected me, other people might, and that if I was searched I should be discovered, I thought it was best to go off with what I had got, and be satisfied.

I came accidentally afterwards to hear that when the young lady missed her watch she made a great outcry in the park, and sent her footman up and down, to see if he could find me out, she having described me so perfectly that he knew presently that it was the same person that had stood and talked so long with him, and asked him so many questions about them. But I was gone far enough out of their reach before she could come at her footman to tell him the story.

I made another adventure after this, of another nature, different from all I had been concerned in yet, and this was at a gaming-house near Covent-Garden.

I saw several people go in and out, and I stood in the passage a good while with another woman with me, and seeing a gentleman go up that seemed to be of more than ordinary fashion, I said to him, "Sir, pray don't they give women leave to go up?"—"Yes, madam," says he, "and to play if they please."—"I mean so, sir," says I; and with that he said he would introduce me if I had a mind; so I followed him to the door, and he looking in, "There, madam," says he, "are the gamesters, if you have a mind to venture." I looked in and said to my comrade aloud, "Here's nothing but men, I won't venture among them;" at which one of the gentlemen cried out, "You need not be afraid, madam; here's none but fair gamesters; you are very welcome to come and set what you please." So I went a little nearer and looked on, and some of them brought me a chair, and I sat down and saw the box and dice go round a-pace; then I said to my comrade, "The gentlemen play too high for us; come, let us go."

The people were all very civil, and one gentleman in particular encouraged me, and said, "Come, madam, if you please, venture; if you dare to trust me, I'll answer for it: you shall have nothing put upon you here."—"No, sir," said I, smiling; "I hope the gentlemen would not cheat a woman;" but still I declined venturing, though I pulled out a purse with money in it, that they might see I did not want money. After I had sat awhile, one gentleman said to me, jeering, "Come, madam, I see you are afraid to venture yourself; I always had good luck with the ladies; you shall set for me, if you won't set for yourself. I told him, "Sir, I should be very loath to lose your money; though," added I, "I am pretty lucky too; but the gentlemen play so high, that I dare not indeed venture my own."

"Well, well," says he, "there's ten guineas, madam, set them for me;" so I took his money and set, himself looking on. I ran out nine of the guineas by one and two at a time, and then the box coming to the next man to me, my gentleman gave me ten guineas more, and made me set five of them at once, and the gentleman who had the box threw out, so there was five guineas of his money again. He was encouraged at this, and made me take the box, which was a bold venture. However, I held the box so long that I had gained him his whole money, and had a good handful of guineas in my lap; and which was the better luck, when I threw out, I threw but at one or two of those that had set me, and so went off easy.

When I was come this length, I offered the gentleman all the gold, for it was his own, and so would have had him play for himself, pretending I did not understand the game well enough. He laughed, and said if I had but good luck, it was no matter whether I understood the game or no; but I should not leave off. However, he took out the fifteen guineas that he had put in at first, and bid me play with the rest. I would have told them to see how much I had got, but he said, "No, no, don't tell them; I believe you are very honest, and 'tis bad luck to tell them;" so I played on.

I played the game well enough, though I pretended I did not, and played cautiously; it was to keep a good stock in my lap, out of which I every now and then conveyed some into my pocket; but in such a manner, and at such convenient times, as I was sure he could not see it.

I played a great while, and had very good luck for him; but the last time I held the box, they set me high, and I threw boldly at all. I held the box till I gained near fourscore guineas, but lost above half of it back at the last throw; so I got up, for I was afraid I should lose it all back again, and said to him, "Pray come, sir, now, and take it, and play for yourself; I think I have done pretty well for you." He would have had me play on, but it grew late, and I desired to be excused. When I gave it up to him, I told him I hoped he would give me leave to tell it now, that I might see what I had gained, and how lucky I had been for him. When I told them, there was threescore and three guineas. "Aye," says I, "if it had not been for that unlucky throw, I had got you a hundred guineas." So I gave him all the money, but he would not take it till I had put my hand into it and taken for myself, and bid me please myself. I refused it, and was positive I would not take it myself; if he had a mind to anything of that kind, it should be all his own doings.

The rest of the gentlemen seeing us striving, cried, "Give it her all;" but I absolutely refused that. Then one of them said, "Damn you, Jack, halve it with her; don't you know you should always be on even terms with the ladies?" So, in short, he divided it with me, and I brought away thirty guineas, besides about forty-three which I had stolen privately, which I was sorry for afterwards, because he was so generous.

Thus I brought home seventy-three guineas, and let my old governess see what good luck I had at play. However, it was her advice that I should not venture again, and I took her counsel, for I never went there any more; for I knew as well as she, if the itch of play came in, I might soon lose that and all the rest of what I had got.

Fortune had smiled upon me to that degree, and I had thriven so much, and my governess too—for she always had a share with me—that really the old gentlewoman began to talk of leaving off while we were well, and being satisfied with what we had got; but, I know not what fate guided me, I was as backward to it now as she was when I proposed it to her before, and so in an ill hour we gave over the thoughts of it for the present; and, in a word, I grew more har-

dened and audacious than ever; and the success I had made my name as famous as any thief of my sort ever had been at Newgate and in the Old Bailey.

I had sometimes taken the liberty to play the same game over again, which is not according to practice, which, however, succeeded not amiss; but, generally, I took up new figures, and contrived to appear in new shapes every time I went abroad.

It was now a rumbling time of the year, and the gentlemen being most of them gone out of town, Tonbridge and Epsom, and such places, were full of people, but the city was thin, and I thought our trade felt it a little as well as others; so that at the latter end of the year I joined myself with a gang who usually go every year to Stourbridge fair, and from thence to Bury fair, in Suffolk. We promised ourselves great things here, but when I came to see how things were, I was weary of it presently; for except mere picking of pockets, there was little worth meddling with. Neither, if a booty had been made, was it so easy carrying it off, nor was there such a variety of occasion for business in our way as in London. All that I made of the whole journey, was a gold watch at Bury fair, and a small parcel of linen at Cambridge, which gave me occasion to take leave of the place. It was an old bite, and I thought might do with a country shop-keeper, though in London it would not.

I bought at a linendraper's shop, not in the fair, but in the town of Cambridge, as much fine Holland and other things as came to about seven pounds; when I had done I bade them be sent to such an inn, where I had taken up my abode the same morning, as if I were to lodge there that night.

I ordered the draper to send them home to me about such an hour, to the inn where I lay, and I would pay him his money. At the time appointed the draper sends the goods, and I placed one of our gang at the chamber door, and when the inn-keeper's maid brought the messenger to the door, who was a young fellow, an apprentice, almost a man, she tells him her mistress was asleep, but if he would leave the things, and call in about an hour, I should be awake, and he might have the money. He left the parcel very readily, and goes his way, and in about half an hour my maid and I walked off, and that very evening I hired a horse, and a man to ride before me, and went to Newmarket, and from thence got my passage in a coach that was not quite full to St Edmund's Bury; where, as I told you, I could make but little of my trade; only at a little country opera house I got a gold watch from a lady's side, who was not only intolerably merry, but a little fuddled, which made my work much easier.

I made off with this little booty to Ipswich, and from thence to Harwich, where I went into an inn, as if I had newly arrived from Holland, not doubting that I should make some purchase among the foreigners that came on shore there; but I found them generally empty of things of value, except what was in their portmanteau and Dutch hampers, which were generally guarded by footmen; however, I fairly got one of their portmanteaus one evening out of the chamber where the gentleman lay, the footman being fast asleep on the bed, and I suppose very drunk.

The room in which I lodged lay next to the Dutchman's, and having dragged the heavy thing with much ado out of the chamber into mine, I went out into the street, to see if I could find any possibility of carrying it off. I walked about a great while, but could see no probability either of getting out the things, or of conveying away the goods that were in it if I had opened it, the town being so small, and I a perfect stranger; so I was returning with a resolution to carry it back again, and leave it where I found it. Just in that very moment I heard a man make a noise to some people to make haste, for the boat was going to put off, and the tide would be spent. I called to the fellow: "What boat is it, friend," said I, "that you belong to?"—"Ipswich wherry, madam," says he.—"When do you go off?" says I.—"This moment, madam," says he; "do you want to go thither?"—"Yes," said I; "if you can stay till I fetch my things."—"Where are your things, madam," says he.—"At such an inn," said I.—"Well, I will go with you, madam," says he very civilly, "and carry them for you."—"Come away, then," says I, and takes him with me.

The people of the inn were in a great hurry, the packet-boat from Holland being just come in, and two coaches also with passengers from London for another packet-boat that was going off for Holland, which coaches were to go back next day with the passengers that were just landed. In this hurry, it was not much minded that I came to the bar and paid my reckoning, telling my landlady I had gotten my passage by sea in a wherry.

These wherries are large vessels, with good accommodation for carrying passengers from Harwich to London, and, though they are called wherries, which is a word used in the Thames for a small boat rowed with one or two men, yet these are vessels able to carry twenty passengers, and ten or fifteen tons of goods, and fitted to bear the sea. All this I had found out by inquiring the night before into the several ways of going to London.

My landlady was very courteous, took my money for my reckonings, but was called away, all the house being in a hurry, so I left her, took the fellow up to my chamber, gave him the trunk or portmanteau, for it was like a trunk, and wrapped it about with an old apron, and he went directly to his boat with it, and I after him, nobody asking us the least question about it; for as the drunken Dutch footman was fast asleep, and his master, with other foreign gentlemen, below at supper and very merry, so I went clean off with it to Ipswich, and going in the night, the people of the house knew nothing but that I was gone to London by the Harwich wherry, as I had told my landlady.

I was plagued at Ipswich, with the custom-house officers, who stopped my trunk, as I called it, and would open and search it. I was willing, I told them, they should search it, but my husband had the key, and he was not yet come from Harwich. This I said that if, upon searching it, they should find all the things to be such as properly belonged to a man rather than a woman, it should not seem strange to them. However, they being positive to open the trunk, I consented to have it broke open, that is to say, to have the lock taken off, which was not difficult.

They found nothing for their turn, for the trunk had been searched before, but they discovered several things very much to my satisfaction, as particularly a parcel of money in French pistoles, and some Dutch ducatoons or rix-dollars, and the rest were chiefly two perrywigs, wearing linen and razors, wash-balls, perfumes, and other useful things necessary for a gentleman, which all passed for my husband's, and so I was quit of them.

It was now very early in the morning, and not light, and I knew not well what course to take; for I made no doubt at all but I should be pursued in the morning, and perhaps be taken with the things about me, so I resolved upon taking new measures. I went publicly to an inn in the town with my trunk, as I called it, and having taken the substance out, I did not think the lumber of it worth my concern; however, I gave it to the landlady of the house, with a charge to take great care of it and lay it up safe till I should come again, and away I walked into the street.

When I was got into the town, a great way from the inn, I met with an ancient woman who had just opened her door, and I fell into chat with her and asked her a great many wild questions of things, all remote to my purpose and design; but in my discourse I found by her how the town was situated, that I was in a street that went out towards Hadleigh; but that such a street went towards the water-side, such a street went into the heart of the town, and, at last, such a street went towards Colchester, and so the London road lay there.

I had soon my ends of this old woman, for I only wanted to know which was the London road, and away I walked as fast as I could; not that I intended to go on foot either to London or to Colchester, but I wanted to get quietly away from Ipswich.

I walked about two or three miles, and then I met a plain countryman, who was busy about some husbandry work, I did not know what, and I asked him a great many questions first, not much to the purpose, but at last told him I was going for London; and the coach was full, and I did not get a passage, and asked him if he could not tell me where to hire a horse that would carry double, and an honest man to ride before me to Colchester, so that I might get a place there in the coaches. The honest clown looked earnestly at me, and said nothing for above half a minute; then scratching his poll, "A horse, say you, and to Colchester, to carry double? Why, yes, mistress—a-lack-a-day, you may have horses enough for money."

"Well, friend," said I, "that I take for granted; I don't expect it without money."

"Why, but mistress," says he, "how much are you willing to give?"

"Nay," says I again, "friend, I don't know what your rates are in the country here, for I am a stranger; but if you can get one for me, get it as cheap as you can, and I'll give you something for your pains."

"Why, that's honestly said, too," says the countryman.

"Not so honest neither," said I to myself, "if thou knewest all."

"Why, mistress," says he, "I have a horse that will carry double, and I don't much care if I go myself with you an you like."

"Will you?" says I; "well, I believe you are an honest man; if you will, I shall be glad of it; I'll pay you in reason."

"Why, look ye, mistress," says he; "I won't be out of reason with you then; if I carry you to Colchester, it will be worth five shillings for myself and my horse, for I shall hardly come back to-night."

In short, I hired the honest man and his horse; but when we came to a town upon the road, (I do not remember the name of it, but it stands upon a river,) I pretended myself very ill; but if he would stay there with me because I was a stranger, I would pay him for himself and his horse with all my heart. This I did because I knew the Dutch gentlemen and their servants would be upon the road that day, either in the stage-coaches or riding post, and I did not know but the drunken fellow, or somebody else that might have seen me at Harwich, might see me again; and so I thought that in one day's stop they would be all gone by.

We lay all that night there, and the next morning it was not very early when I set out, so that it was near ten o'clock by the time I got to Colchester. It was with no little pleasure that I saw the town where I had spent so many pleasant days, and I made many inquiries after the good old friends I had once had there, but could make little out: they were all dead or removed. The young ladies had been all married or gone to London; the old gentleman, and the old lady that had been my early benefactress, all dead; and, which troubled me most, the young gentleman, my first lover, and afterwards my brother-in-law, was dead; but two sons, men grown, were left of him, but they too were transplanted to London.

I dismissed my old man here, and stayed incognito for three or four days in Colchester, and then took a passage in a waggon, because I would not venture being seen in the Harwich coaches; but I need not have used so much caution, for there was nobody in Harwich but the woman of the house could have known me: nor was it rational to think that she, who saw me but once, and that by candle-light, should have ever discovered me.

I was now returned to London, and though by the accident of my last adventure I got something considerable, yet I was not fond of any more country rambles; nor should I have ventured abroad again if I had carried the trade on to the end of my days. I gave my governess a history of my travels; she liked the Harwich journey well enough, and in discussing of these things between ourselves she observed, that a thief being a creature that watches the advantages of other people's mistakes, it is impossible but that to one that is vigilant and industrious many opportunities must happen, and therefore she thought that one so exquisitely keen in the trade as I was would scarce fail of something wherever I went.

On the other hand, every branch of my story, if duly considered, may be useful to honest people, and afford a due caution to people of some

sort or other, to guard against the like surprises, and to have their eyes about them when they have to do with strangers of any kind, for 'tis very seldom that some snare or other is not in their way. The moral, indeed, of all my history, is left to be gathered by the senses and judgment of the reader. I am not qualified to preach to them; let the experience of one creature completely wicked, and completely miserable, be a storehouse of useful warning to those that read.

I am drawing now towards a new variety of the scenes of life. Upon my return, being hardened by a long race of crime and success unparalleled, at least in the reach of my own knowledge, I had, as I have said, no thoughts of laying down a trade which, if I was to judge by the example of others, must, however, end at last in misery and sorrow.

It was on the Christmas day following, in the evening, that, to finish a long train of wickedness, I went abroad to see what might offer in my way, when, going by a working silversmith's in Foster lane, I saw a tempting bait indeed, and not to be resisted by one of my occupation; for the shop had nobody in it that I could see, and a great deal of loose plate lay in the window, and at the seat of the man who usually, as I supposed, worked at one side of the shop.

I went boldly in, and was just going to lay my hand upon a piece of plate, and might have done it and carried it clear off, for any care that the men who belonged to the shop had taken of it; but an officious fellow in a house, not a shop, on the other side of the way, seeing me go in, and observing that there was nobody in the shop, comes running over the street and into the shop, and without asking me what I was, or who, seizes upon me and cries out for the people of the house.

I had not, as I said above, touched anything in the shop, and seeing a glimpse of somebody running over to the shop, I had so much presence of mind as to knock very hard with my foot on the floor of the house, and was just calling out too, when the fellow laid hands on me.

However, as I had always most courage when I was most in danger, so when the fellow laid hands on me, I stood very high upon it that I came in to buy half a dozen of silver spoons, and to my good fortune it was a silversmith's that sold plate as well as worked plate for other shops. The fellow laughed at that part, and put such a value upon the service that he had done his neighbour, that he would have it be that I came not to buy, but to steal; and raising a great crowd, I said to the master of the shop, who by this time was fetched home from some neighbouring place, that it, was in vain to make a noise, and enter into talk there of the case. The fellow had insisted that I came to steal, and he must prove it, and I desired we might go before a magistrate without any more words; for I began to see I should be too hard for the man that had seized me. The master and mistress of the shop were really not so violent as the man from t'other side of the way; and the man said, "Mistress, you might come into the shop with a good design for aught I know, but it seemed a dangerous thing for you to come into such a shop as mine is when you see nobody there, and I can-

not do so little justice to my neighbour, who was so kind to me, as not to acknowledge he had reason on his side; though, upon the whole, I do not find you attempted to take anything, and I really know not what to do in it." I pressed him to go before a magistrate with me, and if anything could be proved on me that was like a design of robbery, I should willingly submit, but if not, I expected reparation.

Just while we were in this debate, and a crowd of people gathered about the door, came by Sir T. B., an alderman of the city and justice of the peace, and the goldsmith hearing of it, goes out, and entreated his worship to come in and decide the case.

Give the goldsmith his due, he told his story with a great deal of justice and moderation, and the fellow that had come over and seized upon me, told his with as much heat and foolish passion, which did me good still, rather than harm.

It came then to my turn to speak, and I told his worship that I was a stranger in London, being newly come out of the north, that I lodged in such a place, that I was passing this street, and went into the goldsmith's shop to buy half a dozen of spoons (by good luck I had an old silver spoon in my pocket, which I pulled out), and told him I had carried that spoon to match it with half a dozen of new ones, that they might match some I had in the country.

That seeing nobody in the shop, I knocked with my foot very hard to make the people hear, and had also called aloud with my voice. 'Tis true, there was loose plate in the shop, but that nobody could say I had touched any of it, or gone near it; that a fellow came running into the shop out of the street, and laid hands on me in a furious manner, in the very moment while I was calling for the people in the house; that if he had really had a mind to have done his neighbour any service, he should have stood at a distance, and silently watched to see whether I had touched anything or no, and then have clapped in upon me, and taken me in the fact.

"That is very true," says Mr Alderman, and turning to the fellow that stopped me, he asked if it was true that I knocked with my foot. He said, "Yes, I had knocked, but that might be because of his coming."—"Nay," says the alderman, taking him short, "now you contradict yourself, for just now you said she was in the shop with her back to you, and did not see you till you came upon her." Now it was true that my back was partly to the street, but yet as my business was of a kind that required me to have my eyes every way, so I really had a glance of him running over, as I said before, though he did not perceive it.

After a full hearing, the alderman gave it as his opinion that his neighbour was under a mistake, and that I was innocent, and the goldsmith acquiesced in it too, and his wife, and so I was dismissed; but as I was going to depart, Mr Alderman said, "But hold, madam, "if you were designing to buy spoons, I hope you will not let my friend here lose his customer by the mistake." I readily answered, "No, sir, I'll buy the spoons still if he can match my odd spoon, which I brought for a pattern;" and the goldsmith showed me some of the very same fashion; so he weighed

the spoons, and they came to thirty-five shillings; so I pulled out my purse to pay him, in which I had near twenty guineas, for I never went without such a sum about me, whatever might happen, and I found it of use at other times as well as now.

When Mr Alderman saw my money, he said, "Well, madam, now I am satisfied you were wronged, and it was for this reason that I moved that you should buy the spoons, and stayed till you had bought them, for if you had not had the money to pay for them, I should have suspected that you did not come into the shop to buy, for indeed the sort of people who come upon those designs that you have been charged with, are seldom troubled with much gold in their pockets, as I see you are."

I smiled, and told his worship, that then I owed something of his favour to my money, but I hoped he saw reason also in the justice he had done me before. He said, "Yes, he had, but this had confirmed his opinion, and he was fully satisfied now of my having been injured." So I came off with flying colours, though from an affair in which I was at the very brink of destruction.

It was but three days after this, that not at all made cautious by my former danger, as I used to be, and still pursuing the art which I had so long been employed in, I ventured into a house where I saw the doors open, and furnished myself, as I thought verily without being perceived, with two pieces of flowered silks, such as they call brocaded silk, very rich. It was not a mercer's shop, nor a warehouse of a mercer, but looked like a private dwelling-house, and was, it seems, inhabited by a man that sold goods for the weavers to the mercers, like a broker or factor.

That I may make short of the black part of this story, I was attacked by two wenches that came open-mouthed at me just as I was going out at the door, and one of them pulled me back into the room, while the other shut the door upon me. I would have given them good words, but there was no room for it; two fiery dragons could not have been more furious than they were. They tore my clothes, bullied and roared as if they would have murdered me; the mistress of the house came next, and then the master, and all outrageous, for a while especially.

I gave the master very good words, told him the door was open, and things were a temptation to me, that I was poor and distressed, and poverty was what many could not resist, and begged him with tears to have pity on me. The mistress of the house was moved with compassion, and inclined to have let me go, and had almost persuaded her husband to it also, but the saucy wenches were run even before they were sent; and had fetched a constable, and then the master said he could not go back, I must go before a justice, and answered his wife that he might come into trouble himself if he should let me go.

The sight of the constable, indeed, struck me with terror, and I thought I should have sunk into the ground. I fell into faintings, and indeed the people themselves thought I would have died; when the woman argued again for me, and entreated her husband, seeing they had lost nothing, to let me go. I offered him to pay for the two pieces, whatever the value was, though I had

not got them, and argued that as he had his goods, and had really lost nothing, it would be cruel to pursue me to death, and have my blood for the bare attempt of taking them. I put the constable in mind that I broke no doors, nor carried any thing away; and when I came to the justice, and pleaded there that I had neither broken anything to get in, nor carried anything out, the justice was inclined to have released me; but the first saucy jade that stopped me, affirming that I was going out with the goods, but that she stopped me, and pulled me back as I was upon the threshold, the justice upon that point committed me, and I was carried to Newgate. That horrid place! My very blood chills at the mention of its name; the place where so many of my comrades had been locked up, and from whence they went to the fatal tree; the place where my mother suffered so deeply; where I was brought into the world, and from whence I expected no redemption but by an infamous death: to conclude, the place that had so long expected me, and which with so much art and success I had so long avoided.

I was now fixed indeed. It is impossible to describe the terror of my mind when I was first brought in, and when I looked round upon all the horrors of that dismal place. I looked on myself as lost, and that I had nothing to think of but of going out of the world, and that with the utmost infamy; the hellish noise, the roaring, swearing, and clamour, the stench and nastiness, and all the dreadful crowd of afflicting things that I saw there, joined together to make the place seem an emblem of hell itself, and a kind of an entrance into it.

Now I reproached myself with the many hints I had had, as I have mentioned above, from my own reason, from the sense of my good circumstances, and of the many dangers I had escaped, to leave off while I was well, and how I had withstood them all, and hardened my thoughts against all fear. It seemed to me that I was hurried on by an inevitable and unseen fate to this day of misery, and that now I was to expiate all my offences at the gallows, that I was now to give satisfaction to justice with my blood, and that I was come to the last hour of my life, and of my wickedness together. These things poured themselves in upon my thoughts in a confused manner, and left me overwhelmed with melancholy and despair.

Then I repented heartily of all my life past, but that repentance yielded me no satisfaction, no peace, no not in the least; because as I said to myself, it was repenting after the power of farther sinning was taken away. I seemed not to mourn that I had committed such crimes, and for the fact as it was an offence against God and my neighbour, but I mourned that I was to be punished for it. I was a penitent, as I thought, not that I had sinned, but that I was to suffer, and this took away all the comfort, and even the hope of my repentance in my own thoughts.

I got no sleep for several nights or days after I came into that wretched place, and glad I would have been for some time to have died there, though I did not consider dying as it ought to be considered neither. Indeed nothing could be filled with more horror to my imagination than

the company that was there. O! if I had been sent to any place in the world, and not to Newgate, I should have thought myself happy.

In the next place, how did the hardened wretches that were there before me triumph over me? "What! Mrs Flanders come to Newgate at last?" "What! Mrs Mary, Mrs Molly!" and after that plain "Moll Flanders!" They thought the devil had helped me, they said, that I had reigned so long; they expected me there many years ago, and was I come at last? Then they flouted me with my dejections, welcomed me to the place, wished me joy, bid me have a good heart, not to be cast down; things might not be so bad as I feared, and the like; then called for brandy, and drank to me; but put it all up to my score, for they told me I was but just come to the college, as they called it, and sure I had money in my pocket, though they had none.

I asked one of this crew how long she had been there? She said four months. I asked her how the place looked to her when she first came into it?—"Just as it did now to me," says she, "dreadful and frightful; that she thought she was in hell, and believes so still;" adds she, "but it is natural to me now, I don't disturb myself about it."—"I suppose," says I, "you are in no danger of what is to follow."—"Nay," says she, "for you are mistaken there I assure you, for I am under sentence, only I pleaded my belly; but I am no more with child than the judge that tried me, and I expect to be called down next sessions."

This calling down is calling down to their former judgment, when a woman has been respited for her belly, but proves not to be with child, or if she has been with child, and has been brought to bed.

"Well," says I, "and are you thus easy?"—"Ay," says she; "I cannot help myself; what signifies being sad? If I am hanged there's an end of me," says she, and away she turns dancing, and sings as she goes, the following piece of Newgate wit:

"If I swing by the string,
I shall hear the bell ring."

And then there's an end to poor Jenny."

I mention this because it would be worth the observation of any prisoner who shall hereafter fall into the same misfortune, and come to that dreadful place (Newgate), how time, necessity, and conversing with the wretches that are there, familiarises the place to them; how at last they become reconciled to that which at first was the greatest dread upon their spirits in the world, and are as impudently cheerful and merry in their misery as they were when out of it.

I cannot say, as some do, this devil is not so black as he is painted; for indeed no colours can represent the place to the life, nor any soul conceive aright of it but those who have been sufferers there. But how hell should become by degrees so natural, and not only tolerable, but even agreeable, is a thing unintelligible but by those who have experienced it as I have.

The same night that I was sent to Newgate, I sent the news of it to my old governess, who was surprised at it, you may be sure, and spent

* The bell at St Sepulchre's, which tolls upon execution day.

the night almost as ill out of Newgate as I did in it.

The next morning she came to see me, she did what she could to comfort me, but she saw that was to no purpose. However, as she said, to sink under the weight was but to increase the weight. She immediately applied herself to all the proper methods to prevent the effects of it, which we feared; and first she found out the two fiery jades that had surprised me. She tampered with them, persuaded them, offered them money, and, in a word, tried all imaginable ways to prevent a prosecution. She offered one of the wenches one hundred pounds to get away from her mistress and not to appear against me; but she was resolute, that though she was but a servant maid at three pounds a year wages or thereabouts, she refused it, and would have refused it, as my governess said she believed, if she had offered her five hundred pounds. Then she attacked the other maid; she was not so hard-hearted in appearance as the other, and sometimes seemed inclined to be merciful; but the first wench kept her up and changed her mind, and would not so much as let my governess talk with her, but threatened to have her up for tampering with the evidence.

Then she applied to the master, that is to say, the man whose goods had been stolen, and particularly to his wife, who, as I told you, was inclined at first to have some compassion for me. She found the woman the same still; but the man alleged he was bound by the justice that committed me to prosecute, and that he should forfeit his recognizance.

My governess offered to find friends that should get his recognizances off the file, as they call it, and that he should not suffer; but it was not possible to convince him that could be done, or that he could be safe any way in the world but by appearing against me. So I was to have three witnesses of the fact against me, the master and his two maids; that is to say, I was as certain to be cast for my life as I was certain that I was alive, and I had nothing to do but to think of dying and prepare for it. I had but a sad foundation to build upon, as I said before, for all my repentance appeared to me to be only the effect of my fear of death, not a sincere regret for the wicked life that I had lived, and which had brought this misery upon me, or for the offending my creator, who was now suddenly to be my judge.

I lived many days here under the utmost horror of soul. I had death as it were in view, and thought of nothing night and day but of gibbets and halters, evil spirits and devils. It is not to be expressed by words how I was harassed, between the dreadful apprehensions of death and the terror of my conscience reproaching me with my past horrible life.

The ordinary of Newgate came to me, and talked a little in his way, but all his divinity ran upon confessing my crime, as he called it (though he knew not what I was in for), making a full discovery and the like, without which he told me God would never forgive me; and he said so little to the purpose, that I had no manner of consolation from him. And then to observe the poor creature preaching confession and repent-

ance to me in the morning, and find him drunk with brandy and spirits by noon. This had something in it so shocking, that I began to nauseate the man more than his work, and his work too by degrees for the sake of the man, so that I desired him to trouble me no more.

I know not how it was, but by the indefatigable application of my diligent governess, I had no bill preferred against me the first sessions, I mean to the grand jury at Guildhall; so I had another month or five weeks before me, and without doubt this ought to have been accepted by me as so much time given me for reflection upon what was past, and preparation for what was to come; or, in a word, I ought to have esteemed it as a space given me for repentance, and have employed it as such; but it was not in me; I was sorry, as before, for being in Newgate, but had very few signs of repentance about me.

On the contrary, like the waters in the hollows of the mountains, which petrify and turn into stone whatever they are suffered to drop upon, so the continual conversing with such a crew of hell-hounds had the same common operation upon me as upon other people. I degenerated into stone; I turned first stupid and senseless, and then brutish and thoughtless, and, at last, raving mad as any of them were. In short, I became as naturally pleased and easy with the place as if, indeed, I had been bred up all my life-time there.

It is scarce possible to imagine that our natures should be capable of so much degeneracy as to make that pleasant and agreeable that in itself is the most complete misery. Here was a circumstance that I think it is scarce possible to mention a worse. I was as exquisitely miserable as it were possible for any one to be that had life, and health, and money to help them, as I had.

I had a weight of guilt upon me enough to sink any creature who had the least power of reflection left, and had any sense upon them of the happiness of this life, or the misery of another. I had at first some remorse indeed, but no repentance; I had now neither remorse or repentance; I had a crime charged on me, the punishment of which was death by our law; the proof so evident that there was no room for me so much as to plead not guilty. I had the name of an old offender, so that I had nothing to expect but death in a few weeks' time; neither had I myself any thoughts of escaping, and yet a strange lethargy of soul possessed me. I had no trouble, no apprehensions, no sorrow about me; the first surprise was gone; I was, I may well say I know not how; my senses, my reason, nay, my conscience were all asleep; my course of life for forty years had been a horrid complication of wickedness; whoredom and adultery, incest, lying, theft; and, in a word, everything but murder and treason had been my practice since the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, to threescore; and now I was ingulphed in the misery of punishment, and had an infamous death just at the door, and yet I had no sense of my condition, no thoughts of heaven or hell, at least that went any farther than a bare flying touch, like the stitch or pain that gives a hint and goes off; I neither had the heart to ask God's mercy or indeed to think of it, and in this

I think I have given a brief description of the completest misery on earth.

All my terrifying thoughts were past, the horrors of the place were become familiar, and I felt no more uneasinesses at the noise and clamours of the prison than they did who made that noise; in a word, I was become a mere Newgate-bird, as wicked and as outrageous as any of them; nay, I scarce retained the habit and custom of good breeding and manners, which all along till now ran through my conversation; so thorough a degeneracy possessed me, I was no more the same thing that I had been than if I had never been otherwise than what I was now.

In the middle of this hardened part of my life I had another sudden surprise, which called me back a little to that thing called sorrow, which indeed I began to be past the sense of before. They told me one night that there was brought into the prison late the night before three highwaymen, who had committed a robbery somewhere on the road to Windsor (Hounslow Heath, I think it was), and were pursued to Uxbridge by the country, and were taken there after a gallant resistance, in which I know not how many of the country people were wounded, and some killed.

It is not to be wondered that we prisoners were all desirous enough to see these brave topping gentlemen, that were talked up to be such as their fellows had not been known, and especially because it was said they would in the morning be removed into the press-yard, having given money to the head master of the prison to be allowed the liberty of that better part of the prison. So we that were women placed ourselves in the way that we would be sure to see them; but nothing could equal the amazement and surprise I was in, when the very first man that came out I knew to be my Lancashire husband, the same who lived so well at Dunstable, and the same who I afterwards saw at Brickill, when I was married to my last husband, as has been related.

I was struck dumb at the sight, and knew neither what to say or what to do. He did not know me, and that was all the present relief I had. I quitted my company, and retired as much as that dreadful place suffers anybody to retire, and cried vehemently for a great while. "Dreadful creature that I am," said I; "how many poor people have I made miserable! how many desperate wretches have I sent to the devil!" This gentleman's misfortunes I placed all to my own account. He had told me at Chester he was ruined by that match, and that his fortunes were made desperate on that account; for that, thinking I had been a fortune, he was run into debt more than he was able to pay, and that he knew not what course to take; that he would go into the army and carry a musket, or buy a horse and take a tour, as he called it; and though I never told him that I was a fortune, and so did not actually deceive him myself, yet I did encourage the having it thought that I was so, and by that means I was the occasion originally of his mischief.

The surprise of this thing only struck deeper into my thoughts, and gave me stronger reflections than all that had befallen me before. I grieved day and night for him, and the more, or

that they told me he was the captain of the gang, and that he had committed so many robberies that Hind or Whitney, or the Golden Farmer, were fools to him; that he would surely be hanged if there were no more men left in the country he was born in, and that there would be abundance of people come in against him.

I was overwhelmed with grief for him; my own case gave me no disturbance compared to this, and I loaded myself with reproaches on his account. I bewailed his misfortunes, and the ruin he was now come to, at such a rate, that I relished nothing now as I did before, and the first reflections I made upon the horrid, detestable life I had lived began to return upon me; and as these things returned, my abhorrence of the place I was in, and of the way of living in it, returned also; in a word, I was perfectly changed, and became another body.

While I was under these influences of sorrow for him came notice to me that the next sessions approaching there would be a bill preferred to the grand jury against me, and that I should certainly be tried for my life at the Old Bailey. My temper was touched before; the hardened wretched boldness of spirit which I had acquired in the prison abated, and conscious guilt began to flow in upon my mind. In short, I began to think (and to think, indeed, is one real advance from hell to heaven) all that hardened state and temper of soul, which I have said so much of before, is but a deprivation of thought; he that is restored to his power of thinking, is restored to himself.

As soon as I began, I say, to think, the first thing that occurred to me broke out thus: "Lord! what will become of me? I shall certainly die! I shall be cast to be sure, and there is nothing beyond that but death! I have no friends! what shall I do? I shall be certainly cast! Lord, have mercy upon me! what will become of me?" This was a sad thought, you will say, to be the first, after so long time that had started into my soul of that kind, and yet even this was nothing but fright at what was to come; there was not a word of sincere repentance in it all. However, I was indeed dreadfully dejected, and disconsolate to the last degree; and as I had no friend in the world to communicate my distressed thoughts to, it lay so heavy upon me, that it threw me into fits and swoonings several times a day. I sent for my old governess, and she, give her her due, acted the part of a true friend. She left me no stone unturned to pervert the grand jury; finding out one or two of the jurymen, talking with them, and endeavoured to possess them with favourable dispositions, on account that nothing was taken away, and no house broken, &c.; but all would not do—they were overruled by the rest. The two wenches swore home to the fact, and the jury found the bill against me for robbery and house-breaking; that is, for felony and burglary.

I sunk down when they brought me news of it, and after I came to myself again, I thought I should have died with the weight of it. My governess acted a true mother to me; she pitied me, she cried with me, and for me; but she could not help me; and to add to the terror of it, it was the discourse all over the house that I

should die for it; I could hear them talk it among themselves very often, and see them shake their heads, and say they were sorry for it, and the like, as is usual in the place; but still nobody came to tell me their thoughts; till at last one of the keepers came to me privately, and said with a sigh, "Well, Mrs Flanders, you will be tried on Friday (this was on Wednesday); what do you intend to do?"

I turned as white as a clout, and said, "God knows what I shall do, for my part I know not what to do."

"Why," says he, "I will not flatter you; I would have you prepare for death, for I doubt not you will be cast, and as they say you are an old offender, I doubt not you will find but little mercy. They say," added he, "your case is very plain, and that the witnesses swear so home against you, there will be no standing it."

This was a stab into the very vitals of one under such a burthen as I was oppressed with before, and I could not speak a word to him, good or bad, for a great while; but at last I burst out into tears, and I said to him, "Lord! Mr — what must I do?"

"Do!" says he; "send for the ordinary—send for a minister, and talk with him; for indeed Mrs Flanders, unless you have very good friends, you are no woman for this world."

This was plain dealing indeed, but it was very harsh to me, at least I thought it so. He left me in the greatest confusion imaginable, and all that night I lay awake; and now I began to say my prayers, which I had scarce done before since my last husband's death, or from a little while after; and truly I may well call it saying my prayers, for I was in such a confusion, and had such horror upon my mind, that though I cried and repeated several times the ordinary expression of "Lord have mercy upon me," I never brought myself to any sense of my being a miserable sinner, as indeed I was, and of confessing my sins to God, and begging pardon for the sake of Jesus Christ. I was overwhelmed with the sense of my condition, being tried for my life, and being sure to be condemned, and then I was as sure to be executed, and on this account I cried out all night, "Lord! what will become of me? Lord! what shall I do? Lord! I shall be hanged! Lord! have mercy upon me!" and the like.

My poor afflicted governess was now as much concerned as I, and a great deal more truly penitent, though she had no prospect of being brought to trial and sentence, not but that she deserved it as much as I, and so she said herself; but she had not done anything herself for many years, other than receiving what I and others stole, and encouraging us to steal it. But she cried and took on like a distracted body, wringing her hands, and crying out that she was undone; that she believed there was a curse from heaven upon her; that she should be damned; that she had been the destruction of all her friends; that she had brought such a one, and such one, and such one to the gallows; and there she reckoned up ten or eleven people, some of whom I have given an account of, that came to untimely ends; and that now she was the occasion of my ruin, for she had persuaded me to go

on when I would have left off. I interrupted her there. "No, mother, no," said I, "don't speak of that, for you would have had me left off when I got the mercer's money, and when I came home from Harwich, and I would not hearken to you; therefore you have not been to blame; it is I only have ruined myself; I have brought myself to this misery;" and thus we spent many hours together.

Well, there was no remedy; the prosecution went on, and on the Thursday I was carried down to the sessions house, where I was arraigned, as they called it, and the next day I was appointed to be tried. At the arraignment I pleaded "Not guilty," and well I might, for I was indicted for felony and burglary; that is for feloniously stealing two pieces of brocaded silk, value forty-six pounds, the goods of Anthony Johnson, and for breaking open his doors; whereas I knew very well that they could not pretend to prove I had broken the doors, or so much as lifted up the latch.

On the Friday I was brought to my trial. I had exhausted my spirits with crying for two or three days before, that I slept better the Thursday night than I expected, and had more courage for my trial than indeed I thought possible for me to have.

When the trial began, and the indictment was read, I would have spoke, but they told me the witnesses must be heard first, and then I should have time to be heard. The witnesses were the two wenches, a couple of hard-mouthed jades indeed; for the thing was truth in the main, yet they aggravated it to the utmost extremity, and swore I had the goods wholly in my possession; that I had hid them among my clothes; that I was going off with them; that I had one foot over the threshold when they discovered themselves, and then I put the other over; so that I was quite out of the house in the street with the goods before they took hold of me, and then they seized me, and brought me back again, and they took the goods upon me. The fact in general was all true, but I believe, and insisted upon it, that they stopped me before I had set my foot clear of the threshold of the house; but that did not argue much, for certain it was that I had taken the goods, and that I was bringing them away if I had not been taken.

But I had pleaded that I had stole nothing, they had lost nothing, that the door was open, and I went in, seeing the goods lie there, and with design to buy. If, seeing nobody in the house, I had taken any of them up in my hand, it could not be concluded that I intended to steal them, for that I never carried them farther than the door to look on them with the better light.

The court would not allow that by any means, and made a kind of jest of my intending to buy the goods, that being no shop for the selling of anything; and as to carrying them to the door to look at them, the maids made their impudent mocks upon that, and spent their wit upon it very much; told the court I had looked at them sufficiently, and approved them very well, for I had packed them up under my clothes, and was a going off with them.

In short, I was found guilty of felony, but acquitted of the burglary, which was but small comfort

to me, the first bringing me to a sentence of death, and the last would have done no more. The next day I was carried down to receive the dreadful sentence, and when they came to ask me what I had to say why sentence should not pass, I stood mute awhile; but somebody that stood behind me prompted me aloud to speak to the judges, for that they could represent things favourably for me. This encouraged me to speak, and I told them I had nothing to say to stop the sentence; but that I had much to say to bespeak the mercy of the court; that I hoped they would allow something in such a case, for the circumstances of it; that I had broken no doors, had carried nothing off, that nobody had lost anything; that the person whose goods they were pleased to say he desired mercy might be shown, which indeed he very honestly did; that at the worst it was the first offence, and that I had never been before any court of justice before; and, in a word, I spoke with more courage than I thought I could have done, and in such a moving tone, and though with tears, yet not with so many tears as to obstruct my speech, that I could see it moved others to tears that heard me.

The judges sat grave and mute, gave me an easy hearing, and time to say all that I would, but saying neither yes nor no to it, pronounced the sentence of death upon me; a sentence that was to me like death itself, which, after it was read, confounded me; I had no more spirits left in me, I had no tongue to speak, or eyes to look up either to God or man.

My poor governess was utterly disconsolate, and she that was my comforter before wanted comfort now herself, and sometimes mourning, sometimes raging, was as much out of herself (as to all outward appearance) as any mad woman in Bedlam. Nor was she only disconsolate as to me, but she was struck with horror at the sense of her own wicked life, and began to look back upon it with a taste quite different from mine, for she was penitent to the highest degree for her sins, as well as sorrowful for the misfortune; she sent for a minister too, a serious, pious, good man, and applied herself with such earnestness, by his assistance, to the work of a sincere repentance, that I believe, and so did the minister too, that she was a true penitent, and which is still more, she was not only so for the occasion, and at that juncture, but she continued so, as I was informed, to the day of her death.

It is rather to be thought of than expressed what was now my condition; I had nothing before me but present death; and as I had no friends to assist me, or to stir for me, I expected nothing but to find my name in the dead warrant which was to come down for the execution the Friday afterwards of five more and myself.

In the meantime my poor distressed governess sent me a minister, who at her request first, and at my own afterwards, came to visit me. He exhorted me seriously to repent of all my sins, and to dally no longer with my soul; not flattering myself with hopes of life, which, he said, he was informed there was no room to expect, but unfeignedly to look up to God with my whole soul, and to cry for pardon in the name of Jesus Christ. He backed his discourses with proper quotations of scripture, encouraging the greatest

sinner to repent, and turn from their evil way, and when he had done, he kneeled down and prayed with me.

It was now that for the first time I felt any real signs of repentance; I now began to look back upon my past life with abhorrence, and having a kind of view into the other side of time, the things of life, as I believe they do with everybody at such a time, began to look with a different aspect, and quite another shape, than they did before. The greatest and best things, the views of felicity, the joy, the griefs of life, were quite other things; and I had nothing in my thought but what was so infinitely superior to what I had known in life, that it appeared to me to be the greatest stupidity in nature to lay any weight upon anything, though the most valuable in this world.

The word "eternity" represented itself with all its incomprehensible additions, and I had such extended notions of it, that I know not how to express them. Among the rest, how vile, how gross, how absurd did every pleasant thing look; I mean, that we had accounted pleasant before; especially when I reflected that these sordid trifles were the things for which we forfeited eternal felicity.

With these reflections came in, of mere course, severe reproaches of my own mind for my wretched behaviour in my past life; that I had forfeited all hope of happiness in the eternity that I was just going to enter into, and, on the contrary, was entitled to all that was miserable, or had been conceived of misery; and all this with the frightful addition of its being also eternal.

I am not capable of reading lectures of instruction to anybody, but I relate this in the very manner in which things then appeared to me, as far as I am able, but infinitely short of the lively impressions which they made on my soul at that time; indeed, those impressions are not to be explained by words, or if they are, I am not mistress of words enough to express them. It must be the work of every sober reader to make just reflections on them, as their own circumstances may direct; and, without question, this is what every one, at some time or other, may feel something of; I mean a clearer sight into things to come than they had here, and a dark view of their own concern in them.

But I go back to my own case. The minister pressed me to tell him, as far as I thought convenient, in what state I found myself as to the sight I had of things beyond life; he told me he did not come as ordinary of the place, whose business is to extort confession from prisoners for private ends, or for the farther detecting of other offenders; that his business was to move me to such freedom of discourse as might serve me to disburthen my own mind, and furnish him to administer comfort to me, as far as was in his power; and assured me, that whatever I said to him should remain with him, and be as much a secret as if it was known only to God and myself; and that he desired to know nothing of me but as above, to qualify him to apply proper advice and assistance to me, and to pray to God for me.

This honest, friendly way of treating me unlocked all the sluices of my passions. He broke

into my very soul by it, and I unravelled all the wickedness of my life to him. In a word, I gave him an abridgment of this whole history; I gave him the picture of my conduct for fifty years in miniature.

I had nothing from him, and he in return exhorted me to a sincere repentance, explained to me what he meant by repentance; and then drew out such a scheme of infinite mercy, proclaimed from heaven to sinners of the greatest magnitude, that he left me nothing to say that looked like despair or doubting of being accepted, and in this condition he left me the first night.

He visited me again the next morning, and went on with his method of explaining the terms of divine mercy, which, according to him, consisted of nothing more, or more difficult, than that of being sincerely desirous of it, and willing to accept it; only a sincere regret for and hatred of those things I had done, which rendered me so just an object of divine vengeance. I am not able to repeat the excellent discourses of this extraordinary man. It is all I am able to do or say, that he revived my heart, and brought me into such a condition that I never knew anything of in my life before: I was covered with shame and tears for things past, and yet had at the same time a secret surprising joy at the prospect of being a true penitent, and obtaining the comfort of being a true penitent, I mean the hope of being forgiven; and so swift did such thoughts circulate, and so high did the impressions they had made upon me run, that I thought I could freely have gone out that minute to execution without any uneasiness at all, casting my soul entirely into the arms of infinite mercy as a penitent.

The good man was so moved also in my behalf, with a view of the influence which he saw these things had on me, that he blessed God he had come to visit me, and resolved not to leave me till the last moment, that is, not to leave visiting me.

It was no less than twelve days after our receiving sentence before any were ordered for execution, and then upon a Wednesday the dead warrant, as they call it, came down, and I found my name was among them. A terrible blow this was to my new resolutions, indeed my heart sunk within me, and I swooned away twice, one after another, but spoke not a word. The good minister was sorely afflicted for me, and did what he could to comfort me with the same arguments and the same moving eloquence that he did before, and left me not that evening so long as the prison-keepers would suffer him to stay in the prison, unless he would be locked up with me all night, which he was not willing to be.

I wondered much that I did not see him all the next day, it being but the day before the time appointed for execution, and I was greatly discouraged and dejected in my mind, and indeed almost sunk for want of that comfort which he had so often and with such success yielded me on his former visits. I waited with great impatience, and under the greatest oppression of spirits imaginable; till about four o'clock he came to my apartment, for I had obtained the favour by the help of money, nothing being to be done in that place without it, not to be kept in the

condemned hole, as they call it, among the rest of the prisoners who were to die, but to have a little dirty chamber to myself.

My heart leaped within me for joy when I heard his voice at the door, even before I saw him; but let any one judge what kind of emotion I found in my soul when, after having made a short excuse for his not coming, he showed me that his time had been employed on my account; that he had obtained a favourable report from the Recorder to the Secretary of State in my particular case, and, in short, that he had brought me a reprieve.

He used all the caution that he was able in letting me know a thing, which it would have been a double cruelty to have concealed, and yet it was too much for me; for as grief had overset me before, so did joy overset me now; and I fell into a much more dangerous swooning than I did at first, and it was not without great difficulty that I was recovered at all.

The good man having made a very christian exhortation to me not to let the joy of my reprieve put the remembrance of my past sorrow out of my mind, and having told me that he must leave me to go and enter the reprieve in the books and show it to the sheriffs, stood up just before his going away and in a very earnest manner prayed to God for me, that my repentance might be made unfeigned and sincere, and that my coming to back, as it were, into life again, might not be a returning to the follies of life, which I had made such solemn resolutions to forsake and to repent of them. I joined heartily in the petition, and must needs say I had deeper impressions upon my mind all that night for the mercy of God in sparing my life, and a greater detestation of my past sins, from a sense of that goodness which I had tasted in this case, than I had in all my sorrow before.

This may be thought inconsistent in itself, and wide from the business of this book particularly. I reflect that many of those who may be pleased and diverted with the relation of the wild and wicked part of my story may not relish this, which is really the best part of my life, the most advantageous to myself, and the most instructive to others; such, however will, I hope, allow me the liberty to make my story complete. It would be a severe satire on such to say they do not relish the repentance as much as they do the crime, and that they had rather the history were a complete tragedy, as it was very likely to have been.

But I will go on with my relation. The next morning there was a sad scene truly in the prison. The first thing I was saluted with in the morning was the tolling of the great bell at St Sepulchre's, as they call it, which ushered in the day. As soon as it began to toll a dismal groaning and crying was heard from the condemned hole, where there lay six poor souls who were to be executed that day, some for one crime, some for another, and two of them for murder.

This was followed by a confused clamour in the house among the several sorts of prisoners, expressing their awkward sorrows for the poor creatures that were to die, but in a manner extremely differing one from another; some cried for them, some huzzaed and wished them a good journey,—some damned and curst those that had

brought them to it, that is, meaning the evidence or prosecutors,—many pitying them, and some few, but very few, praying for them.

There was hardly room for so much composition of mind as was required for me to bless the merciful providence that had, as it were, snatched me out of the jaws of this destruction; I remained as it were dumb and silent, overcome with the sense of it, and not able to express what I had in my heart; for the passions on such occasions as these are certainly so agitated as not to be able presently to regulate their own motions.

All the while the poor condemned creatures were preparing to their death, and the Ordinary, as they call him, was busy with them, disposing them to submit to their sentence; I say, all this while I was seized with a fit of trembling as much as I could have been if I had been in the same condition, as to be sure the day before I expected to be. I was so violently agitated by this surprising fit that I shook as if it had been in the cold fit of an ague, so that I could not speak or look but like one distracted. As soon as they were all put into the carts and gone, which, however, I had not courage enough to see,—I say, as soon as they were gone I fell into a fit of crying involuntarily and without design, but as a mere distemper, and yet so violently, and it held me so long, that I knew not what course to take, nor could I stop or put a check to it, no, not with all the strength and courage I had.

This fit of crying held me near two hours, and as I believe, till they were all out of this world, and then a most humble, penitent, serious kind of joy succeeded; a real transport it was, or passion of joy and thankfulness, but still unable to give vent to it by words, and in this I continued most part of the day.

In the evening the good minister visited me again, and then fell to his usual good discourses. He congratulated my having a space yet allowed me for repentance, whereas the state of those six poor creatures was determined, and they were now past the offers of salvation; he earnestly pressed me to retain the same sentiments of the things of life that I had when I had a view of eternity; and at the end of all told me I should not conclude that all was over—that a reprieve was not a pardon—that he could not yet answer for the effects of it; however, I had this mercy, that I had more time given me, and that it was my business to improve that time.

This discourse, though very seasonable, left a kind of sadness on my heart, as if I might expect the affair would have a tragical issue still, which, however, he had no certainty of, and I did not, indeed, at that time question him about it, he having said that he would do his utmost to bring it to a good end, and that he hoped he might, but he would not have me secure; and the consequence proved that he had reason for what he said.

It was about a fortnight after this that I had some just apprehensions that I should be included in the next dead warrant at the ensuing sessions; and it was not without great difficulty, and last an humble petition for transportation, that I avoided it, so ill was I beholding to fame, and so prevailing was the fatal report of being an old offender, though in that they did not do me

strict justice, for I was not in the sense of the law an old offender, whatever I was in the eye of the judge; for I had never been before them in a judicial way before, so the judges could not charge me with being an old offender, but the recorder was pleased to represent my case as he thought fit.

I had now a certainty of life indeed; but with the hard conditions of being ordered for transportation, which indeed was a hard condition in itself, but not when comparatively considered; and therefore I shall make no comments upon the sentence, nor upon the choice I was put to; we shall all choose anything rather than death, especially when it is attended with an uncomfortable prospect beyond it, which was my case.

The good minister whose interest, though a stranger to me, had obtained me the reprieve, mourned sincerely for this part; he was in hopes, he said, that I should have ended my days under the influence of good instruction, that I might not have forgot my former distresses, and that I should not have been turned loose again among such a wretched crew as they generally are who are thus sent abroad; where, as he said, I must have more than ordinary secret assistance from the grace of God, if I did not turn as wicked again as ever.

I had not for a good while mentioned my governess, who had been dangerously sick, and being in as near a view of death by her disease as I was by my sentence, was a very great penitent. I say I have not mentioned her, nor, indeed, did I see her in all this time; but being now recovering, and just able to come abroad, she came to see me.

I told her my condition, and what a different flux and reflux of fears and hopes I had been agitated with. I told her what I had escaped, and upon what terms, and she was present when the minister expressed his fears of my relapsing again into wickedness; upon my falling into the wretched company that are generally transported. Indeed, I had a melancholy reflection upon it in my own mind, for I knew what a dreadful gang was always sent away together, and said to my governess that the good minister's fears were not without cause. "Well, well," says she, "but I hope you will not be tempted with so horrid example as that;" and as soon as the minister was gone she told me she would not have me discovered, for, perhaps, ways and means might be found to dispose of me in a particular way by myself, of which she would talk to me afterwards.

I looked earnestly at her, and thought she looked more cheerful than she usually had done, and I entertained immediately a thousand notions of being delivered, but could not, for my life, imagine the methods, or think of one that was feasible. But I was too much concerned in it to let her go from me without explaining herself, which, though she was very loath to do, yet, as I was still pressing, she answered me in a few words thus:—"Why, you have money, have you not? Did you ever know one in your life that was transported, and had a hundred pound in his pocket? I'll warrant ye, child," says she—

I understood her presently, but told her I saw no room to hope for anything but a strict execution of the order; and as it was a severity that was

esteemed a mercy, there was no doubt but it would be strictly observed. She said no more than this—"We will try what can be done," and so we parted.

I lay in the prison for fifteen weeks after this order for transportation was signed. What the reason of it was I know not; but at the end of this time I was put on board of a ship in the Thames, and with me a gang of thirteen as hardened vile creatures as ever Newgate produced in my time; and it would really well take up a history longer than mine to describe the degrees of impudence and audacious villainy that those thirteen were arrived to, and the manner of their behaviour on the voyage, of which I have a very diverting account by me, which the captain of the ship who carried them over gave me the minutes of, and which he caused his mate to write down at large.

It may, perhaps, be thought trifling to enter here into a relation of all the little incidents which attended me in this interval of my circumstances; I mean between the final order for my transportation and the time of my going on board the ship, and I am too near the end of my story to allow room for it; but something relating to me and my Lancashire husband I must not omit.

He had, as I have observed already, been carried from the master's side of the ordinary prison into the press-yard with three of his comrades, for they found another to add to them after some time. Here, for what reason I know not, they were kept in custody without being brought to trial almost three months. It seems they found means to bribe or buy off some of those who were expected to come in against them, and they wanted evidence some time to convict them. After some puzzle on this account, at first they made shift to get proof enough against two of them to carry them off; but the other two, of which my Lancashire husband was one, lay still in suspense. They had, I think, one positive evidence against each of them; but the law strictly obliging them to have two witnesses, they could make nothing of it; yet it seems they were resolved not to part with the men neither, not doubting but a farther evidence would at last come in; and in order to this, I believe publication was made that such prisoners being taken, any one who had been robbed by them might come to the prison and see them.

I took this opportunity to satisfy my curiosity, pretending that I had been robbed in the Dunstable coach, and that I would go to see the two highwaymen; but when I came into the press-yard I so disguised myself, and muffled my face up so, that he could see little of me, and consequently knew nothing of who I was; and when I came back I said publicly that I knew them very well.

Immediately it was rumoured all over the prison that Moll Flanders would turn evidence against one of the highwaymen, and that I was to come off by it from the sentence of transportation.

They heard of it, and immediately my husband desired to see this Mrs Flanders, that knew him so well and was to be an evidence against him, and accordingly I had leave given to go to him

I dressed myself up as well as the best clothes that I suffered myself ever to appear in there would allow me, and went to the press-yard, but had for some time a hood over my face. He said little to me at first, but asked me if I knew him. I told him, "Yes, very well;" but as I concealed my face, so I counterfeited my voice, that he had not the least guess at who I was.

He asked me where I had seen him; I told him between Dunstable and Brickill; but turning to the keeper that stood by, I asked him if I might be admitted to talk with him alone. "Yes, yes, as much as I pleased," and so very civilly withdrew.

As soon as he was gone, and I had shut the door, I threw off my hood, and bursting out into tears, "My dear," says I, "do you not know me?"

He turned pale and stood speechless, like one thunder-struck, and not able to conquer the surprise, said no more but this, "Let me sit down;" and sitting down by a table, he laid his elbow upon it, and leaning his head on his hand, fixed his eyes on the ground as one stupid.

I cried so vehemently on the other hand, that it was a good while ere I could speak any more; but after I had given some vent to my passion by tears, I repeated the same words, "My dear, do you not know me?"

At which he answered "Yes," and said no more a good while.

After some time continuing in the surprise, as above, he cast up his eyes towards me and said, "How could you be so cruel?"

I did not readily understand what he meant: and I answered, "How can you call me cruel? What have I been cruel to you in?"

"To come to me," says he, "in such a place as this, is it not to insult me? I have not robbed you, at least not on the highway."

I perceived by this that he knew nothing of the miserable circumstances I was in, and thought that, having got some intelligence of his being there, I had come to upbraid him with his leaving me; but I had too much to say to him to be affronted, and told him in a few words, that I was far from coming to insult him, but at best I came to condole mutually; that he would be easily satisfied that I had no such view, when I should tell him that my condition was worse than his, and that many ways.

He looked a little concerned at the general expression of my condition being worse than his; but with a kind of smile, looked a little wildly, and said, "How can that be? When you see me fettered, and in Newgate, and two of my companions executed already, can you say your condition is worse than mine?"

"Come, my dear," says I; "we have a long piece of work to do, if I should begin to relate, or you to hear, my unfortunate history: but if you are disposed to hear it, you will soon conclude with me that my condition is worse than yours."

"How is that possible," says he again, "when expect to be cast for my life the very next sessions?"

"Yes," says I, "it is very possible; when I shall tell you that I have been cast for my life three sessions ago, and am now under sentence of death, is not my case worse than yours?"

Then indeed he stood silent again, like one struck dumb, and after a little while he starts up. "Unhappy couple!" says he, "how can this be possible?"

I took him by the hand. "Come, my dear," said I, "sit down, and let us compare our sorrows: I am a prisoner in this very house, and in a much worse circumstance than you, and you will be satisfied I do not come to insult you, when I tell you the particulars." And with this we sat down together, and I told him so much of my story as I thought was convenient, bringing it at last to my being reduced to great poverty, and representing myself as fallen into some company that led me to relieve my distresses by a way that I had been utterly unacquainted with, and that they making an attempt at a tradesman's house, I was seized upon for having been but just at the door, the maid-servant pulling me in; that I neither had broke any lock, or taken anything away, and notwithstanding that, I was brought in guilty and sentenced to die; but that the judges having been made sensible of the hardship of my circumstances, had obtained leave to remit the sentence, upon my consenting to be transported.

I told him I fared worse for being taken in the prison for one Moll Flanders, who was a famous successful thief, that all of them had heard of, but none of them had ever seen. But that, as he knew well, was none of my name; but I placed all to the account of my ill-fortune, and that under this name I was dealt with as an old offender, though this was the first thing they had ever known of me. I gave him a long particular account of things that had befallen me since I saw him; but I told him I had seen him since he might think I had, and then gave him an account how I had seen him at Brickill; how furiously he was pursued, and how by giving an account that I knew him, and that he was a very honest gentleman, one Mr —, the hue-and-cry was stopped, and the high constable went back again.

He listened most attentively to all my story, and smiled at most of the particulars, being all of them petty matters, and infinitely below what he had been at the head of; but when I came to the story of Little Brickill, he was surprised. "And was it you, my dear," said he, "that gave the check to the mob that was at our heels there at Brickill?" — "Yes," said I, "it was I indeed; and then I told him the particulars which I had observed of him there." — "Why, then," said he, "it was you that saved my life at that time, and I am glad I owe my life to you, for I will pay the debt to you now, and I'll deliver you from the present condition you are in, or I will die in the attempt."

I told him by no means; it was a risk too great, not worth his running the hazard of, and for a life not worth his saving. — "It was no matter for that," he said; "it was a life worth all the world to him; a life that had given him a new life; for," says he, "I was never in real danger of being taken, but that time, till the last minute when I was taken." Indeed he told me his danger then lay in his believing he had not been pursued that way; for they had gone off from Hockly quite another way, and had come over the inclosed country into Brickill, not by

the road, and were sure they had not been seen by anybody.

Here he gave a long history of his life, which indeed would make a very strange history, and be infinitely diverting. He told me he took to the road about twelve years before he married me; that the woman which called him brother was not really his sister, or any kin to him, but one that belonged to their gang, and who, keeping correspondence with them, lived always in town, having good store of acquaintance; that she gave them perfect intelligence of persons going out of town, and that they had made several good booties by her correspondence; that she thought she had fixed a fortune for him when she brought me to him, but happened to be disappointed, which he really could not blame her for. That if it had been his good luck that I had had the estate, which she was informed I had, he had resolved to leave off the road, and live a retired sober life, but never to appear in public till some general pardon had been passed, or till he could for money have got his name into some particular pardon, that so he might have been perfectly easy, but that as it had proved otherwise he was obliged to put off his equipage, and take up the old trade again.

He gave me a long account of some of his adventures, and particularly one when he robbed the West Chester coaches, near Lichfield, when he got a very great booty; and after that, how he robbed five graziers in the West, going to Burford fair, in Wiltshire, to buy sheep; he told me he got so much money on those two occasions that if he had known where to have found me he would certainly have embraced my proposal of going with me to Virginia, or to have settled in a plantation on some other parts of the English colonies in America.

He told me he wrote two or three letters to me, directed according to my order, but heard nothing from me. This I indeed knew to be true; but the letters coming to my hand in the time of my latter husband, I could do nothing in it, and therefore chose to give no answer, that so he might rather believe they had miscarried.

Being thus disappointed, he said, he carried on the whole trade ever since; though when he had gotten so much money, he said, he did not run such desperate risks as he did before. Then he gave me some account of several hard and desperate encounters which he had with gentlemen on the road, who parted too hardly with their money, and showed me some wounds he had received; and he had one or two terrible wounds indeed, particularly one by a pistol bullet, which broke his arm, and another with a sword, which run him quite through the body, but that missing his vitals he was cured again. One of his comrades having kept with him so faithfully and so friendly as that he assisted him in riding near eighty miles before his arm was set, and then got a surgeon in a considerable city, remote from the place where it was done, pretending they were gentlemen travelling towards Carlisle; that they had been attacked on the road by highwaymen, and that one of them had shot him in the arm.

This he said his friend managed so well that they were not suspected, but lay still till he was

cured. He gave me also so many distinct accounts of his adventures that it is with great reluctance that I decline the relating them. But this is my own story, not his.

I then inquired into the circumstances of his present case at that time, and what it was he expected when he came to be tried; he told me that they had no evidence against him, or but very little, for that of the three robberies which they were all charged with it was his good fortune that he was but in one of them, and that there was but one witness to be had for that fact, which was not sufficient; but that it was expected some other would come in against him; that he thought, indeed, when he first saw me, I had been one that came of that errand; but that if nobody came in against him he hoped he should be cleared; that he had had some intimation that if he would submit to transport himself he might be admitted to it without a trial, but that he could not think of it with any temper, and thought he could much easier submit to be hanged.

I blamed him for that, and told him I blamed him on two accounts; first, because, if he was transported, there might be an hundred ways for him, that was a gentleman, and a bold enterprising man, to find his way back again, and perhaps some ways and means to come back before he went. He smiled at that part, and said he should like the last the best of the two, for he had a kind of horror upon his mind at his being sent over to the plantations, as the Romans sent condemned slaves to work in the mines; that he thought the passage into another state, let it be what it would, much more tolerable at the gallows, and that this was the general notion of all the gentlemen who were driven by the exigence of their fortunes to take the road; that at the place of execution there was at least an end of all the miseries of the present state; and, as for what was to follow, a man was, in his opinion, as likely to repent sincerely in the last fortnight of his life under the pressures and agonies of a jail, and the condemned hole, as he would ever be in the woods and wilderness of America; that servitude and hard labour were things gentlemen could never stoop to; that it was but the way to force them to be their own executioners afterwards, which was much worse; and that therefore he could not have any patience when he did but think of being transported.

I used the utmost of my endeavour to persuade him, and joined that known woman's rhetoric to it—I mean that of tears. I told him the infamy of a public execution was certainly a greater pressure upon the spirits of a gentleman than all the mortifications that he could meet with abroad could be; that he had at least in the other a chance for his life, whereas here he had none at all; that it was the easiest thing in the world for him to manage the captain of the ship, who were, generally speaking, men of good humour, and some gallantry; and a small matter of conduct, especially if there was any money to be had, would make way for him to buy himself off, when he came to Virginia.

He looked wishfully at me, and I thought I guessed at what he meant, that is to say, that he

had no money; but I was mistaken, his meaning was another way.

"You hinted just now, my dear," said he, "that there might be a way of coming back before I went; by which I understand you, that it might be possible to buy it off here. I had rather give 200*l.* to prevent going, than 100*l.* to be set at liberty when I came there."

"That is, my dear," said I, "because you do not know the place as I do."

"That may be," said he, "and yet I believe, as well as you know it, you would do the same, unless it is because, as you told me, you have a mother there."

I told him as to my mother she must be dead many years before; and as for my other relations that I might have there, I knew them not. That since my misfortunes had reduced me to the condition I had been in for some years, I had not kept up any correspondence with them, and that he would easily believe I should find but a cold reception from them if I should be put to make my first visit in the condition of a transported felon; that, therefore, if I went thither, I resolved not to see them, but that I had many views in going there, which took off all the uneasy part of it; and if he found himself obliged to go also, I should easily instruct him how to manage himself so as never to go a servant at all, especially since I found he was not destitute of money, which was the only friend in such a condition. He smiled, and said he did not tell me he had money. I took him up short, and told him I hoped he did not understand by my speaking that I should expect any supply from him if he had money; that on the other hand, though I had not a great deal, yet I did not want, and while I had any I would rather add to him than weaken him, seeing whatever he had I knew in the case of transportation he would have occasion for it all.

He expressed himself in a most tender manner upon that head. He told me what money he had was not a great deal, but that he would never hide any of it from me if I wanted it, and assured me he did not speak with any such apprehensions; that he was only intent upon what I had hinted to him; that here he knew what to do, but there he should be the most helpless wretch alive.

I told him he frightened and terrified himself with that which had no terror in it; that if he had money, as I was glad to hear he had, he might not only avoid the servitude supposed to be the consequence of transportation, but begin the world upon a new foundation, and that such a one as he could not fail of success in, with but the common application usual in such cases; that he could not but call to mind that it was what I had recommended to him many years before, and had proposed it for our mutual subsistence, and restoring our fortunes in the world; and I would tell him now, that to convince him both of the certainty of it, and of being fully acquainted of the method, and also fully satisfied in the probability of success, he should first see me deliver myself from the necessity of going over at all, and then that I would go with him freely and of my own choice, and perhaps carry enough with me to satisfy him that I did not

offer it for want of being able to live without assistance from him; but that I thought our mutual misfortunes had been such as were sufficient to reconcile us both to quitting this part of the world, and living where nobody could upbraid us with what was past, or we being in any dread of a prison, and without the agonies of a condemned hole to drive us to it; where we should look back on all our past disasters with infinite satisfaction, when we should consider that our enemies should entirely forget us, and that we should live as new people in a new world, nobody having anything to say to us, or we to them.

I pressed this home to him with so many arguments, and answered all his own passionate objections so effectually, that he embraced me, and told me that I treated him with such sincerity and affection as overcame him; that he would take my advice, and would strive to submit to his fate, in hope of having the comfort of my assistance, and of so faithful a counsellor, and such a companion in his misery; but still he put me in mind of what I had mentioned before, namely, that there might be some way to get off before he went, and that it might be possible to avoid going at all, which he said would be much better. I told him he should see, and be fully satisfied that I would do my utmost in that part too, and if it did not succeed, yet that I would make good the rest.

We parted, after this long conference, with such testimonies of kindness and affection as I thought were equal if not superior to that at our parting at Dunstable. And now I saw more plainly than before the reason why he declined coming at that time any farther with me towards London than Dunstable, and why when we parted there he told me it was not convenient for him to come any farther towards London, as he would otherwise have done.

I have observed that the account of his life, would have been made a much more pleasing history than this of mine; and indeed nothing in it was more strange than this part, viz. that he had carried on that desperate trade full-five-and-twenty years, and had never been taken; the success he had met with had been so very uncommon, and such, that sometimes he had lived handsomely and retired in one place for a year or two at a time, keeping himself and a man-servant to wait on him, and has often sat in the coffee houses, and heard the very people whom he had robbed give accounts of their being robbed, and of the places and circumstances, so that he could easily remember that it was the same.

In this manner it seems he lived near Liverpool at the time he unluckily married me for a fortune. Had I been the fortune he expected, I verily believe, as he said, that he would have taken up and lived honestly all his days.

He had, with the rest of his misfortunes, the good luck not to be actually upon the spot, when the robbery was done which they were committed for; and so none of the persons robbed could swear to him, or had anything to charge upon him; but it seems, as he was taken with the gang, one hard-mouthed countryman swore home to him; and they were like to have others come in according to the publication they had made, so that they expected more evidence

against him, and for that reason he was kept in hold.

However, the offer which was made to him of admitting him to transportation was made, as I understood, upon the intercession of some great person who pressed him hard to accept of it before a trial; and indeed, as he knew there were several that might come in against him, I thought his friend was in the right, and I lay at him night and day to delay it no longer.

At last, with much difficulty, he gave his consent, and as he was not therefore admitted to transportation in court, and on his petition as I was, so he found himself under a difficulty to avoid embarking himself, as I had said he might have done; his great friend, who was his intercessor for the favour of that grant, having given security for him that he should transport himself, and not return within the term.

This hardship broke all my measures, for the steps I took afterwards for my own deliverance were hereby rendered wholly ineffectual, unless I would abandon him, and let him go to America by himself; than which he protested he would much rather venture, although he was certain to go directly to the gallows.

I must now return to my own case. The time of my being transported according to my sentence was near at hand. My governess, who continued my fast friend, had tried to obtain a pardon, but it could not be done unless with an expense too heavy for my purse; considering that to be left naked and empty, unless I had resolved to return to my old trade again, had been worse than my transportation, because there I knew I could live, here I could not. The good minister stood very hard on another account to prevent my being transported also; but he was answered, that indeed my life had been given me at his first solicitations, and therefore he ought to ask no more. He was sensibly grieved at my going, because, as he said, he feared I should lose the good impressions which a prospect of death had at first made on me, and which were since increased by his instructions; and the pious gentleman was exceedingly concerned about me on that account.

On the other hand, I really was not so solicitous about it, as I was before, but I industriously concealed my reasons for it from the minister, and to the last he did not know but that I went with the utmost reluctance and affliction.

It was in the month of February that I was, with seven other convicts, as they called us, delivered to a merchant that traded to Virginia, on board a ship, riding, as they called it, in Deptford reach. The officer of the prison delivered us on board, and the master of the vessel gave a discharge for us.

We were for that night clapped under hatches, and kept so close, that I thought I should have been suffocated for want of air, and the next morning the ship weighed, and fell down the river to a place they call Bugby's Hole; which was done, as they told us, by the agreement of the merchant, that all opportunity of escape should be taken from us. However, when the ship came thither, and cast anchor, we were allowed more liberty, and particularly were permitted to come upon the deck, but not upon the quarter deck,

that being kept particularly for the captain, and for passengers.

When by the noise of the men over my head, and the motion of the ship, I perceived that they were under sail, I was at first greatly surprised, fearing we should go away directly, and that our friends would not be admitted to see us anymore; but I was easy soon after when I found they had come to anchor again, and soon after that we had notice given by some of the men where we were, that the next morning we should have the liberty to come upon deck, and to have our friends come and see us, if we had any.

All that night I lay upon the hard boards of the deck, as the other prisoners did, but we afterwards had the liberty of little cabins for such of us as had any bedding to lay in them; and room to stow any box or trunk for clothes and linen, if we had it, (which might well be put in) for some of them had neither shirt or shift, or a rag of linen or woollen, but what was on their backs, or a farthing of money to help themselves; and yet I did not find but they fared well enough in the ship, especially the women, who got money of the seamen for washing their clothes sufficient to purchase any common things that they wanted.

When the next morning we had liberty to come upon the deck, I asked one of the officers of the ship whether I might not have the liberty to send a letter on shore, to let my friends know where the ship lay, and to get some necessary things sent to me. This was, it seems, the boatswain, a very civil, courteous sort of a man, who told me I should have that or any other liberty that I desired, that he could allow me with safety. I told him I desired no other; and he answered that the ship's boat would go up to London the next tide, and he would order my letter to be carried.

Accordingly, when the boat went off, the boatswain came to me, and told me the boat was going off, and that he went in it himself, and asked me if my letter was ready; he would take care of it. I had prepared myself, you may be sure, pen, ink, and paper beforehand, and I had gotten a letter ready directed to my governess, and enclosed another for my fellow-prisoner, which, however, I did not let her know was my husband, not to the last. In that to my governess I let her know where the ship lay, and pressed her earnestly to send me what things I knew she had got ready for me for my voyage.

When I gave the boatswain the letter I gave him a shilling with it, which I told him was for the charge of a messenger or porter, which I entreated him to send with the letter as soon as he came on shore, that if possible I might have an answer brought back by the same hand, that I might know what was become of my things, "For, sir," says I, "if the ship should go away before I have them on board, I am undone."

I took care, when I gave him the shilling, to let him see that I had a little better furniture about me than the ordinary prisoners, for he saw that I had a purse, and in it a pretty deal of money, and I found that the very sight of it immediately furnished me with very different treatment from what I should otherwise have met with in the ship; for though he was very courteous indeed before, in a kind of natural compassion to me, as a wo-

man in distress, yet he was more than ordinarily so afterwards, and procured me to be better treated in the ship than, I say, I might otherwise have been, as shall appear in its place.

He very honestly had my letter delivered to my governess's own hands, and brought me back an answer from her in writing, and when he gave me the answer gave me the shilling again, "There," says he, "there's your shilling again too, for I delivered the letter myself."

I could not tell what to say, I was so surprised at the thing; but after some pause I said, "Sir, you are too kind; it had been but reasonable that you had paid yourself coach-hire then."

"No, no," says he, "I am overpaid. What, is the gentlewoman your sister?"

"No sir," said I, "she is no relation to me, but she is a dear friend, and the only friend I have in the world."

"Well," says he, "there are few such friends in the world. Why, she cries after you like a child."

"Aye," says I again, "she would give a hundred pounds, I believe, to deliver me from this dreadful condition I am in."

"Would she so?" says he; "for half the money, I believe, I could put you in a way how to deliver yourself." But this he spoke softly that nobody could hear.

"Alas! sir," said I, "but then that must be such a deliverance as, if I should be taken again, would cost me my life."

"Nay," said he, "if you were once out of the ship you must look to yourself afterwards, that I can say nothing to;" so we dropped the discourse for that time.

In the mean time my governess, faithful to the last moment, conveyed my letter to the prison to my husband, and got an answer to it, and the next day came down herself to the ship, bringing me in the first place a sea-bed, as they call it, and all its furniture, such as was convenient, but not to let the people think it was extraordinary. She brought with her a sea-chest; that is a chest such as are made for seamen, with all the conveniences in it, and filled with everything almost that I could want; and in one of the corners of the chest, where there was a private drawer, was my bank of money, that is to say, so much of it as I had resolved to carry with me; for I ordered a part of my stock to be left behind me to be sent afterwards in such goods as I should want when I came to settle; for money in that country is not of much use where all things are bought for tobacco, much more it is a great loss to carry it from hence.

But my case was particular; it was by no means proper to me to go thither without money or goods, and for a poor convict that was to be sold as soon as I came on shore, to carry with me a cargo of goods would be to have notice taken of it, and perhaps to have them seized by the public; so I took part of my stock with me thus, and left the other part with my governess.

My governess now brought me a great many other things, but it was not proper for me to look too well provided in the ship till I knew what kind of a captain we should have. When she came into the ship, I thought she would have died indeed, her heart sunk at the sight of me, and at the thoughts

of parting with me in that condition, and she cried so intolerably I could not for a long time have any talk with her.

I took that time to read my fellow-prisoner's letter, which however greatly perplexed me. He told me he was determined to go, but found it would be impossible for him to be discharged time enough for going in the same ship, and which was more than all, he began to question whether they would give him leave to go in what ship he pleased, though he did voluntarily transport himself; but that they would see him put on board such a ship as they should direct, and, that he would be charged upon the captain as other convict prisoners were; so that he began to be in despair of seeing me till he came to Virginia, which made him almost desperate, seeing that, on the other hand, if I should be there, if any accident of the sea, or of mortality should take me away, he should be the most undone creature there in the world.

This was very perplexing, and I knew not what course to take. I told my governess the story of the boatswain, and she was mighty eager with me to treat with him; but I had no mind to it, till I heard whether my husband, or fellow-prisoner, so she called him, could be at liberty to go with me or no. At last I was forced to let her into the whole matter, except only that of his being my husband. I told her I had made a positive bargain or agreement with him to go if he could get the liberty of going in the same ship, and that I found he had money.

Then I read a long lecture to her of what I proposed to do when I came there; how we could plant, settle, and in short, grow rich without any more adventures; and, as a great secret, I told her that we were to marry as soon as he came on board.

She soon agreed cheerfully to my going when she heard this, and she made it her business from that time to get him out of the prison in time so that he might go in the same ship with me, which at last was brought to pass, though with great difficulty, and not without all the forms of a transported prisoner convict, which he really was not yet, for he had not been tried, and which was a great mortification to him. As our fate was now determined, and we were both on board, actually bound to Virginia, in the despicable quality of transported convicts, destined to be sold for slaves, I for five years, and he under bonds and security not to return to England any more as long as he lived, he was very much dejected and cast down; the mortification of being brought on board, as he was, like a prisoner, piqued him very much, since it was first told him he should transport himself, and so that he might go as a gentleman at liberty. It is true, he was not ordered to be sold when he came there, as we were, and for that reason he was obliged to pay for his passage to the captain, which we were not; as to the rest he was as much at a loss as a child what to do with himself, or with what he had, but by directions.

In this condition I lay for three weeks in the ship, not knowing whether I should have my husband with me or no; and therefore not resolving how, or in what manner, to receive the honest boatswain's proposal, which indeed he

thought a little strange at first. At the end of this time behold my husband came on board; he looked with a dejected, angry, countenance; his great heart was swelled with rage and disdain; to be dragged along with three keepers of Newgate, and put on board like a convict, when he had not so much as been brought to a trial. He made loud complaints of it by his friends, for it seems he had some interest; but his friends got some check in their application, and were told he had had favour enough, and that they had received such accounts of him since the last grant of his transportation, that he ought to think himself very well treated that he was not prosecuted anew. This answer quieted him at once, for he knew too much what might have happened, and what he had room to expect. And now he saw the goodness of the advice to him, which prevailed with him to accept of the offer of a voluntary transportation; and after his chagrin at these hell-hounds, as he called them, was a little over, he looked a little composed, began to be cheerful, and as I was telling him how glad I was to have him once more out of their hands, took me in his arms, and acknowledged with great tenderness that I had given him the best advice possible. "My dear," says he, "thou hast twice saved my life, from henceforward it shall be all employed for you, and I will always take your advice."

Our first business was to compare our stock. He was very honest to me, and told me his stock was pretty good when he came to the prison, but the living there as he did in a figure like a gentleman, and which was ten times as much, the making of friends, and soliciting his case, had been very expensive; and in a word, all his stock that he had left was an hundred and eight pounds, which he had about him all in gold.

I gave him an account of my stock as faithfully, that is to say, of what I had taken to carry with me; for I was resolved, whatever should happen, to keep what I had left with my governess in reserve, that in case I should die what I had with me was enough to give him, and that which was left in my governess's hands would be her own, which she had well deserved of me indeed.

My stock which I had with me was two hundred and forty-six pounds, some odd shillings; so that we had three hundred and fifty-four pounds between us. But a worse gotten estate was scarce ever put together to begin the world with.

Our greatest misfortune as to our stock was that it was all in money, which every one knows is an unprofitable cargo to be carried to the plantations. I believe his was really all he had left in the world; as he told me it was; but I, who had between seven and eight hundred pounds in the bank when this disaster befel me, and who had one of the faithfulest friends in the world to manage it for me, considering she was a woman of no manner of religious principles, had still three hundred pounds left in her hand, which I reserved, as above. Besides, I had some very valuable things with me, as particularly two gold watches, some small pieces of plate, and some rings—all stolen goods. With this fortune, and in the sixty-first year of my age, I launched out into a new world, as I may call it, in the con-

dition (as to what appeared) only of a poor naked convict, ordered to be transported in respite from the gallows; my clothes were poor and mean, but not ragged or dirty, and none knew in the whole ship that I had anything of value about me.

However, as I had a great many good clothes, and linen in abundance, which I had ordered to be packed up in two great boxes, I had them shipped on board, not as my goods, but as consigned to my real name in Virginia; and had the bills of lading signed by a captain in my pocket, and in these boxes was my plate and watches, and everything of value, except my money, which I kept by itself in a private drawer in my chest, and which could not be found, or opened if found, without splitting the chest to pieces.

The ship began now to fill, several passengers came on board, who were embarked on no criminal account, and these had accommodations assigned them in the great cabin, and other parts of the ship, whereas we, as convicts, were thrust down below I know not where. But when my husband came on board I spoke to the boatswain who had so early given me hints of his friendship in carrying my letter; I told him he had befriended me in many things, and I had not made any suitable return to him, and with that I put a guinea into his hand. I told him that my husband was now come on board, that though we were both under the present misfortunes, yet we had been persons of a different character from that wretched crew that we came with, and desired to know of him whether the captain might not be moved to admit us to some conveniences in the ship, for which we would make him what satisfaction he pleased, and that we would gratify him for his pains in procuring this for us. He took the guinea, as I could see, with great satisfaction, and assured me of his assistance.

Then he told us he did not doubt but that the captain, who was one of the best humoured gentlemen in the world, would be easily brought to accommodate us as well as we could desire, and to make me easy told me he would go up the next tide on purpose to speak to the captain about it.

The next morning, happening to sleep a little longer than ordinary, when I got up and began to look abroad, I saw the boatswain among the men in his ordinary business. I was a little melancholy at seeing him there, and going forwards to speak to him he saw me, and came towards me, but not giving him time to speak first, I said, smiling, "I doubt, sir, you have forgotten us, for I see you are very busy."

He returned presently, "Come along with me, and you shall see;" so he took me into the great cabin, and there sat a good sort of a gentleman writing, and with a great many papers before him.

"Here," says the boatswain to him that was writing, "is the gentlewoman that the captain spoke to you of," and turning to me he said, "I have been so far from forgetting your business that I have been up at the captain's house, and have represented faithfully to the captain what you said relating to your being furnished with better convenience for yourself and your husband; and the captain has sent this gentleman,

who is mate of the ship, down with me, on purpose to show you everything, and to accommodate you fully to your content, and bid me assure you that you shall not be treated like what you were at first expected to be, but with the same respect as other passengers are treated."

The mate then spoke to me, and not giving me time to thank the boatswain for his kindness, confirmed what the boatswain had said, and added that it was the captain's delight to show himself kind and charitable, especially to those who were under any misfortunes, and with that he showed me several cabins built up, some in the great cabin, and some partitioned off, out of the steerage, but opening into the great cabin on purpose for the accommodation of passengers, and gave me leave to choose where I would. However, I chose a cabin which opened into the steerage, in which were very good conveniences to set our chest and boxes, and a table to eat on.

The mate then told me that the boatswain had given so good a character of me and of my husband, as to our civil behaviour, that he had orders to tell me that we should eat with him, if we thought fit, during the whole voyage, on the common terms of passengers; that we might lay in some fresh provisions if we pleased; or if not, he should lay in his usual store, and we should have share with him.

This was very reviving news to me, after so many hardships and afflictions as I had gone through of late. I thanked him, and told him the captain should make his own terms with us, and asked his leave to go and tell my husband of it, who was not very well, and was not yet out of his cabin. Accordingly I went, and my husband, whose spirits were still so much sunk with the indignity (as he understood it) offered him, that he was scarce yet himself, was so revived with the account I gave him of the reception we were likely to have in the ship, that he was quite another man, and new vigour and courage appeared in his very countenance. So true is it that the greatest of spirits, when overwhelmed by their afflictions, are subject to the greatest dejections, and are the most apt to despair and give themselves up.

After some little pause to recover himself, my husband came up with me, and gave the mate thanks for the kindness which he had expressed to us, and sent suitable acknowledgment by him to the captain, offering to pay him by advance whatever he demanded for our passage, and for the conveniences he had helped us to.

The mate told him the captain would be on board in the afternoon, and that he would leave all that till he came. Accordingly, in the afternoon, the captain came, and we found him the same courteous, obliging man, that the boatswain had represented him to be; and he was so well pleased with my husband's conversation, that in short he would not let us keep the cabin we had chosen, but gave us one that, as I said before, opened into the great cabin.

Nor were his conditions exorbitant, or the man craving and eager to make a prey of us, but for fifteen guineas we had our whole passage and provisions, and cabin, eat at the captain's table, and were very handsomely entertained.

The captain lay himself in the other part of

the great cabin, having let his round house, as they call it, to a rich planter, who went over, with his wife and three children, who eat by themselves. He had some other ordinary passengers, who quartered in the steerage; and as for the old fraternity, they were kept under the hatches while the ship lay there, and came very little on the deck.

I could not refrain acquainting my governess with what had happened; it was but just that she, who was so really concerned for me, should have part of my good fortune. Besides, I wanted her assistance to supply me with several necessities, which, before, I was shy of letting any body see me have, that it might not be public; but now I had a cabin, and room to set things in, I ordered abundance of good things for our comfort in the voyage, as brandy, sugar, lemons, &c. to make punch, and treat our benefactor the captain; and abundance of things for eating and drinking on the voyage; also a larger bed, and bedding proportioned to it; so that, in a word, we resolved to want nothing on the voyage.

All this while I had provided nothing for our assistance when she should come to the place, and begin to call ourselves planters, and I was far from being ignorant of what was needful on that occasion; particularly all sorts of tools for the planter's work, and for building, and all kind of furniture for our dwelling, which, if it be bought in the country, must necessarily cost there double the price.

So I discoursed that point with my governess, and she went and waited upon the captain, and told him that she hoped ways might be found out for her two unfortunate cousins, as she called us, to obtain our freedom, when we came into the country, and so entered into a discourse with him about the means and terms also, of which I shall say more in its place; and after thus sounding the captain, she let him know, though we were unhappy in the circumstances that occasioned our going, yet that we were not unfurnished to set ourselves to work in the country; and we resolved to settle and live there as planters, if we might be put in a way how to do it. The captain readily offered his assistance, told her the method of entering upon such a business, and how easy, nay, how certain it was for industrious people to recover their fortunes in such a manner. "Madam," says he, "'tis no reproach to any man in that country to have been sent over in worse circumstances than I perceive your cousins are in, provided they do but apply with diligence and good judgment to the business of that place when they come there."

She then inquired of him what things it was necessary we should carry over with us, and he, like a very honest as well as knowing man, told her thus: "Madam, your cousins must in the first place procure somebody to buy them as servants, in conformity to the conditions of their transportation, and then in the name of that person they may go about what they will. They may either purchase some plantations already begun, or they may purchase land of the government of the country, and begin where they please, and both will be done reasonably." She bespoke his favour in the first article, which he promised to her to take upon himself; and indeed, faith-

fully performed it; and as to the rest, he promised to recommend us to such as should give us the best advice, and not impose upon us, which was as much as could be desired.

She then asked him if it would not be necessary to furnish us with a stock of tools, and materials for the business of planting, and he said, "Yes, by all means," and then she begged his assistance in it. She told him she would furnish us with everything that was convenient, whatever it cost her. He accordingly gave her a long particular of things necessary for a planter, which, by his account, came to about fourscore or a hundred pounds; and in short, she went about as dexterously to buy them as if she had been an old Virginia merchant; only that she bought, by my direction, above twice as much of everything as he had given her a list of.

These she put on board in her own name, took his bills of lading for them, and endorsed those bills of lading to my husband, insuring the cargo afterwards in her own name, by her order; so that we were provided for all events and for all disasters.

I should have told you that my husband gave her all his whole stock of one hundred and eighty pounds, which, as I have said, he had about him in gold, to lay out thus, and gave her a good sum besides; so that I did not break into the stock which I had left in her hands at all, but after we had sorted out our whole cargo, we had yet near two hundred pounds in money, which was more than enough for our purpose.

In this condition, very cheerful, and indeed joyful at being so happily accommodated as we were, we set sail from Bugby's-Hole to Gravesend, where the ship lay about ten days more, and where the captain came on board for good and all.

Here the captain offered us a civility which, indeed, we had no reason to expect; namely, to let us go on shore, and refresh ourselves, upon giving our words in a solemn manner that we would not go from him, and that we would return peaceably on board again. This was such an evidence of his confidence in us, that it overcame my husband, who, in a mere principle of gratitude, told him, as he could not be in any capacity to make a suitable return for such a favour, so he could not think of accepting of it; nor could he be easy that the captain should run such a risk. After some mutual civilities, I gave my husband a purse, in which were eighty guineas, and he put it into the captain's hand: "There, captain," says he, "there is part of a pledge for our fidelity; if we deal dishonestly with you on any account, it is your own," and on this we went on shore.

Indeed the captain had assurance enough of our resolution to go, for that, having made such provision to settle there, it did not seem rational that we would chose to remain here, at the expense and peril of life, for such it must have been, if we had been taken again. In a word, we went all on shore with the captain, and supped together in Gravesend, where we were very merry, stayed all night, lay at the house where we supped, and came all very honestly on board again with him in the morning. Here we bought ten dozen bottles of good beer, some wine, some

fowls, and such things as we thought might be acceptable on board.

My governess was with us all this while, and went with us round into the Downs, as did also the captain's wife, with whom she went back. I was never so sorrowful at parting with my own mother as I was at parting with her, and I never saw her more. We had a fair easterly wind sprung up the third day after we came to the Downs, and we sailed from thence the 10th of April; nor did we touch any more at any place till, being driven on the coast of Ireland by a very hard gale of wind, the ship came to an anchor in a little bay near the mouth of a river, whose name I remember not, but they said the river came down from Limerick, and that it was the largest river in Ireland.

Here being detained by bad weather for some time, the captain, who continued the same kind, good-humoured man as at first, took us both on shore with him again: he did it now in kindness to my husband, who bore the sea very ill, and was very sick, especially when it blew so hard. Here we again bought in a store of fresh provisions, especially beef, pork, mutton and fowls, and the captain stayed to pickle up five or six barrels of beef, to lengthen out the ship's store. We were here not above five days, when the weather turning mild, and a fair wind, we set sail again, and in two and forty days came safe to the coast of Virginia.

When we drew near to the shore the captain called me to him, and told me that he found by my discourse, I had some relations in the place, and that I had been there before, and so he supposed I understood the custom in their disposing of the convict prisoners when they arrived.

I told him I did not, and that as to what relations I had in the place, he might be sure I would make myself known to none of them while I was in the circumstances of a prisoner, and that as to the rest, we left ourselves entirely to him to assist us, as he was pleased to promise he would do.

He told me I must get somebody in the place to come and buy us as servants, and who must answer for us to the governor of the country, if he demanded us.

I told him we should do as he should direct; so he brought a planter to treat with him, as it were, for the purchase of these two servants, my husband and me, and there we were formally sold to him, and went ashore with him. The captain went with us, and carried us to a certain house, whether it was to be called a tavern or not I know not, but we had a bowl of punch there made of rum, &c., and were very merry.

After some time the planter gave us a certificate of discharge, and acknowledgment of having served him faithfully, and we were free from him the next morning to go whither we would.

For this piece of service the captain demanded of us six thousand weight of tobacco, which he said he was accountable for to his freighter, and which we immediately bought for him, and made him a present of twenty guineas besides, with which he was abundantly satisfied.

It is not proper to enter here into the particulars of what part of the colony of Virginia we settled in, for divers reasons. It may suffice to

mention that we went into the great river of Potomac, the ship being bound thither; and there we intended to have settled at first, though afterwards we altered our minds.

The first thing I did of moment, after having gotten all our goods on shore, and placed them in a storehouse, or warehouse, which, with a lodging, we hired at the small place or village where we landed; I say, the first thing was to inquire after my mother, and after my brother (that fatal person whom I married as a husband, as I have related at large). A little inquiry furnished me with information that Mrs ———, that is, my mother, was dead; that my brother, or husband, was alive, which I confess I was not very glad to hear; but which was worse, I found he was removed from the plantation where he lived formerly, and where I lived with him, and lived with one of his sons in a plantation just by the place where we landed, and where we had hired a warehouse.

I was a little surprised at first, but as I ventured to satisfy myself that he could not know me, I was not only perfectly easy, but had a great mind to see him, if it was possible to do so without his seeing me. In order to that, I found out by inquiry a plantation where he lived, and with a woman of that place, whom I got to help me, like what we call a charwoman, I rambled about towards the place as if I had only a mind to see the country and look about me. At last I came so near that I saw the dwelling-house. I asked the woman whose plantation that was? She said it belonged to such a man, and looking out a little to our right hands, "There," says she, "is the gentleman that owns the plantation, and his father with him."

"What are their Christian names?" said I.

"I know not," said she, "what the old gentleman's name is, but his son's name is Humphry, and I believe," says she, "the father's is so too."

"You may guess, if you can, what a confused mixture of joy and fright possessed my thoughts upon this occasion, for I immediately knew that this was nobody else but my own son, by that father she showed me, who was my own brother.

I had no mask, but I ruffled my hood so about my face that I depended upon it, that after above twenty years' absence, and withal not expecting anything of me in that part of the world, he would not be able to know anything of me; but I need not have used all that caution, for the old gentleman was grown dim-sighted by some distemper which had fallen upon his eyes, and could but just see well enough to walk about, and not run against a tree, or into a ditch. The woman that was with me had told me that by a mere accident, knowing nothing of what importance it was to me.

As they drew near to us I said, "Does he know you, Mrs Owen?" so they called the woman.

"Yes," said she, "if he hears me speak he will know me; but he can't see well enough to know me or anybody else;" and so she told me the story of his sight as I have related.

This made me secure, and so I threw open my hood again, and let them pass by me. It was a wretched thing for a mother thus to see her own son, a handsome, comely young gentleman, in flourishing circumstances, and durst not make

herself known to him, and durst not take any notice of him. Let any mother of children that reads this consider it, and but think with what anguish of mind I restrained myself; what yearnings of soul I had in me to embrace him, and weep over him; and how I thought all my entrails turned within me, that my very bowels moved, and I knew not what to do; as I now know not how to express those agonies. When they went from me I stood gazing and trembling, and looking after him as long as I could see him; then sitting down on the grass, just at a place I had marked, I made as if I lay down to rest me, but turned me from her, and lying on my face, wept, and kissed the ground he had set his foot on.

I could not conceal my disorder so much from the woman but that she perceived it, and thought I was not well, which I was obliged to pretend was true; upon which she pressed me to rise, the ground being damp and dangerous, which I did accordingly, and walked away.

As I was going back again, and still talking of this gentleman and his son, a new occasion of melancholy offered itself thus. The woman began, as if she would tell me a story to divert me: "There goes," says she, "a very odd tale among the neighbours where this gentleman formerly lived."

"What was that?" said I.

"Why," says she, "that old gentleman going to England when he was a young man, fell in love with a young lady there, one of the finest women that ever was seen here, and married her, and brought her over hither to his mother, who was then living. He lived here several years with her," continued she, "and had several children by her, of which the young gentleman that was with him now was one; but after some time the old gentlewoman (his mother) talking to her of something relating to herself when she was in England, and of her circumstances there, which were bad enough, the daughter-in-law began to be very much surprised and uneasy; and in short, examining farther into things, it appeared past all contradiction that she (the old gentlewoman) was her own mother; and that consequently that son was his wife's own brother, which struck the whole family with horror, and put them into such a state of confusion that it had almost ruined them all. The young woman would not live with him (the son); her brother and husband for a time went distracted, and at last the young woman went away for England, and has never been heard of since."

It is easy to believe that I was strangely affected with this story; but it is impossible to describe the nature of my disturbance. I seemed astonished at the story, and asked her a thousand questions about the particulars, which I found she was thoroughly acquainted with. At last I began to inquire into the circumstances of the family; how the old gentlewoman (I mean my mother) died, and how she had left what she had; for my mother had promised me very solemnly, that when she died, she would do something for me, and leave it so as that, if I was living, I should one way or other come at it, without its being in the power of her son (my brother and my husband) to prevent it.

She told me she did not know exactly how it

was ordered; but she had been told that my mother had left a sum of money, and had tied her plantation for the payment of it, to be made good to the daughter, if ever she could be heard of, either in England or elsewhere; and that the trust was left with this son, who was the person that we saw with his father.

This was news too good for me to make light of, and you may be sure filled my heart with a thousand thoughts, what course I should take, how, and when, and in what manner I should make myself known, or whether I should ever make myself known or no.

Here was a perplexity that I had not indeed skill to manage myself in, neither knew I what course to take. It lay heavy upon my mind night and day, I could neither sleep or converse, so that my husband perceived it, and wondered what ailed me, strove to divert me, but it was all to no purpose. He pressed me to tell him what it was troubled me, but I put it off, till at last importuning me continually, I was forced to form a story, which yet had a plain truth to lay it upon too. I told him I was troubled because I found we must shift our quarters, and alter our scheme of settling, for that I found I should be known, if I staid in that part of the country; for that my mother being dead, several of my relations were come into that part where we then were, and that I must either discover myself to them, which in our present circumstances was not proper on many accounts, or remove; and which to do I knew not; and that this it was that made me so melancholy and so thoughtful.

He joined me in this, that it was by no means proper for me to make myself known to anybody in the circumstances in which we then were; and he told me he would be willing to remove to any other part of the country, or even into any other country, if I thought fit. But now I had another difficulty, which was, that if I removed to any other colony, I might put myself out of the way of ever making a due search after those effects which my mother had left. Again, I could never so much as think of breaking the secret of my former marriage to my new husband. It was not a story, as I thought that would bear telling, nor could I tell what might be the consequence of it; and it was impossible to search into the bottom of the thing without making it public all over the country, as well who I was as what I now was also.

In this perplexity I continued a great while, and this made my spouse very uneasy; for he found me perplexed, and yet thought I was not open with him, and did not let him into every part of my grievances; and he would often say he wondered what he had done that I would not trust him with whatever it was, especially if it was grievous and afflicting. The truth is, he ought to have been trusted with everything, for no man in the world could deserve better of a wife; but this was a thing I knew not how to open to him, and yet having no one to disclose any part of it to, the burthen was too heavy for my mind; for let them say what they please of our sex not being able to keep a secret, my life is a plain conviction to me of the contrary. But, be it our sex or the man's sex, a secret of moment should always have a confidant, a bosom friend,

to whom we may communicate the joy of it or the grief of it, be it which it will, or it will be a double weight upon the spirits, and perhaps become even insupportable in itself; and this I appeal to all human testimony for the truth of.

This was the cause why many times, men as well as women, and men of the greatest and best qualities otherwise, yet have found themselves weak in this part, and have not been able to bear the weight of a secret joy or of a secret sorrow, but have been obliged to disclose it, even for the mere giving vent to themselves, and to unbend the mind, oppressed with the load and weight which attended it. Nor was this any token of folly and thoughtlessness at all, but a natural consequence of the thing; and such people, had they struggled longer with the oppression, would certainly have told it in their sleep, and disclosed the secret, let it have been of what fatal nature soever, without regard to the person to whom it might be exposed. This necessity of nature is a thing which works sometimes with such vehemence in the minds of those who are guilty of any atrocious villany, such as secret murder in particular, that they had been obliged to discover it, though the consequences would necessarily be their own destruction. Now, though it may be true that the divine justice ought to have the glory of these discoveries and confessions, yet it is as certain that Providence, which ordinarily works by the hands of nature, makes use here of the same natural causes to produce those extraordinary effects.

I could give several remarkable instances of this in my long conversation with crimes and with criminals. I knew one fellow, that, while I was a prisoner in Newgate, was one of those they called then *Night-Flyers*. I know not what other word they may have understood it by since, but he was one who, by connivance, was permitted to go abroad every evening, when he played his pranks, and furnished those honest people they call thief-catchers with business to find out next day, and restore for a reward what they stole the evening before. This fellow was as sure to talk in his sleep all that he had done, and every step he had taken, and what he had stolen, and where, as sure as if he had been engaged to tell it waking, and as if there was no harm or danger in it; and therefore he was obliged, after he had been out, to lock himself up, or be locked up by some of the keepers that had him in fee, that nobody should hear him; but, on the other hand, if he had told all the particulars, and given a full account of his rambles and success to any comrade, any brother thief, or to his employers, as I may fairly call them, then all was well with him, and he slept as quietly as other people.

As the publishing this account of my life, is for the sake of the just moral of every part of it, and for instruction, caution, warning, and improvement to every reader, so this will not pass, I hope, for an unnecessary digression concerning some people being obliged to disclose the greatest secrets either of their own or other people's affairs.

Under the certain oppression of this weight upon my mind, I laboured in the case I have been naming; and the only relief I found for it, was to

let my husband into so much of it as I thought would convince him of the necessity there was for us to think of settling in some other part of the world, and the next consideration before us was, which part of the English settlements we should go to.

My husband was a perfect stranger to the country, and had not yet so much as a geographical knowledge of the situation of the several places; and I, that, till I wrote this, did not know what the word geographical signified, had only a general knowledge from long conversation with people that came from or went to several places; but this I knew, that Maryland, Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, New York, and New England, lay all north of Virginia, and that they were consequently all colder climates, to which, for that very reason, I had an aversion; for that as I naturally loved warm weather, so now I grew into years, I had a stronger inclination to shun a cold climate. I therefore considered of going to Carolina, which is the only southern colony of the English on the continent of America; and hither I proposed to go; and the rather, because I might with great ease come from thence at any time, when it might be proper to inquire after my mother's effects, and to make myself known enough to demand them.

With this resolution, I proposed to my husband our going away from where we were, and carrying all our effects with us to Carolina, where we resolved to settle, for my husband readily agreed to the first part, viz. :—that it was not at all proper to stay where we were, since I had assured him we should be known there, and the rest I effectually concealed from him.

But now I found a new difficulty upon me. The main affair grew heavy upon my mind still. I could not think of going out of the country, without somehow or other making inquiry into the grand affair of what my mother had done for me, nor could I with any patience bear the thought of going away and not making myself known to my old husband (brother), or to my child, his son, only I would fain have had this done without my new husband having any knowledge of it, or they having any knowledge of him, or that I had such a thing as a husband.

I cast about innumerable ways in my thoughts how this might be done. I would gladly have sent my husband away to Carolina, with all our goods, and have come after myself, but this was impracticable. He would never stir without me, being himself perfectly unacquainted with the country, and with the methods of settling there, or anywhere else.

Then I thought we would both go first with part of our goods, and that when we were settled, I should come back to Virginia and fetch the remainder; but even then I knew he would never part with me, and be left there to go alone. The case was plain: he was bred a gentleman, and of consequence was not only unacquainted, but indolent, and when we did settle would rather go out into the woods with his gun, which they call there hunting, and which is the ordinary work of the Indians, and which they do as servants; I said he would much rather do this, than attend to the natural business of his plantation.

These were, therefore, difficulties insurmountable, and such as I knew not what to do in. I had such strong impressions on my mind about discovering myself to my brother, formerly my husband, that I could not withstand them; and the rather, because it ran constantly in my thoughts, that if I did not do it while he lived, I might in vain endeavour to convince my son afterward that I was really the same person, and that I was his mother, and so might both lose the assistance and comfort of the relation, and the benefit of whatever it was my mother had left me; and yet, on the other hand, I could never think it proper to discover myself to them in the circumstances I was in; as well relating to the having a husband with me, as to my being brought over by a legal transportation as a criminal; on both which accounts it was absolutely necessary for me to remove from the place where I was, and come again to him, as from another place, and in another figure.

Upon these considerations I went on with telling my husband the absolute necessity there was of our not settling in Potowmac river, at least that we should be presently made public there, whereas if we went to any other place in the world, we should come in with as much reputation as any family that came to plant. That as it was always agreeable to the inhabitants to have families come among them to plant who brought substance with them, either to purchase plantations or begin new ones, so we should be sure of a kind, agreeable reception, and that without any possibility of a discovery of our circumstances.

I told him, too, that as I had several relations in the place where he was, and that I durst not now let myself be known to them, because they would soon come to know the occasion of my coming over, which would be to expose myself to the last degree; so I had reason to believe that my mother who died here had left me something, and perhaps something considerable, which it might be very well worth my while to inquire after; but that this too could not be done without exposing us publicly, unless we went from hence; and then, wherever we settled, I might come, as it were, to visit and to see my brother and nephews, make myself known, inquire after what was my due, be received with respect, and at the same time have justice done me; whereas, if I did it now, I could expect nothing but with trouble, such as exacting it by force, receiving it with curses and reluctance, and with all kinds of affronts, which he would perhaps not bear to see. That in case of being obliged to produce legal proofs of being really her daughter, I might be at a loss, be obliged to have recourse to England, and, it might be, to fail at last, and so lose it.

With these arguments, and having thus acquainted my husband with the whole secret so far as was needful to him, we resolved to go and seek a settlement in some other colony; and at first thoughts, Carolina was the place we pitched upon.

In order to this we began to make inquiry for vessels going to Carolina, and in a very little while got information, that on the other side the bay, as they call it, namely, in Maryland, there

was a ship which came from Carolina, laden with rice and other goods, and was going back again thither, and from thence to Jamaica, with provisions. On this news we hired a sloop to take in our goods, and taking, as it were, a final farewell of Potowmac river, we went with all our cargo over to Maryland.

This was a long and unpleasant voyage, and my spouse said it was worse to him than all the voyage from England, because the weather was but indifferent, the water rough, and the vessel small and inconvenient; in the next place, we were full a hundred miles up Potowmac river, in a part which they call Westmoreland county; and as the river is by far the greatest in Virginia, and I have heard say it is the greatest river in the world that falls into another river, and not directly into the sea, so we had bad weather in it, and were frequently in great danger; for though they call it but a river, it is frequently so broad, that when we were in the middle we could not see land on either side for many leagues together. Then we had the great river, or bay of Chesapeake, to cross, which is, where the river Potowmac falls into it, near thirty miles broad, and we entered more great vast waters, whose names I know not, so that our voyage was full two hundred miles, in a poor sorry sloop, with all our treasure; and if any accident had happened to us, we might have been very miserable, supposing we had lost our goods and saved our lives only, and had been then left naked and destitute, and in a wild strange place, not having one friend or acquaintance in that part of the world. The very thought of it gives me some horror, even since the danger is past.

Well, we came to the place in five days sailing, I think they call it Philips's Point; and behold, when we came thither, the ship bound to Carolina was loaded and gone away but three days before. This was a disappointment; but, however, I, that was to be discouraged with nothing, told my husband that since we could not get a passage to Carolina, and that the country we were in was very fertile and good, we would, if he liked it, see if we could find out anything for our turn where we were; and that, if he liked things, we would settle here.

We immediately went on shore, but found no convenience, just at that place, either for our being on shore or preserving our goods on shore, but were directed by a very honest Quaker, who we found there, to go to a place about sixty miles east, that is to say, nearer the mouth of the Bay, where he said he lived, and where we should be accommodated, either to plant, or to wait for any other place to plant in that might be more convenient; and he invited us with so much kindness and simple honesty, that we agreed to go, and the Quaker himself went with us.

Here we bought two servants, viz. an English woman servant just come on shore from a ship of Liverpool, and a negro man servant, things absolutely necessary for all people that pretended to settle in that country. This honest Quaker was very helpful to us, and when we came to the place that he proposed to us found us out a convenient storehouse for our goods, and lodging for ourselves and our servants; and about two

months or thereabouts afterwards by his direction we took a large piece of land from the governor of that country, in order to form our plantation, and so we laid the thoughts of going to Carolina wholly aside, having been very well received here, and accommodated with a convenient lodging, till we could prepare things and have land enough cured, and timber and materials provided for building us a house, all which we managed by the direction of the Quaker; so that in one year's time we had near fifty acres of land cleared, part of it enclosed, and some of it planted with tobacco, though not much; besides, we had garden ground, and corn sufficient to help to supply our servants with roots, and herbs, and bread.

And now I persuaded my husband to let me go over the Bay again, and inquire after my friends; he was the willinger to consent to it now because he had business upon his hands sufficient to employ him, besides his gun to divert him, which they call hunting there, and which he greatly delighted in; and indeed we used to look at one another, sometimes with a great deal of pleasure, reflecting how much better that was, not than Newgate only, but than the most prosperous of our circumstances in the wicked trade that we had both been carrying on.

Our affairs were in a very good posture; we purchased of the proprietors of the colony as much land for thirty-five pounds, paid in ready money, as would make a sufficient plantation to employ between fifty and sixty servants, and which, being well improved, would be sufficient to us as long as we could either of us live; and as for children I was past the prospect of anything of that kind.

But our good fortune did not end here; I went, as I have said, over the Bay, to the place where my brother (once a husband) lived; but I did not go to the same village where I was before, but went up another great river, on the east side of the river Potowmack, called Rapahannock river, and by this means came on the back of his plantation, which was large, and by the help of a navigable creek, or little river, that run into Rapahannock, I came very near it.

I was now fully resolved to go up, point blank, to my brother (husband), and to tell him who I was; but not knowing what temper I might find him in, or how much out of temper rather, I might make him by such a rash visit. I resolved to write a letter to him first, to let him know who I was, and that I was come not to give him any trouble upon the old relation, which I hoped was entirely forgot, but that I applied to him as a sister to a brother, desiring his assistance in the case of that provision which our mother at her decease had left for my support, and which I did not doubt but he would do me justice in; especially considering that I was come thus far to look after it.

I said some very tender kind things in the letter about his son, which I told him he knew to be my own child, and that as I was guilty of nothing in marrying him any more than he was in marrying me, neither of us having then known our being at all related to one another, so I hoped he would allow me the most passionate desire of once seeing my one and only child, and

of showing something of the infirmities of a mother in preserving a violent affection for him who had never been able to retain any thought of me one way or other.

I did believe that, having received this letter, he would immediately give it to his son to read, I having understood his eyes being so dim that he could not see to read it. But it fell out better than so, for as his sight was dim, so he did allow his son to open all letters that came to his hand for him; and the old gentleman being from home, or out of the way, when my messenger came, my letter came directly to my son's hand, and he opened and read it.

He called the messenger in after some little stay, and asked him where the person was who gave him the letter. The messenger told him the place, which was about seven miles off; so he bid him stay, and ordering a horse to be got ready and two servants, away he came to me with the messenger.

Let any one judge the consternation I was in when my messenger came back, and told me the old gentleman was not at home, but his son was come along with him, and was just coming up to me. I was perfectly confounded, for I knew not whether it was peace or war, nor could I tell how to behave. However, I had but a very few moments to think, for my son was at the heels of the messenger, and coming up into my lodgings, asked the fellow at the door something, I suppose it was, for I did not hear it so as to understand it, which was the gentlewoman that sent for him, for the messenger said, "There she is, sir;" at which he comes directly up to me, kisses me, took me in his arms, and embraced me with so much passion, that he could not speak; but I could feel his breast heave and throb like a child that cries, but sobs, and cannot cry it out.

I can neither express or describe the joy that touched my very soul when I found, for it was easy to discover that part, that he came not as a stranger, but as a son to a mother, and indeed as a son who had never before known what a mother of his own was; in short, we cried over one another a considerable while, when at last he broke out first; "My dear mother," says he, "are you still alive? I never expected to have seen your face!" As for me, I could say nothing a great while.

After we had both recovered ourselves a little, and were able to talk, he told me how things stood as to what I had written to his father. He told me he had not shown my letter to his father, or told him anything about it; that what his grandmother left me was in his hands, and that he would do me justice to my full satisfaction; that as to his father, he was old and infirm both in body and mind; but he was very fretful and passionate, almost blind, and capable of nothing; and he questioned whether he would know how to act in an affair which was of so nice a nature as this; and therefore he had come himself, as well to satisfy himself in seeing me, which he could not restrain himself from, as also to put it in my power to make a judgment, after I had seen how things were, whether I would discover myself to his father or no.

This was really so prudently and wisely managed that I found my son was a man of sense,

and needed no direction from me. I told him I did not wonder that his father was as he had described him, for that his head was a little touched before I went away; and principally his disturbance was because I could not be persuaded to conceal our relation, and to live with him as my husband after I knew that he was my brother. That as he knew better than I what his father's present condition was, I should readily join with him in such measures as he should direct; that I was indifferent as to seeing his father since I had seen him first, and he could not have told me better news than to tell me that what his grandmother had left me was entrusted in his hands, who I doubted not, now he knew who I was, would, as he said, do me justice. I inquired then how long my mother had been dead, and where she died, and told some more particulars of the family, that I left him no room to doubt of my being really and truly his mother.

My son then inquired where I was, and how I disposed of myself. I told him I was on the Maryland side of the bay, at the plantation of a particular friend, who came from England in the same ship with me; and that, at the farthest side of the bay where he was, I had no habitation. He told me, I should go home with him and live with him if I pleased, as long as I lived. That as to his father, he knew nobody, and would not as much as guess at me. I considered of that a little, and told him, though it was really a concern for me to live at a distance from him, yet I did not say it would be the comfortablest thing in the world for me to live in the same house with him, and to have that unhappy object always before me which had been such a blow to my peace before; that though I should be glad to have his company (my son's), or to be as near him as possible while I stayed, yet I could not think of being in the house, where I should be also under constant restraint, for fear of betraying myself in my discourse, nor should I be able to refrain some expressions in my conversing with him as my son, that might discover the whole affair, which would by no means be convenient.

He acknowledged that I was right in all this, but then "dear mother," says he, "you shall be as near me as you can. So he took me with him on horseback to a plantation next to his own, where I was as well entertained as I could have been in his own. Having left me there he went away home, telling me he would talk of the main business the next day, and having first called me his aunt, and giving a charge to the people, who it seems were his tenants, to treat me with all possible respect. About two hours after he was gone, he sent me a maid servant and a negro boy to wait on me, and provisions ready dressed for my supper; and thus I was as if I had been in a new world, and began almost to wish that I had not brought my Lancashire husband from England at all.

However, that wish was not hearty neither, for I loved my Lancashire husband entirely, as I had ever done from the beginning; and he merited it as much as possible for a man to do, but that by the way.

The next morning my son came to visit me again almost as soon as I was up. After a little

discourse, he first of all pulled out a deer skin bag, and gave it me, with five and fifty Spanish pistoles in it, and told me that was to supply my expenses from England; for though it was not his business to inquire, yet he ought to think I did not bring a great deal of money out with me, it not being usual to bring much money into that country. Then he pulled out his grandmother's will, and read it over to me, whereby it appeared that she left a plantation on York River to me, with the stock of servants and cattle upon it, and had given it in trust to this son of mine for my use, whenever he should hear of me, and to my heirs, if I had any children, and in default of heirs, to whomsoever I should by will dispose of it; but gave the income of it, till I should be heard of, to my said son; and if I should not be living, then it was to him and his heirs.

This plantation, though remote from him, he said he did not let out, but managed it by a head clerk, as he did another that was his father's that lay hard by it, and went over himself three or four times a year to look after it. I asked him what he thought the plantation might be worth. He said if I would let it out, he would give me about sixty pounds a year for it; but if I would live on it, then it would be worth much more, and he believed would bring me in about one hundred and fifty pounds a year; but seeing I was likely either to settle on the other side the bay, or might, perhaps, have a mind to go back to England, if I would let him be my steward he would manage it for me, as he had done for himself; and that he believed he should be able to send me as much tobacco from it as would yield me about one hundred pounds a-year, sometimes more.

This was all strange news to me, and things I had not been used to; and really my heart began to look up more seriously than I think it ever did before, and to look with great thankfulness to the hand of Providence, which had done such wonders for me, who had been myself the greatest wonder of wickedness, perhaps, that had been suffered to live in the world; and I must again observe, that not on this occasion only, but even on all other occasions of thankfulness, my past wickedness and abominable life never looked so monstrous to me, and I never so completely abhorred it, and reproached myself with it, as when I had a sense upon me of Providence doing good to me, while I had been making those vile returns on my part.

But I leave the reader to improve these thoughts, as, no doubt, he will see cause, and I go on to the fact. My son's tender carriage and kind offers fetched tears from me, almost all the while he talked with me; indeed, I could scarce discourse with him but in the intervals of my passion. However, at length I began, and expressed myself with wonder at my being so happy to have the trust of what I had left put into the hands of my own child. I told him that as to the inheritance of it, I had no child but him in the world, and was now past having any if I should marry, and therefore would desire him to get a writing drawn, which I was ready to execute, by which I would, after me, give it wholly to him and to his heirs; and in the meantime, smiling, I asked him what made him continue a bachelor so long. His answer was kind

and ready, that Virginia did not yield any great plenty of wives; and that, since I talked of going back to England, I should send him a wife from London.

This was the substance of our first day's conversation, the pleasantest day that ever passed over my head in my life, and which gave me the truest satisfaction. He came every day after this, and spent great part of his time with me, and carried me about to several of his friends' houses, where I was entertained with great respect. Also I dined several times at his own house, where he always took care to see his half-dead father sent out of the way that I never saw him or he me. I made him one present, and it was all I had of value, and that was one of the gold watches, of which, I said, I had two in my chest, and this I happened to have with me, and gave it him at his third visit. I told him I had nothing of any value to bestow but that, and I desired he would now and then kiss it for my sake. I did not, indeed, tell him that I stole it from a gentlewoman's side at a meeting-house in London; that's by the way.

He stood a little while hesitating, as if doubtful whether to take it or no; but I pressed it on him, and made him accept it, and it was not much less worth than his leather pouch full of Spanish gold. no, though it were to be reckoned as if at London, whereas it was worth twice as much there. At length he took it, kissed it, told me the watch should be a debt upon him that he would be paying as long as I lived.

A few days after he brought the writings of gift and the scrivener with him, and I signed them very freely, and delivered them to him with a hundred kisses, for sure nothing ever passed between a mother and a tender dutiful child with more affection. The next day he brings me an obligation under his hand and seal, whereby he engaged himself to manage and improve the plantation for my account, and with his utmost skill, and to remit the produce to my order wherever I should be, and withal he obliged himself to make up the produce, a hundred pounds a-year, to me. When he had done so, he told me that, as I came to demand it before the crop was off, I had a right to the produce of the current year, and so he paid me an hundred pounds in Spanish pieces of eight, and desired a receipt for it as in full for that year, ending at Christmas following, this being about the latter end of August.

I stayed here about five weeks, and indeed had much ado to get away then. Nay, he would have come over the bay with me, but I would by no means allow him to do it; however, he would send me over in a sloop of his own, which was built like a yacht, and served him as well for pleasure as business. This I accepted of, and so, after the utmost expressions both of duty and affection, he let me come away, and I arrived safe in two days at my friend, the Quaker's.

I brought over with me, for the use of our plantation, three horses with harness and saddles, some hogs, two cows, and a thousand other things, the gift of the kindest and tenderest child that ever woman had.

I related to my husband all the particulars of this voyage, except that I called my son my cousin. And first I told him that I had lost my

watch, which he seemed to take as a misfortune; but then I told him how kind my cousin had been; that my mother had left me such a plantation, and that he had preserved it for me, in hopes some time or other he should hear from me. Then I told him I had left it to his management, and that he would render me a faithful account of its produce, and then I pulled out the hundred pounds in silver as the first year's produce; and then pulling out the deer-skin purse, with the pistoles: "And here, my dear," says I, "is the gold watch." My husband, so is Heaven's goodness sure to work the same effects in all sensible minds where mercies touch the heart, lifted up his hands, and with an ecstasy of joy, "What is God a-doing," says he, "for such an ungrateful dog as I am!" Then I let him know what I had brought over in the sloop besides all this, I mean the horses, hogs, and cows, and other stores for our plantation; all which added to his surprise, and filled his heart with thankfulness; and from this time forward I believe he was as sincere a penitent, and as thoroughly a reformed man, as ever God's goodness brought back from a profligate, a highwayman, and a robber.

I could fill a larger history than this with the evidences of this truth, but that I doubt that part of the story will not be equally diverting as the wicked part.

But this is to be my own story, not my husband's; I return, therefore, to my own part. We went on with our own plantation, and managed it with the help and direction of such friends as we got there, and especially the honest Quaker, who proved a faithful, generous, and steady friend to us, and we had very good success; for having a flourishing stock to begin with, as I have said, and this being now increased by the addition of an hundred and fifty pounds sterling in money, we enlarged our number of servants, built us a very good house, and cured every year a great deal of land. The second year I wrote to my old governess, giving her part with us of the joy of our success, and ordered her how to lay out the money I had left with her, which was two hundred and fifty pounds, as above, and to send it to us in goods, which she performed with her usual kindness and fidelity, and all this arrived safe to us.

Here we had a supply of all sorts of clothes, as well for my husband as myself; and I had taken especial care to have bought for him all those things that I knew he delighted to have; as two good long wigs, two silver-hilted swords, three or four fowling pieces, a fine saddle with holsters and pistols, very handsome, with a scarlet cloak, and, in a word, everything I could think of to oblige him, and to make him appear, as he really was, a very fine gentleman. I had ordered a good quantity of household stuff as we wanted, with linen for us both. As for myself, I wanted very little of clothes and linen, being very well furnished before. The rest of my cargo consisted of iron work of all sorts, harness for horses, tools, clothes for servants, and woollen cloth; stuffs, serges, stockings, shoes, hats, and the like, such as servants wear, and whole pieces also to make up for servants, all by direction of the Quaker; and all this cargo arrived safe and in good condition, with three women servants, lusty

wenches, which my governess had picked up for me, suitable enough to the place, and to the work we had for them to do; and one of whom happened to come double, having been got with child by one of the seamen in the ship, as she owned afterwards, before the ship got so far as Gravesend; so she brought us a stout boy about seven months after her landing.

My husband, you may suppose, was a little surprised at the arriving of this cargo from England, and talking with me one day after he saw the particulars: "My dear," says he, "what is the meaning of all this? I fear you will run us too deep in debt. When shall we be able to make returns for it all?" I smiled, and told him it was all paid for; and then I told him, that not knowing what might befall us in the voyage, and considering what our circumstances might expose us to, I had not taken my whole stock with me; that I had reserved so much in my friend's hands, which, now we were come over safe, and settled in a way to live, I had sent for as he might see.

He was amazed, and stood awhile, telling upon his fingers, but said nothing. At last he began thus: "Hold—let's see," says he, telling upon his fingers still; and first upon his thumb: "There's 246*l.* in money, first; then two gold watches, diamond rings, and plate," says he, upon the fore finger; then upon the next finger: "There's a plantation on York River of 100*l.* a year; then 150*l.* in money; then a sloop load of horses, cows, hogs, and stores," and so on to the thumb again; "and now," says he, "a cargo that cost 250*l.* in England, and worth here twice the money."—"Well," says I, "what do you make of all that?"—"Make of it!" says he, "Why, who says I was deceived when I married a wife in Lancashire? I think I have married a fortune, and a very good fortune too," says he.

After I had been a year at home again, I went over the bay to see my son, and to receive another year's income of my plantation; and I was surprised to learn, just at my landing there, that my old husband was dead, and had not been buried above a fortnight. This, I confess, was not disagreeable news, because now I could appear as I was, in a married condition. So I told my son, before I came from him, that I believed I should marry a gentleman that had a plantation near mine; and though I was legally free to marry as to any obligation that was on me before, yet that I was shy of it, lest the blot should some time or other be revived, and it might make a husband uneasy. My son, the same kind, dutiful, and obliging creature as ever, treated me now at his own house, paid me my hundred pounds, and sent me home again loaded with presents.

Some time after this I let my son know I was married, and invited him over to see us; and my husband wrote a very obliging letter to him also, inviting him to come and see him; and he came accordingly some months after.

It must be observed, that when the old wretch, my brother (husband), was dead, I then freely gave my husband an account of all that affair, and of this cousin, as I called him before, being my son, by that mistaken, unhappy match. He was perfectly easy in the account, and told

me he should have been as easy if the old man, as we called him, had been alive; "For," said he, "it was no fault of yours, nor of his; it was a mistake impossible to be prevented." He only reproached him with desiring me to conceal it, and to live with him as a wife after I knew that he was my brother; that, he said, was a vile part. Thus all these little difficulties were made easy, and we lived together with the greatest kindness and comfort imaginable.

We are now grown old. I am come back to England, being almost seventy years of age, my

husband sixty-eight, having performed much more than the limited time of my transportation. And now, notwithstanding all the fatigues and all the miseries we have gone through, we are both of us in good heart and health. My husband remained there some time after me to settle our affairs; and, at first, I had intended to go back to him, but at his desire I altered that resolution, and he is come over to England also, where we resolve to spend the remainder of our years in sincere penitence for the wicked lives we have lived.

From the character of the incidents that compose the present narrative, De Foe was fully aware of the objections that would be urged against it by the scrupulous. To conceal a sin, and to make a man as much from the liberty of the pen; all that he could do, therefore, was to neutralize the poison by furnishing the strongest antidotes. Accordingly, whilst he paints the course of an every-day prodigy in their natural colours, he shows us with the same fidelity, near their natural tendency; and that, first or last, vice is sure to bring down its own punishment. His villains never prosper, but either come to an untimely end, or are brought to be penitents. In dressing up the present story, he tells us he had taken care to exclude everything that might be offensive; but conscious that he had a bad subject to work upon, he endeavours to interest the reader in the reflections arising out of it, that the moral might be more engaging than the tale.

The story of Moll Flanders must be allowed to be executed in strict conformity with the writer's intention. The events of her life are indeed coarse and disgusting, but they are exactly those of a person in her situation, led on from one degree of crime to another, and participating in all the miseries that may be expected to accompany such courses. If the sale of a book were any criterion of its merit, De Foe had every reason to be satisfied with the work. Two editions were printed in 1721, and a third edition was published by the same booksellers in 1722, and another in the following year. There were two editions by J. Broome, the second in 1741. There is also one with wood-cuts, by C. Simpson, in Stone-Cutter street, Fleet market, without a date. These were all in octavo, and there are many in a smaller size. An edition of the work, with many additions and alterations, was published in 1776, by Francis Noble, who kept a circulating library in Holborn, and republished several of De Foe's pieces, which he professes to be taken from a corrected manuscript of De Foe's, dated September 20, 1730, in which he omitted some parts as unfit for perusal, and gave the whole a new dress. But this is a mere description. There is no reason for supposing that De Foe left any papers, nor that he intended his work to be mutilated in the manner performed by his successors. Besides abridging other parts of his story, the editor of her practices as a thief, and omitted, and consequently, those that suggested her mental conflicts in the silent hour of reflection. She is no coarcted person, but accompanies her husband to Virginia, from whence they both return to Ireland, purchase an estate, and pass a sober and religious life. The survivors of this life a great penitent, the 10th of December, 1722, in the 55th year of her age. The name concluding in this happy manner is entitled "The history of a virtuous Abject, vulgarly called Moll Flanders." Published by Sir Daniel the Poet. And from papers found since his decease, it appears greatly altered by himself, and from the said papers the present work is produced. London, printed for the editor, and sold by R. Noble, Holborn, and T. Lowndes, in Fleet street, 1776. It contains little more than half the quantity of the original work. The second volume of it by the editor is as follows: "My father was an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Daniel De Foe. I had frequently heard him speak of his friend highly to his advantage as a moral writer in many of his publications, and wondered much, after my reading his 'Robinson Crusoe', to find help in his 'Roxana', and in his 'Moll Flanders', expressions so much beneath him; but upon a perusal, when I came into possession of the manuscript of his alterations of both these histories, I acquiesced in the opinion of my father, and in that opinion, have thought it proper in their new dress, to introduce them for the entertainment of those who are admirers of nature."

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APPENDIX.

THE misfortunes of De Foe, at a former period, observes Mr Wilson, had thrown him into circumstances which subjected him to the sight of human nature in its lowest and most degraded forms. Whilst immured in prison, he was necessarily brought into contact with persons who were competent to let him into those scenes of crime and misery of which his fertile genius availed itself in this and similar publications. The various incidents in the eventful life of Moll Flanders, from the time of her seduction to that of her becoming a convict and a quiet settler in Maryland, are those of real life, as exemplified by multitudes of individuals who have run the career of their vicious propensities. The artless disposition of the narrative, the lively interest excited by unlooked for coincidences, the rich natural painting, the moral reflections, are all so many proofs of the knowledge and invention of the writer; but the facts were furnished him by the annals of Newgate.

From the character of the incidents that compose the present narrative, De Foe was fully aware of the objections that would be urged against it by the scrupulous. To conceal a single fact would have taken so much from the fidelity of the portrait; all that he could do, therefore, was to neutralize the poison by furnishing the strongest antidotes. Accordingly, whilst he paints the courses of an every-day profligate in their natural colours, he shows us with the same faithfulness their natural tendency; and that, first or last, vice is sure to bring down its own punishment. His villains never prosper, but either come to an untimely end, or are brought to be penitents. In dressing up the present story, he tells us he had taken care to exclude everything that might be offensive; but conscious that he had a bad subject to work upon, he endeavours to interest the reader in the reflections arising out of it, that the moral might be more enticing than the fable.

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THE
M E M O I R S
OF
A C A V A L I E R;

OR,
A MILITARY JOURNAL OF THE WARS IN GERMANY AND THE
WARS IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE YEAR 1632 TO THE YEAR 1648.

WRITTEN ABOVE THREE-SCORE YEARS AGO BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN;

WHO SERVED FIRST IN THE ARMY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
THE GLORIOUS KING OF SWEDEN, TILL HIS DEATH; AND AFTER THAT IN THE
ROYAL ARMY OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST, FROM THE BEGINNING OF
THE REBELLION TO THE END OF THAT WAR.

" Sic ubi delectos per torva armenta juvencos
Agricola imposito sociare affectat aratro :
Illi indignantes quis nondum vomere multo
Ardua nodosus cervix descendit in Armos.
In diversa trahunt, atque æquis vincula laxant
Viribus, et vario confundunt limite ulscos :
Haud secus indomitos præceps discordia fratres
Asperat." Stat. Theb. Lib. 1.

" Et fratres, natosque, suos videre, patresque :
Depresum est civile nefas." Lucan, Lib. 4.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR A. BELL, AT THE CROSS KEYS IN CORNHILL; J. OSBORN, AT THE OXFORD
ARMS IN LOMBARD STREET; W. TAYLOR, AT THE SHIP AND SWAN; AND T. WARNER,
AT THE BLACK BOY IN PATERNOSTER ROW.

THE FIRST

A CAVALIER

LONDON:

REPRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL,
LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

MDCCCXL.

ADVERTISEMENT TO
THE PRESENT EDITION.

WHETHER this interesting work is considered as a romance, or as a series of authentic memoirs, in which the only fabulous circumstance is the existence of the hero, it must undoubtedly be allowed to be of the best description of either species of composition, and to reflect additional lustre, even on the Author of Robinson Crusoe.

There is so much simplicity and apparent fidelity of statement throughout the narrative, that the feelings are little indebted to those who would remove the veil; and the former editors, perhaps, have acted not unwisely in leaving the circumstances of its authenticity in their original obscurity. The Memoirs of a Cavalier have long, however, been ascertained to be the production of Daniel De Foe. Both the first and second editions were published without date; but, from other evidence, the work appears to have been written shortly after Robinson Crusoe, in 1720-1.

A few Notes have been added to the present edition, collected from the periodical publications of the time (now rare and curious), to exhibit the exact coincidence of the facts themselves, with the transactions narrated in these Memoirs.

Edinburgh, 1809.

THE PREFACE TO
THE FIRST EDITION.

As an evidence that it is very probable these memorials were written many years ago, the persons now concerned in the publication assure the reader that they have had them in their possession finished, as they now appear, above twenty years. That they were so long ago found by great accident, among other valuable papers, in the closet of an eminent public minister, of no less figure than one of King William's secretaries of state.

As it is not proper to trace them any farther, so neither is there any need to trace them at all, to give reputation to the story related, seeing the actions here mentioned have a sufficient sanction from all the histories of the times to which they relate, with this addition, that the admirable manner of relating them, and the wonderful variety of incidents with which they are beautified in the course of a private gentleman's story, add such delight in the reading, and give such a lustre, as well to the accounts themselves as to the person who was the actor, that no story, we believe, extant in the world, ever came abroad with such advantage.

It must naturally give some concern in the reading, that the name of a person of so much gallantry and honour, and so many ways valuable to the world, should be lost

PREFACE.

to the reader. We assure them no small labour has been thrown away upon the inquiry; and all we have been able to arrive to of discovery in this affair is, that a memorandum was found with this manuscript in these words, but not signed by any name, only the two letters of a name, which gives us no light into the matter; which memoir was as follows:—

MEMORANDUM.—I found this manuscript among my father's writings, and I understand that he got them as plunder at, or after, the fight at Worcester, where he served as Major of ———'s regiment of horse on the side of the parliament. I. K.

N. B.—The manuscript contains an account of the Restoration.

As this has been of no use but to terminate the inquiry after the person, so, however, it seems most naturally to give an authority to the original of the work, viz.—That it was born of a soldier; and indeed it is, through every part, related with so soldierly a style, and in the very language of the field, that it seems impossible anything but the very person who was present in every action here related, could be the relator of them.

The accounts of battles, the sieges, and the several actions of which this work is so full, are all recorded in the histories of those times; such as the great battle of Leipsick, the sacking of Magdeburg, the siege of Nuremberg, the passing the river Leck in Bavaria; such also as the battles of Keynton, or Edge-Hill; the battles of Newbury, Marston-Moor, and Naseby, and the like. They are all, we say, recorded in other histories, and written by those who lived in those times; and, perhaps, had good authority for what they wrote. But do those relations give any of the beautiful ideas of things formed in this account? Have they one half of the circumstances and incidents of the actions themselves that this man's eyes were witness to, and which his memory has thus preserved? He that has read the best accounts of those battles will be surprised to see the particulars of the story so preserved, so nicely, and so agreeably described; and will confess what we allege, that the story is inimitably told; and even the great actions of the glorious King Gustavus Adolphus receive a lustre from this man's relations, which the world was never made sensible of before, and which the present age has much wanted of late, in order to give their affections a turn in favour of his late glorious successor.

In the story of our own country's unnatural wars he carries on the same spirit. How effectually does he record the virtues and glorious actions of King Charles I, at the same time that he frequently enters upon the mistakes of his Majesty's conduct, and of his friends, which gave his enemies all those fatal advantages against him; which ended in the overthrow of his armies, the loss of his crown and life, and the ruin of the constitution.

In all his accounts he does justice to his enemies, and honours the merits of those whose cause he fought against; and many accounts recorded in his story are not to be found even in the best histories of those times.

What applause does he give to the gallantry of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to his modesty, to his conduct, under which he himself was subdued, and to the justice he did the King's troops when they laid down their arms.

His description of the Scots troops in the beginning of the war, and the beha-

PREFACE.

viour of the party under the Earl of Holland, who went over against them, are admirable; and his censure of their conduct, who pushed the King upon the quarrel, and then would not let him fight, is no more than what many of the King's friends (though less knowing as soldiers) have often complained of.

In a word, this work is a confutation of many errors in all the writers upon the subject of our wars in England, and even in that extraordinary history written by the Earl of Clarendon; but the editors were so just, that when, near twenty years ago, a person who had written a whole volume in folio, by way of answer to, and confutation of, Clarendon's history of the rebellion, would have borrowed the clauses in this account, which clash with that history, and confront it, we say, the editors were so just as to refuse them.

There can be nothing objected against the general credit of this work, seeing its truth is established upon universal history; and almost all the facts, especially those of moment, are confirmed for their general part by all the writers of those times. If they are here embellished with particulars, which are nowhere else to be found, that is the beauty we boast of; and that it is that must recommend this work to all the men of sense and judgment that read.

The only objection we find possible to make against this work is, that it is not carried on farther; or, as we may say, finished with the finishing the war of the time; and this we complain of also. But then we complain of it as a misfortune to the world, not as a fault in the author; for how do we know but that this author might carry it on, and have another part finished which might not fall into the same hands, or may still remain with some of his family, and which they cannot indeed publish to make it seem anything perfect, for want of the other parts which we have, and which we have now made public. Nor is it very improbable but that, if any such farther part is in being, the publishing these two parts may occasion the proprietors of the third to let the world see it; and that, by such a discovery, the name of the person may also come to be known, which would, no doubt, be a great satisfaction to the reader as well as to us.

This, however, must be said, that if the same author should have written another part of this work, and carried it on to the end of those times; yes, as the residue of those melancholy days, to the Restoration, were filled with the intrigues of government, the political management of illegal power, and the dissensions and factions of a people, who were then even in themselves but a faction, and that there was very little action in the field, it is more than probable that our author, who was a man of arms, had little share in those things, and might not care to trouble himself with looking at them.

But, besides all this, it might happen that he might go abroad again at that time, as most of the gentlemen of quality, and who had an abhorrence for the power that then governed here, did. Nor are we certain that he might live to the end of that time, so we can give no account whether he had any share in the subsequent actions of that time.

It is enough that we have the authorities above to recommend this part to us that is now published; the relation, we are persuaded, will recommend itself, and nothing more can be needful, because nothing more can invite than the story itself, which, when the reader enters into, he will find it very hard to get out of, until he has gone through it.

THE PUBLISHER OF
THE SECOND EDITION
 TO THE READER.*

THE following historical memoirs are writ with so much spirit and good sense, that there is no doubt of their pleasing all such as can form any just pretensions to either. However, as, upon reading of a book, it is a question that naturally occurs, "Who is the author?" and as it is too much the custom in these days to form our sentiments of a performance, not from its intrinsic merit, but from the sentiments we form of the writer, the present re-publication of these memoirs will renew an inquiry which has been often made—"Who wrote them?" Some have imagined the whole to be a romance; if it be, it is a romance the likeliest to truth that I ever read. It has all the features of truth, it is clothed with her simplicity, and adorned with her charms. Without hazard I may venture to say, were all romance writers to follow this author's example, their works would yield entertainment to philosophers, as well as serve for the amusement of beaux-esprits. But I am fully persuaded our author, whoever he was, had been early concerned in the actions he relates. It is certain, no man could have given a description of his retreat from Marston-Moor to Rochdale, and from thence over the moors to the north, in so apt and proper terms, and in so exact a manner, unless he had really travelled over the very ground he describes. I could point out many other instances in the course of the memoirs, which evidence that the author must have been well acquainted with the towns, battles, sieges, &c., and a party in the actions he relates. But, as it is needless to do this, all that remains is, to trace our author to his name.

He says he was second son to a Shropshire gentleman, who was made a peer in the reign of King Charles I, whose seat lay eight miles from Shrewsbury. This account suits no one so well as Andrew Newport, Esq., second son to Richard Newport, of High Ercoll, Esq.; which Richard was created Lord Newport, October 14, 1642. This Andrew Newport, Esq., whom we suppose our author to be, was, after the Restoration, made a commissioner of the customs, probably in reward of his zeal and good services for the royal cause.†

The several illustrations these memoirs furnish to the history of those times they refer to, the variety of adventures they contain, and the elegant account given herein of the wars in Germany and England, will abundantly recommend them to the curious.

* Printed at Leeds, by James Lister, without date.

† The original title-page of these memoirs runs thus:—

"Memoirs of a Cavalier; or, a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England; from the year 1632 to the year 1648.

Written above four-score years ago by an English gentleman who served first in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, the glorious King of Sweden, till his death; and, after that, in the royal army of King Charles I, from the beginning of the rebellion to the end of that war.

" Sic ubi delectos per torva armenta juvencos
 Agricola imposito sociare affectat aratro;
 Illi indignantes quis nondum vomere multo
 Ardua nodosus cervix descendit in Armos,
 In diversa trahunt, atque æquis vacula laxant
 Viribus, et vario confundunt limite sulcos;
 Haud secus indomitos præceps discordia ratres
 Asperat."

STAT. THEB. LIB. I.

" Et Fratres, natosque suos videre, patresque;
 Depressum est civile nefas."

LUCAN, LIB. 4.

THE

MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER.

It may suffice the reader, without being very inquisitive after my name, that I was born in the county of Salop, in the year 1608, under the government of what star I was never astrologer enough to examine; but the consequences of my life may allow me to suppose some extraordinary influence affected my birth.

If there be anything in dreams also, my mother, who was mighty observant that way, took minutes, which I have since seen in the first leaf of her prayer-book, of several strange dreams she had while she was with child of her second son, which was myself.

Once she noted that she dreamed she was carried away by a regiment of horse, and delivered in the fields of a son that, as soon as it was born, had two wings came out of its back, and in half an hour's time flew away from her; and the very evening before I was born she dreamed she was brought to-bed of a son, and that all the while she was in labour a man stood under her window beating on a kettle-drum, which very much discomposed her.

My father was a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune, having an estate of above 5,000*l.* per annum, of a family nearly allied to several of the principal nobility, and lived about six miles from the town of High Ercol; and my mother being at——, on some particular occasion, was surprised there at a friend's house, and brought me very safe into the world.

I was my father's second son, and therefore was not altogether so much slighted as younger sons of good families generally are; but my father saw something in my genius also which particularly pleased him, and so made him take extraordinary care of my education.

I was taught, therefore, by the best masters that could be had, everything that was needful to accomplish a young gentleman for the world; and at seventeen years old my tutor told my father an academic education was very proper for a person of quality, and he thought me very fit for it; so my father entered me of Wadham College, in Oxford, where I continued three years.

A collegiate life did not suit me at all, though I loved books well enough. It was never designed that I should be either a lawyer, physician, or divine; and I wrote to my father that I thought I had stayed there long enough for a gentleman, and with his leave I desired to give him a visit.

During my stay at Oxford, though I passed through the proper exercises of the house, yet my chief reading was upon history and geography, as those pleased my mind best, and supplied me with ideas most suitable to my genius; by the former I understood what great actions had been done in the world; and by the latter I understood where they had been done.

My father readily complied with my desire of coming home; for, besides that he thought, as I did, that three years at the university was enough; he also most passionately loved me, and began to think of my settling near him.

At my arrival I found myself extraordinarily caressed by my father, and he seemed to take a particular delight in my conversation. My mother, who lived in perfect union with him both in desires and affection, received me very passionately; apartments were provided for me by myself, and horses and servants allowed me in particular.

My father never went a-hunting, an exercise he was exceedingly fond of, but he would have me with him; and it pleased him when he found I liked the sport. I lived thus, in all the pleasures it was possible for me to enjoy, for about a year more; when going out one morning with him to hunt a stag, and having had a very hard chase, and gotten a great way off from home, we had leisure enough to ride gently back; and as we returned took occasion to enter into a discourse with me concerning my manner of settling in the world.

He told me, with a great deal of tenderness, that he loved me above all the rest of his children, and that therefore he intended to do well for me; that my eldest brother being already married and settled, he had designed the same for me, and proposed a very advantageous match with a young lady of very extraordinary fortune and merit, and offered to make me a settlement of two thousand pounds per annum, which he said he could purchase for me without diminishing his paternal estate.

There was too much kindness and affection in this discourse not to affect me exceedingly; I told him I would perfectly resign myself to his will. But as my father had, together with his love for me, a very nice judgment in his discourse, he fixed his eyes very attentively on mine and though my answers were without the least reserve, yet he thought he saw some uneasiness in me at the proposal, and from thence concluded

that my compliance was rather an act of discretion than inclination; and though I seemed so absolutely given up to what he had proposed, yet my answers were really an effect of my obedience, rather than my choice; so he returned very quick upon me—

“Look you, son; though I give you my own thoughts on the matter, yet I would have you be very plain with me; for if your sentiments do not agree with mine, I will be your adviser, but will never impose upon you; and therefore let me know your mind freely.”

“I don’t reckon myself capable, sir,” said I, with a great deal of respect, “to make so good a choice for myself as you can for me; and though my opinion differed from yours, its being your opinion would reform mine, and my judgment would as readily comply as my duty.”

“I gather, at least, from thence,” said my father, “that your designs lay another way before, however they may now comply with mine; and therefore I would know what it was you would have asked of me, if I had not offered this to you; and you must not deny me your obedience in this, if you expect I should believe your readiness in the other.”

“Sir,” said I, “it was impossible I should lay out for myself just what you have proposed; but if my inclinations were never so contrary, at your command they shall be made known, yet I declare them to be wholly subject to your order. I confess my thoughts did not tend towards marriage, or a settlement; for though I had no reason to question your care of me, yet I thought a gentleman ought always to see something of the world before he confined himself to any particular part of it; and if I had asked your consent to anything, it should have been to give me leave to travel for a short time, in order to qualify myself that I may appear at home like a son to so good a father.”

“In what capacity would you travel?” replied my father: “you must go abroad either as a private gentleman, as a scholar, or as a soldier.”

“If it were in the latter capacity, sir,” said I, returning pretty quick, “I hope I should not dishonour myself; but I am not so determined as not to be ruled by your judgment.”

“Truly,” replied my father, “I see no war abroad at this time worth a man’s appearing in, whether we talk of the cause or the encouragement; and indeed, son, I am afraid you need not go far for adventures of that nature, for things seem to look as if this part of Europe would find us work enough.”

My father then spoke relating to the quarrel likely to happen between the King of England and the Spaniard,* for I believe he had no notion of a civil war in his head.

In short, my father, perceiving my inclinations very forward for travelling, gave me leave, upon condition I would promise to return in two years at furthest, or sooner, if he sent for me.

While I was at Oxford I happened to fall into the society of a young gentleman of a good family, but of low fortune, being a younger

* Upon the breach of the match between the King of England and the Infanta of Spain, and particularly upon the old quarrel betwixt the King of Bohemia and the Palatinate

brother; and who had indeed instilled into me the first desire of going abroad, and who I knew passionately longed to travel, but had not sufficient allowance to defray his expenses as a gentleman.

We had contracted a very close friendship, and our tempers being very agreeable to one another, we daily enjoyed the conversation of letters. He was of a generous, free disposition, without the least affectation or deceit, a handsome proper person, strong body, very good mien, and brave to the last degree.

His name was Fielding, and we called him captain, though a very unusual title in a college; but fate had some hand in the appellation, for he had certainly the lines of a soldier drawn in his countenance.

I imparted to him the resolutions I had taken, and that I had my father’s consent to go abroad; and would gladly know his mind whether he would accompany me. He wrote me word he would with all his heart.

My father, when he saw him (for I sent for him immediately to come to me) very much approved my choice; so we got our equipage ready, and came away for London.

It was on the 22d of April, 1630, when we embarked at Dover, landed in a few hours at Calais, and immediately took post for Paris.

I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of my travels, nor with the description of places, which every geographer can do better than I; but these memoirs being only a relation of what happened to ourselves, or in our own knowledge, I shall confine myself to that part only.

We had indeed some diverting passages in our journey to Paris; first, the horse my comrade rode upon fell so very lame with a slip, that he could not go, and hardly stand; and the fellow that rode with us express pretended to ride away to a town five miles distant to get a fresh horse, and so left us on the road with one horse betwixt us. We followed as well as we could, but being strangers, missed the way, and wandered much out of the road. Whether the man performed in reasonable time, or not, we could not be sure; but if it had not been for an old priest, we had never found him.

We met this good man by accident, near a little village whereof he was curate: we spoke Latin enough just to make him understand us, and he did not speak it much better himself; but he took us into the village to his house, gave us wine and bread, and entertained us with wonderful courtesy. After this he sent into the village, hired a peasant, and a horse for my captain, and sent him to guide us into the road.

At parting, he made a great many compliments to us in French, which we could just understand; but the sum was, to excuse him for a question he was inclined to ask. After leave to interrogate what he pleased, it was, if we wanted any money for the pursuance of our journey, and pulled out two pistoles, which he offered either to give or lend us.

I mention this exceeding courtesy of the curate, because, though civility is very much in force in France, and especially to strangers, yet ’tis a very unusual thing to have them part with their money

We let the priest know, first, that we did not want money, and, next, that we were very sensible of the obligation he offered us; and I told him in particular, if I lived to see him again I would acknowledge it.

This accident of our horse was, as we afterwards found, of some use to us. We had left our two servants behind at Calais to bring our baggage after us, by reason of some dispute between the captain of the packet and the custom-house officer, which could not be adjusted, and we were wishing to be at Paris: the fellows followed as fast as they could; and let us know, as near as we could learn, in the time we lost our way, they were robbed, and our portmanteaus opened. The villains took what they pleased; but as there was no money, only linen and necessities, the loss was not great.

Our guide conveyed us to Amiens, where we found the express and our two servants, whom the express met on the road, and having a spare horse, had brought back with him hither.

We took this for a good omen of our successful journey, having escaped a danger which might have been greater to us than it was to our servants; for the highwaymen in France do not always give a traveller the civility of bidding him stand and deliver his money, but frequently fire upon him first, and then take his money.

We stayed one day at Amiens to adjust this little disorder, and walked about the town, and into the great church, but saw nothing very remarkable there; but going across a broad street near the great church, we saw a crowd of people gazing at a mountebank doctor, who made a long harangue to them with a thousand antic postures, and gave out bills this way, and boxes of physic that way, and had a great trade; when on a sudden the people raised a cry of *Larron! larron!* (in English, thief! thief!) on the other side the street, and all the auditors ran away from the doctor to see what the matter was. Among the rest we went to see, and the case was short and plain enough.

Two English gentlemen and a Scotchman, travellers, as we were, stood looking at this prating empiric, and one of them caught a fellow picking his pocket: he had got some of the gentleman's money, for he dropt two or three pieces just by him, and had got hold of his watch, but being surprised, let it slip again. My reason for telling this story is for the agility of its management.

The thief had his seconds so ready, that as soon as the Englishman had seized him, they fell in, pretended to be mighty zealous for the stranger, taking the fellow by the throat, and making a great bustle. The gentleman, not doubting but the man was secured, let go his own hold of him, and left him to them. The hubbub was great, and 'twas these men cried *Larron! larron!* but with a dexterity peculiar to themselves had let the right fellow go, and pretended to be all upon one of their own gang.

At last they bring the fellow to the gentleman, to ask him what he had done; who, when he saw the person they had seized, presently told them that was not the man: they then seemed to be in more consternation than before, and spread themselves all over the street, crying

Larron! larron! pretending to search for the thief,—and so one one way, and one another—they were all gone—the noise went over—the gentlemen stood looking one at another, and the bawling doctor began to have the crowd about him again.

This was the first French trick I had the opportunity of seeing; but I was told they have a great many more as dexterous as this.

We soon got acquainted with these gentlemen, who were going to Paris as well as us; so the next day we made up our company with them, and were a pretty troop of five gentlemen and four servants.

We had no design to stay long at Paris; indeed, excepting the city itself, there was not much to be seen. Cardinal Richelieu, who was not only a supreme minister of the church, but prime minister of the state, was now made also general of the king's forces, with a title never known in France before nor since, viz. Lieutenant-general au Place du Roy, in the king's stead, or, as some have since translated it, representing the person of the king.

Under this character he pretended to execute the royal powers in the army without appeal to the king, or without waiting for orders; and having departed from Paris the winter before, had now actually begun the war against the Duke of Savoy, in the process of which he restored the Duke of Mantua; and having taken Pignerol from the duke, put it into such a state of defence as he could never force it out of his hands. The cardinal reduced the duke rather by good conduct and management than by force, to make peace without it; and annexing it to the crown of France, has ever since been a thorn in his foot, and has always made the peace of Savoy lame and precarious. France has since made Pignerol one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

The cardinal, with all the military part of the court, was in the field, and the king, to be near him, was gone with the Queen and all the court, just before I reached Paris, to reside at Lyons. All these considered, there was nothing to do at Paris: the court looked like a citizen's house when the family are gone into the country; and I thought the whole city looked very melancholy, compared to the fine things I had heard of it.

The queen-mother and her party were chagrined at the cardinal, who, though he owed his grandeur to her immediate favour, was now grown too great any longer to be at the command of her majesty, or indeed in her interest; and therefore the queen was dissatisfied, and her party looked very much down.

The Protestants were everywhere disconsolate; for the losses they had received at Rochelle, Nismes, and Montpellier, had reduced them to an absolute dependence on the king's will, without possible hopes of ever recovering themselves, or being so much as in a condition to take arms for their religion; and therefore the wisest of them plainly foresaw their own entire reduction, as it since came to pass: and I remember very well, that a Protestant gentleman told me once, as we were passing from Orleans to Lyons, that the English had ruined them; "and therefore," says he, "I think the next occasion the king

takes to use us ill, as I know 'twill not be long before he does, we must all fly over to England, where you are bound to maintain us for having helped to turn us out of our own country."

I asked him what he meant by saying the English had done it?

He returned short upon me—"I do not mean," says he, "by not relieving Rochelle, but by helping to ruin Rochelle, when you and the Dutch lent ships to beat our fleet, which all the ships in France could not have done without you."

I was too young in the world to be very sensible of this before, and therefore was something startled at the charge; but when I came to discourse with this gentleman, I soon saw the truth of what he said was undeniable, and have since reflected on it with regret, that the naval power of the Protestants, which was then superior to the royal, would certainly have been the recovery of all their fortunes, had it not been unhappily broken by their brethren of England and Holland, the former lending seven men-of-war, and the latter twenty, for the destruction of the Rochellers' fleet; and by those very ships the fleet were actually beat and destroyed, and they never afterward recovered their force at sea, and by consequence sunk under the siege, which the English afterwards in vain attempted to prevent.

These things made the Protestants look very dull, and expected the ruin of all their party; which had certainly happened, had the cardinal lived a few years longer.

We stayed in Paris about three weeks, as well to see the court, and what rarities the place afforded, in which time an incident happened which had like to have put a short period to our ramble.

Walking one morning before the gate of the Louvre, with a design to see the Swiss drawn up, which they always did, and exercised just before they relieved the guards, a page came up to me, and, speaking English, "Sir," says he, "the captain must needs have your immediate assistance."

I had not the knowledge of any person in Paris but my own companion, whom I called captain; had no room to question but it was he that sent for me; and crying out hastily to him, "Where?" followed the fellow as fast as possible. He led me through several passages which I knew not, and at last through a tennis-court and into a large room, where three men, like gentlemen, were engaged very briskly, two against one. The room was very dark, so that I could not easily know them; but being fully possessed with an opinion before of my captain's danger, I ran into the room with my sword in my hand: I had not particularly engaged any of them, nor so much as made a pass at any, when I received a very dangerous thrust in my thigh, rather occasioned by my hasty running in than a real design of the person; but enraged at the hurt, without examining who it was hurt me, I threw myself upon him, and run my sword quite through his body.

The novelty of the adventure, and the unexpected fall of the man, by a stranger come in, nobody knew how, had becalmed the other two, that they really stood gazing at me. By this time I had discovered my captain was not there,

and that it was some strange accident brought me thither.

I could speak but little French, and supposed they could speak no English; so I stepped to the door to see for the page that brought me thither; but seeing nobody there, and the passage clear, I made off as fast as I could, without speaking a word; nor did the other two gentlemen offer to stop me.

But I was in a strange confusion when, coming into those entries and passages which the page led me through, I could by no means find my way out: at last seeing a door open that looked through a house into the street, I went in, and out at the other door; but then I was at as great a loss to know where I was, and which was the way to my lodging. The wound in my thigh bled apace, and I could feel the blood in my breeches.

In this interval came by a chair; I called and went into it, and bid them, as well as I could, go to the Louvre; for though I knew not the name of the street where I lodged, I knew I could find the way to it when I was at the Bastile.

The chairmen went on their own way; and being stopped by a company of the guards as they went, set me down till the soldiers were marched by; when, looking out, I found I was just at my own lodging, and the captain standing at the door looking for me: I beckoned to him, and, whispering, told him I was very much hurt; but bid him pay the chairmen, and ask no questions, but come to me.

I made the best of my way up stairs; but had lost so much blood that I had scarcely spirits enough to keep me from swooning till he came in.

He was equally concerned with me to see me in such a bloody condition, and presently called up our landlord, and he as quickly called in his neighbours, that I had a room full of people about me in a quarter of an hour.

But this had like to have been of worse consequence to me than the other; for by this time there were great inquiries after the person who had killed a man at the tennis-court.

My landlord was then sensible of his mistake, and came to me and told me the danger I was in, and very honestly offered to convey me to a friend's of his, where I should be very secure.

I thanked him, and suffered myself to be carried at midnight whither he pleased: he visited me very often till I was well enough to walk about, which was not in less than ten days, when we thought it best to be missing, so took post for Orleans; but when I came upon the road I found myself in another error, for my wound opened again with riding, and I was in a worse condition than before, being forced to take up at a little village on the road, a few miles from Orleans, where there was no surgeon to be had, but a sorry country barber, who nevertheless dressed me as well as he could, and in about a week more I was able to walk to Orleans at three times. Here I stayed till I was quite well, and then took coach for Lyons, and so through Savoy into Italy.

I spent near two years after this bad beginning in travelling through Italy, and to the several courts of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Vienna.

When I came to Lyons, the king was gone

from thence to Grenoble to meet the cardinal, but the queens were both at Lyons.

The French affairs seemed just at this time to have but an indifferent aspect; there was no life in anything but where the cardinal was, and he pushed on everything with extraordinary conduct, and generally with success. He had taken Suza and Pignerol from the Duke of Savoy, and was preparing to push the duke even out of all his dominions.

But, at the same time, everywhere else things looked ill; the troops were badly paid, the magazines empty, the people mutinous, and a general disorder seized the minds of the court; and the cardinal, who was the soul of everything, desired an interview at Grenoble, in order to put affairs into some better method.

This politic minister always ordered matters so, that if there was success in anything, the glory was his; but if things miscarried, it was all laid upon the king.

This conduct was so much the more nice, as it is the direct contrary to the custom in like cases, where kings assume the glory of all the success in an action, and when it miscarries make themselves easy by sacrificing their ministers and favourites to the complaints and resentments of the people; but this accurate, refined statesman got over this point.

While we were at Lyons, and, as I remember, the third day after our coming thither, we had like to have been involved in a state broil, without knowing where we were.

It was on a Sunday evening: the people of Lyons, who had been sorely oppressed with taxes, and the war in Italy pinching their trade, began to be very tumultuous. We found the day before the mob got together in great crowds, and talked oddly: the king was everywhere reviled, and spoken disrespectfully of, and the magistrates of the city either winked at, or durst not attempt to meddle, lest they should provoke the people.

But on Sunday, about midnight, we were waked by a prodigious noise in the street. I jumped out of bed, and running to the window, I saw the street as full as it could hold; some, armed with muskets and halberds, marching in good order; others in disorderly crowds; all shouting and crying out, "Du bain, le Roi!" and the like.

One that led a great party of this rabble carried a loaf of bread on the top of a pike, and other lesser loaves, signifying the smallness of their bread, occasioned by the very high price of corn.

In the morning the crowd was gathered to a great height: they ran over the whole city, shut up all the shops, and forced all the people to join with them; from thence they went up to the castle, and, renewing the clamour, a strange consternation seized all the princes.

They broke open the doors of the officers, collectors of the new taxes, and plundered their houses; and had not the persons themselves fled in time, they would have been very ill treated.

The queen-mother, as she was very much displeased to see such consequences of the government, in whose management she had no

share, so I suppose she had the less concern upon her.

However, she came into the court of the castle, and showed herself to the people, gave money amongst them, and spoke in a courtly manner; and, by her endearing behaviour, pacified the mob, gradually sent them home with promises of redress, and the like; and so appeased this great tumult in two days by her prudence, which the guards in the castle had no mind to meddle with, and, if they had, would in all probability have made the better side the worse.

There had been several seditions of the like nature in sundry other parts of France; and the very army began to murmur, though not to be mutinous, for want of provisions.

This sedition at Lyons was not quite over when we left the place; for, finding the city all in uproar, we thought we had no business there; and what the consequence of a popular tumult might be we did not see, so we prepared to be gone.

We had not rode above three miles out of the city, but we were taken and brought as prisoners of war by a party of mutineers, who had been sent upon the scout, and were charged with being messengers sent to the cardinal for forces to reduce the citizens: with these pretences they brought us back in triumph, and the queen-mother being by this time grown something familiar to them, they carried us before her.

When they inquired of us who we were, we called ourselves Scots; for as the English were very much out of favour in France at this time, the peace not having been made many months, and not supposed to be very durable, because particularly displeasing to the people of England, so the Scots were on the other extreme with the French. Nothing was so much caressed as they; and a man had no more to do in France, if he would be well received there, than to say he was a Scotchman.

When we came before the queen-mother, she seemed to receive us with some stiffness at first, and caused her guards to take us into custody; but as she was a lady of most exquisite politics, she did this to amuse the mob, and we were immediately after dismissed; and the queen herself made a handsome excuse to us for the rudeness we had suffered, alleging the troubles of the times; and the next morning we had three dragoons of the guards to convov us out of the jurisdiction of Lyons.

I confess this little adventure gave me an aversion to popular tumults all my life after; and if nothing else had been in the cause, would have biassed me to espouse the king's party in England, when our popular heats carried all before them at home.

But I must say, that, when I called to mind since the address, the management, the compliance in show, and, in general, the whole conduct of the queen-mother with the mutinous people of Lyons, and compared it with the conduct of my unhappy master the King of England, I could not but think that the queen understood much better than King Charles the management of politics and the clamours of the people.

Had this princess been at the helm in Eng-

land, she would have prevented all the calamities of the civil war here, and yet not have parted with what that good prince yielded in order to peace neither: she would have yielded gradually, and then gained upon them in the same manner: she would have managed them to the point she had designed them, as she did all parties in France; neither could any effectually subject her but the very man she had raised to be her principal support—I mean the cardinal.

We went from hence to Grenoble, and arrived there the same day that the king and the cardinal, with the whole court, went out to view a body of six thousand Swiss foot, which the cardinal had wheedled the cantons to grant to the king, to help to ruin their neighbour the Duke of Savoy.

The troops were exceedingly fine, well accoutred, brave, clean limbed, stout fellows indeed.

Here I saw the cardinal: he had an air of church gravity in his habit, but all the vigour of a general, and the sprightliness in his face of a vast genius; he affected a little stiffness in his behaviour, but managed all his affairs with such clearness, such steadiness, and such application, that it was no wonder he had such success in every undertaking.

Here I saw also the king, whose figure was mean, his countenance was hollow, and always seemed dejected, and every way discovered that weakness in his countenance that appeared in his actions.

If he was ever sprightly and vigorous, it was when the cardinal was with him; for he depended so much on everything he did, that he was at the utmost dilemma when he was absent, being always timorous, jealous, and irresolute.

After the review the cardinal was absent for some days, having been to wait on the queen-mother at Lyons, where, as it was discoursed, they were at least seemingly reconciled.

I observed, while the cardinal was gone, there was no court, the king was seldom to be seen, very small attendance given, and no bustle at the castle; but as soon as the cardinal returned, the great councils were assembled, the coaches of the ambassadors went every day to the castle, and a face of business appeared upon the whole court.

Here the measures of the Duke of Savoy's ruin were concerted; and, in order to it, the king and the cardinal put themselves at the head of the army, with which they immediately reduced all Savoy, took Chamberry, and the whole duchy, except Montmelian.

The army that did this was not above twenty-two thousand men, including the Swiss, and but indifferent troops neither, especially the French foot, who, compared to the infantry I have since seen in the German and Swedish armies, were not fit to be called soldiers. On the other hand, considering the Savoyards and Italian troops, they were good; but the cardinal's conduct made amends for all these deficiencies.

From hence I went to Pignerol, which was then little more than a single fortification on the hill near the town called St Bride's; but the situation of that was very strong. I mention this, because of the prodigious works since added to

it, by which it has obtained the name of the right hand of France: they had begun a new line below the hill, and some works were marked out on the side of the town next the fort; but the cardinal afterwards drew the plan of the works with his own hand, by which it was made one of the strongest fortresses in Europe.

While I was at Pignerol, the governor of Milan, for the Spaniards, came with an army and sat down before Casal. The grand quarrel, for which the war in this part of Italy was begun, was this:—the Spaniards and Germans claimed the duchy of Mantua; the Duke of Nevers, a Frenchman, had not only a title to it, but had got possession; but, being ill supported by the French, was beat out by the Imperialists, and after a long siege the Germans took Mantua itself, and drove the poor duke quite out of the country.

The taking of Mantua elevated the spirits of the Duke of Savoy; and the Germans and Spaniards being now at more leisure, with a complete army came to his assistance, and formed the siege of Montferrat.

For as the Spaniards pushed the Duke of Mantua, so the French, by way of diversion, lay hard upon the Duke of Savoy: they had seized Montferrat, and held it for the Duke of Mantua, and had a strong French garrison under Thoiras, a brave and experienced commander; and thus affairs stood when we came into the French army.

I had no business there as a soldier; but having passed as a Scotch gentleman with the mob at Lyons, and after with her Majesty the queen-mother when we obtained the guard of her dragoons, we had also her Majesty's pass, with which we came and went where we pleased; and the cardinal, who was then not on very good terms with the queen, but willing to keep smooth water there, when two or three times our passes came to be examined, showed a more than ordinary respect to us on that very account, our passes being from the queen.

Casal being besieged, as I have observed, began to be in danger, for the cardinal, who, it was thought, had formed a design to ruin Savoy, was more intent upon that than upon the succour of the Duke of Mantua; but necessity calling upon him to relieve so great a captain as Thoiras, and not to let such a place as Casal fall into the hands of the enemy, the king, or rather cardinal, ordered the Duke of Montmorency and the Mareschal d'Effiat, with ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, to march and join the Mareschals de la Force and Schomberg, who lay already with an army on the frontiers of Genoa, but too weak to attempt the raising the siege of Casal.

As all men thought there would be a battle between the French and the Spaniards, I could not prevail with myself to lose the opportunity, and therefore, by the help of the passes above mentioned, I came to the French army under the Duke of Montmorency. We marched through the enemy's country with great boldness and no small hazard, for the Duke of Savoy appeared frequently with great bodies of horse on the rear of the army, and frequently skirmished with our troops; in one of which I had the folly—I

can call it no better, for I had no business there—to go out and see the sport, as the French gentlemen called it.

I was but a raw soldier, and did not like the sport at all; for this party was surrounded by the Duke of Savoy, and almost all killed, for they neither asked nor gave quarter.

I ran away very fairly one of the first, and my companion with me, and by the swiftness of our horses got out of the fray; and not being much known in the army, we came into the camp an hour or two after, as if we had been only riding about for the air.

This little rout made the general very cautious; for the Savoyards were stronger in horse by three or four thousand, and the army always marched in a body, and kept their parties in or very near hand.

I escaped another rub in this French army about five days after, which had like to have made me pay dear for my curiosity.

The Duke de Montmorency and the Mareschal Schomberg joined their army about four or five days after, and immediately, according to the cardinal's instructions, put themselves on the march for the relief of Casal.

The army had marched over a great plain, with some marshy grounds on the right, and the Po on the left; and as the country was so well discovered that it was thought impossible any mischief should happen, the generals observed the less caution. At the end of this plain was a long wood, and a lane or narrow defile through the middle of it.

Through this pass the army was to march, and the van began to file through it about four o'clock; in three hours all the army was got through, or into the pass, and the artillery was just entered, when the Duke of Savoy appeared, with four thousand horse and fifteen hundred dragoons, with every horseman a footman behind him; whether he had swam the Po, or passed it above at a bridge, and made a long march after, was not examined; but he came boldly up the plain, and charged our rear with a great deal of fury.

Our artillery was in the lane, and as it was impossible to turn them about, and make way for the army, the rear were obliged to support themselves, and maintain the fight for above an hour and a half.

In this time we lost abundance of men, and had it not been for two accidents, all that line would certainly have been cut off: one was, that the wood was so near, that those regiments which were disordered presently sheltered themselves therein; the other was, that by this time Marshal Schomberg, with the horse of the van, began to get back through the lane, and to make good the ground from whence the other had been beat, till at last, by this means, it came to almost a pitched battle.

There were two regiments of French dragoons who did excellent service in this action, and maintained their ground till they were nearly all killed.

Had the Duke of Savoy contented himself with the defeat of five regiments on the right, which he quite broke and drove into the wood, and with the slaughter and havoc which he had made among the rest, he would have come off

with honour, and might have called it a victory; but endeavouring to break the whole party, and carry off some cannon, the obstinate resistance of these few dragoons lost him his advantages, and held him in play till so many fresh troops got through the pass again as made us too strong for him; and had not night parted them, he had been entirely defeated.

At last, finding our troops increase and spread themselves on his flank, he retired and gave over: we had no great mind to pursue him, though some horse were ordered to follow a little way.

The duke lost above a thousand men, and we almost twice as many; and, but for those dragoons, should have lost the whole rear-guard and half our cannon.

I was in a very sorry case in this action too, being with the rear in the regiment of horse of Perigoort, with a captain of which regiment I had contracted some acquaintance. I would have rode off at first, as the captain desired me, but there was no doing it, for the cannon was in the lane, and the horse and dragoons of the van, eagerly pressing back through it, must have run me down, or carried me with them. The wood was a good shelter for saving one's life, but was so thick there was no passing it on horseback.

Our regiment was one of the first that was broke; and being all in confusion, with the Duke of Savoy's men at our heels, away we ran into the wood. Never was there so much disorder among a parcel of runaways; as the wood was so exceeding bushy and thick at the bottom, there was no entering it; and a volley of small shot from a regiment of Savoy's dragoons, pouring in upon us at our breaking into the wood, made terrible work among our horses.

For my part, I was got into the wood, but was forced to quit my horse, and by that means, with a great deal of difficulty, got a little further in, where there was a little open place, and, being quite spent with labouring among the bushes, I sat down, resolving to take my fate there, let it be what it would, for I was not able to go any further. I had twenty or thirty more, in the same condition, came to me in less than half an hour; and here we waited very securely the success of the battle, which was as before.

It was no small relief to those with me to hear the Savoyards were beaten, for otherwise they had all been lost: and for myself, I confess I was glad as it was, because of the danger; but otherwise I cared not much which had the better, for I designed no service among them.

One kindness it did me; I began to consider what I had to do here; and as I could give but a very slender account for what it was I ran all these risks, I resolved they should fight it out themselves, for I would come among them no more.

The captain, with whom, as I noted above, I had contracted some acquaintance in this regiment, was killed in the action, and the French had really a great blow here, though they took care to conceal it all they could; and I cannot, without smiling, read some of the histories of this action, which they are not ashamed to call a victory.

We marched on to Saluces, and the next day the Duke of Savoy presented himself in battalia

on the other side of a small river, giving us a fair challenge to pass and engage him. We always said in our camp that the orders were to fight the Duke of Savoy wherever we met him; but though he braved us in our view, we did not care to engage him, but we brought Saluces to surrender upon articles, which the duke could not relieve without attacking our camp, and that he did not care to do.

The next morning we had news of the surrender of Mantua to the Imperial army: we heard of it first from the Duke of Savoy's cannon, which he fired by way of rejoicing, and which seemed to make him amends for the loss of Saluces.

As this was a mortification to the French, it quite damped the success of the campaign, for the Duke de Montmorency imagining that the Imperial general would send immediate assistance to the Marquis Spinola, who besieged Casal, they called frequent councils of war what course to take, and at last resolved to halt in Piedmont.

A few days after their resolutions were changed again by the news of the death of the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel, who died, as some say, agitated with the extremes of joy and grief.

This put our generals upon considering again whether they should march to the relief of Casal; but the chimera of the Germans put them by, and so they took up quarters in Piedmont: they took several small places from the Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the consternation the duke's subjects were in on the death of their prince, and spread themselves from the sea-side to the banks of the Po.

But here an enemy did that for them which the Savoyards could not, for the plague got into their quarters, and destroyed abundance of people, both of the army and of the country.

I thought then it was time for me to be gone, for I had no manner of courage for that attack; and I think verily I was more afraid of being taken sick in a strange country than ever I was of being killed in battle.

Upon this resolution I procured a pass to go for Genoa, and accordingly began my journey, but was arrested at Villa Franca by a slow lingering fever, which held me about five days, and then turned to a burning malignancy, and at last to the plague. My friend, the captain, never left me night or day; and though for four days more I knew nobody, nor was capable of so much as thinking for myself, yet it pleased God that the distemper gathered in my neck, swelled, and broke. During the swelling I was raging mad with the violence of pain, which, being so near my head, swelled that also in proportion, that my eyes were swelled up, and for twenty hours my tongue and mouth: then, as my servant since told me, all the physicians gave me over as past all remedy, but by the good providence of God the swelling broke.

The prodigious collection of matter which this swelling discharged gave me immediate relief, and I became sensible in less than an hour's time; and in two hours, or thereabouts, fell into a little slumber, which recovered my spirits, and sensibly revived me.

Here I lay by till the middle of September. My captain fell sick after me, but recovered

quickly: his man had the plague also, and died in two days: my man held it out well.

At this time we heard of a truce concluded between all parties; and being unwilling to winter at Villa Franca, I got passes, and, though we were both but weak, began to travel in litters for Milan.

And here I experienced the truth of the old English proverb, "That standers-by see more than the gamesters."

The French, Savoyards, and Spaniards, made this peace or truce all for separate and several grounds, and every one as mistaken.

The French yielded to it because they had given over the relief of Casal, and were very much afraid it would fall into the hands of the Marquis Spinola.

The Savoyards yielded to it because they were afraid the French would winter in Piedmont.

The Spaniards yielded to it because the duke being dead, and the Count de Colalto, the Imperial general, giving no assistance, and his army weakened by sickness and the fatigues of the siege, he foresaw he should never take the town, and wanted but to come off with honour.

The French were mistaken, because really Spinola was so weak, that, had they marched on into Montferrat, the Spaniards must have raised the siege.

The Duke of Savoy was mistaken, because the plague had so weakened the French, that they durst not have stayed to winter in Piedmont; and

Spinola was mistaken; for though he was very slow, if he had stayed before the town one fortnight longer, Thoiras, the governor, must have surrendered, being brought to the last extremity.

Of all these mistakes the French had the advantage, for Casal was relieved, the army had time to be recruited, and the French had the best of it by an early campaign.

I passed through Montferrat in my way to Milan just as the truce was declared, and saw the miserable remains of the Spanish army, who by sickness, fatigue, hard duty, the sallies of the garrison, and such like consequences, were reduced to less than two thousand men, and of them above one thousand lay wounded and sick in the camp.

Here were several regiments which I saw drawn out to their arms that could not muster above seventy or eighty men, officers and all, and those half starved with hunger, almost naked, and in a lamentable condition.

From thence I went into the town, and there things were still in a worse condition; the houses beat down; the walls and works ruined; the garrison, by continual duty, reduced from four thousand five hundred men to less than eight hundred, without clothes, money, or provisions; the brave governor weak with continual fatigue, and the whole face of things in a miserable case.

The French generals had just sent them thirty thousand crowns for present supply, which heartened them a little; but had not the truce been made as it was, they must have surrendered upon what terms the Spaniards had pleased to make.

Never were two armies in such fear of one another with so little cause; the Spaniards afraid

of the French whom the plague had devoured, and the French afraid of the Spaniards whom the siege had almost ruined.

The grief of this mistake, together with the sense of his master, the Spaniard, leaving him without supplies to complete the siege of Casal, so affected the Marquis Spinola, that he died of grief, and in him fell the last of that rare breed of Low-Country soldiers who gave the world so great and just a character of the Spanish infantry as the best soldiers in the world; a character which we see now so very much degenerated, that they hardly deserve the name of soldiers.

I remained at Milan the rest of the winter for the recovery of my health, and also for supplies from England.

Here it was I first heard the name of Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, who now began his war with the Emperor: and while the King of France was at Lyons the league with Sweden was made, in which the French contributed one million two hundred thousand crowns in money, and six hundred thousand per annum, to the attempt of Gustavus Adolphus. About this time he landed in Pomerania, took the towns of Stettin and Stralsund, and from thence proceeded in that prodigious manner, of which I shall have occasion to be very particular in the prosecution of this work.

I had indeed no intention of seeing that king or his armies, having been so roughly handled already, that I had given over all thoughts of appearing among the fighting people, and resolved in the spring to pursue my journey to Venice, and so for the rest of Italy.

Yet I cannot deny that as every Gazette gave us some accounts of the conquests and victories of this glorious prince, it prepossessed me with secret wishes of seeing him; but these were so young and unsettled, that I drew no resolutions from them for a long while.

About the middle of January I left Milan and came to Genoa, from thence by sea to Leghorn; then to Naples, Rome, and Venice; but saw nothing in Italy that afforded me any diversion.

As for their manners, I saw nothing but lewdness, private murders, stabbing men at the corner of a street or in the dark, hiring of bravoës, and the like; all the diversions here ended in whoring, gaming, and debauchery; these were to me the modern excellencies of Italy, and I had no gust for antiquities.

It was pleasant indeed, when I was at Rome, to say, here stood the Capitol; there the colossus of Nero; here the amphitheatre of Titus; there the aqueduct; here the forum; there the catacombs; here the Temple of Venus; there of Jupiter; here the Pantheon, &c.; but as I never designed to write this book, what was useful I kept in my head, and everything else I left to others.

I observed the people were degenerated from the ancient glorious inhabitants, who were generous, brave, and the most valiant of all nations, to a vicious baseness of soul, barbarous, treacherous, jealous, and revengeful; lewd and cowardly; intolerably proud and haughty; bigoted to blind, incoherent devotion, and the grossest of idolatry.

Indeed, I think the unsuitableness of the people made the place unpleasant to me; for there is so

little to recommend a country when the people disgrace it, that all the beauties of the creation cannot make up for the want of those excellencies which agreeable society affords, and this made Italy a very unpleasant country to me. The people were the foil to the place, all manner of hateful vices reigning in their general way of living.

I confess I was not very religious myself, and, being come abroad into the world young enough, might easily have been drawn into evils that had recommended themselves with any tolerable agreeableness to nature and common manners; but when wickedness presents itself full grown in its grossest freedoms and liberties, it quite took all away that agreeableness to vice that the devil had furnished me with; and illustrative to this I cannot but relate a scene which passed betwixt that infernal spirit and myself.

At a certain town in Italy, which shall be nameless, because I will not celebrate the proficiency of one place more than another when I believe the whole country equally wicked, I was prevailed upon, rather than tempted, *à la courtesan*. If I should describe the women, I must give a very mean character of my own virtue, to say I was allured by any but an extraordinary figure; her face, shape, mien, and dress I may, without vanity, say were the finest that ever I saw. When I had admittance into her apartments, the riches and magnificence of them astonished me; the cupboard, or cabinet of plate, the jewels, the tapestry, and everything in proportion, made me question whether I was not in the chamber of some lady of the best quality; but when, after some conversation, I found that she was really nothing but a courtesan,—in English, a common street whore, a punk of the trace,—I was amazed, and my inclination to her person began to cool. Her conversation exceeded, if possible, the best of quality, and was, I must own, exceeding agreeable; she sang to her lute, and danced as fine as ever I saw, and thus diverted me two hours before anything else was discoursed of; but when the vicious part came upon the stage, I blush to relate the confusion I was in; and when she made a certain motion, by which I understood she might be made use of, either as a lady or as ———, I was quite thunderstruck; all the vicious parts of my thoughts vanished, the place filled me with horror, and I was all over disorder and distraction.

I began, however, to recollect where I was, and that in this country there were people not to be affronted. She easily perceived the disorder I was in, and turned it off with admirable dexterity, began to talk again *à la gallant*, received me as a visitant, and offered me sweetmeats and some wine.

Here I was in more confusion than before, for I concluded she would neither offer me to eat or drink now without poison, and I was very shy of tasting her treat; but she scattered this fear immediately by readily, and of her own accord, not only tasting, but eating freely of everything she gave me. Whether she perceived my wariness, or the reason of it, I know not, I could not help banishing my suspicion; the obliging carriage and strange charm of her conversation had so much power of me, that I both ate and drank with her at all hazards.

When I offered to go, and at parting presented her five pistoles, I could not prevail with her to take them; when she spoke some Italian proverb which I could not readily understand, but by my guess it seemed to imply, that "She would not take the pay, having not obliged me otherwise." At last I laid the pieces on her toilet, and would not receive them again; upon which she obliged me to pass my word to visit her again, else she would by no means accept my present.

I confess I had a strong inclination to visit her again, and besides thought myself obliged to it in honour to my parole; but after some strife in my thoughts about it I resolved to break my word to her, when, going at vespers one evening to see their devotions, I happened to meet this lady very devoutly going to her prayers.

At her coming out of the church I spoke to her; she paid me her respects with a *Signor Inglese*, and some words she said in Spanish smiling, which I did not understand. I cannot say here so clearly as I would be glad I might, that I broke my word with her; but if I saw her any more, I saw nothing of what gave me so much offence before.

The end of my relating this story is answered in describing the manner of their address, without bringing myself to confession. If I did anything I have some reason to be ashamed of, it may be a less crime to conceal than expose it. The particulars related, however, may lead the reader of these sheets to a view of what gave me a particular disgust at this pleasant part of the world, as they pretend to call it, and made me quit the place sooner than travellers use to do that go thither to satisfy their curiosity.

The prodigious stupid bigotry of the people also was irksome to me: I thought there was something in it very sordid; the entire empire the priests have over both the souls and bodies of the people, gave me a specimen of that meanness of spirit which is nowhere else to be seen but in Italy, especially in the city of Rome.

At Venice I perceived it quite different; the civil authority having a visible superiority over the ecclesiastic, and the church more subject there to the state than in any other part of Italy.

For these reasons I took no pleasure in filling my history of Italy with remarks of places or things; all the antiquities and valuable remains of the Roman nation are done better than I can pretend to by people who made it more their business: I went to see, and not to write, and as little thought then of these memoirs as I ill-furnished myself to write them.

I left Italy in April, and taking the tour of Bavaria, though very much out of the way, passed through Munich, Passaw, Lints, and at last to Vienna.

I came there the 10th of April, 1631, intending to have gone from thence down the Danube into Hungary, and by means of a pass, which I had obtained from the English ambassador at Constantinople, I designed to have seen all those great towns on the Danube which were then in the hands of the Turks, and which I had read much of in the history of the war between the Turks and the Germans; but I was diverted from my design by the following occasion.

There had been a long bloody war in the em-

pire of Germany for twelve years, between the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria, the King of Spain, and the Popish princes and electors, on the one side, and the Protestant princes on the other; and both sides having been exhausted by the war, and even the Catholics themselves beginning to dislike the growing power of the house of Austria, it was thought all parties were willing to make peace. Nay, things were brought to that pass, that some of the Popish princes and electors began to talk of making alliances with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.

Here it is necessary to observe, that the two Dukes of Mecklenburg having been dispossessed of most of their dominions by the tyranny of the Emperor Ferdinand, and being in danger of losing the rest, earnestly solicited the King of Sweden to come to their assistance; and that prince, as he was related to the house of Mecklenburg, and especially as he was willing to lay hold of any opportunity to break with the Emperor, against whom he had laid up an implacable prejudice, was very ready and forward to come to their assistance.

The reasons of his quarrel with the Emperor were grounded upon the Imperialists concerning themselves in the war of Poland, where the Emperor had sent eight thousand foot and two thousand horse to join the Polish army against the King, and had thereby given some check to his arms in that war.

In pursuance, therefore, of his resolution to quarrel with the Emperor, but more particularly at the instance of the princes above named, his Swedish Majesty had landed the year before at Stralsund with about twelve thousand men, and having joined with some forces which he had left in Polish Prussia, all which did not make thirty thousand, he began a war with the Emperor, the greatest in event, filled with the most famous battles, sieges, and extraordinary actions, including its wonderful success and happy conclusion, of any war ever maintained in the world.

The King of Sweden had already taken Stettin, Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar, and all the strong places on the Baltic, and began to spread himself into Germany; he had made a league with the French, as I observed in my story of Saxony, and had now made a treaty with the Duke of Brandenburg.

In this conjuncture the Emperor called the general diet of the empire to be held at Ratisbon, and by a most exquisite management brought the affairs of the diet to a conclusion exceedingly to his own advantage, and to the further oppression of the Protestants; and, in particular, in the war against the King of Sweden, which was to be carried on in such manner as that the whole burden and charge would lie on the Protestants themselves, and they be made the instruments to oppose their best friends. Other matters also ended equally to their disadvantage, as the methods resolved on to recover the church lands, and to prevent the education of the Protestant clergy; and what remained was referred to another general diet to be held at Frankfort au Main in August, 1631.

I will not pretend to say the other Protestant princes of Germany had never made any overtures to the King of Sweden to come to their assistance; but it is plain they had entered into no league

with him; that appears from the difficulties which retarded the fixing the treaties afterwards, both with the Dukes of Brandenburg and Saxony, which unhappily occasioned the ruin of Magdeburg.

But it is plain the Swedes were resolved on a war with the emperor; his Swedish Majesty might, and indeed could not but foresee, that if he once showed himself with a sufficient force on the frontiers of the empire, all the Protestant princes would be obliged, by their interest, or by his arms, to fall in with him, and this the consequence made appear to be a just conclusion, for the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were both forced to join with him.

First, they were willing to join with him—at least they could not find in their hearts to join with the emperor, of whose power they had such just apprehensions; they wished the Swedes success, and would have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge; but, like true Germans, they were more willing to be saved than to save themselves, and therefore hung back and stood upon terms.

Secondly, they were at last forced to it; the first was forced to join by the King of Sweden himself, who, being come so far, was not to be dallied with; and had not the Duke of Brandenburg complied as he did, he had been ruined by the Swede—the Saxon was driven into the arms of the Swede by force; for Count Tilly, ravaging his country, made him comply with any terms to be saved from destruction.

Thus matters stood at the end of the diet at Ratisbon; the King of Sweden began to see himself leagued against at the diet both by Protestant and Papist; and, as I have often heard his majesty say since, he had resolved to try to force them off from the Emperor, and to treat them as enemies equally with the rest, if they did not.

But the Protestants convinced him soon after, that though they were tricked into the outward appearance of a league against him at Ratisbon, they had no such intentions; and by their ambassadors let him know, that they only wanted his powerful assistance to defend their councils, when they would soon convince him that they had a due sense of the emperor's designs, and would do their utmost for their liberty; and these I take to be the first invitations the King of Sweden had to undertake the Protestant cause as such, and which entitled him to say he fought for the liberty and religion of the German nation.

I have had some particular opportunities to hear these things from the lips of some of the very princes themselves, and therefore am the more forward to relate them; and I place them here, because, previous to the part I acted in this bloody scene, it is necessary to let the reader into some part of the story, and to show him in what manner, and on what occasions, this terrible war began.

The Protestants, alarmed at the usage they had met with at the former diet, had secretly proposed among themselves to form a general union or confederacy for preventing that ruin which they saw, unless some speedy remedies were applied, would be inevitable. The Elector of Saxony, the head of the Protestants, a vigorous and politic prince, was the first that moved

it; and the Landgrave of Hesse, a zealous and gallant prince, being consulted with, it rested a great while between those two, no method being found practicable to bring it to pass; the Emperor being so powerful in all parts, that they foresaw the petty princes would not dare to negotiate an affair of such a nature, being surrounded with the Imperial forces, who, by their two generals, Wallenstein and Tilly, kept them in continual subjection and terror. This dilemma had like to have stifled the thoughts of the union, as a thing impracticable, when one Seigensius, a Lutheran minister, a person of great abilities, and one whom the Elector of Saxony made great use of in matters of policy as well as religion, contrived for them this excellent expedient.

I had the honour to be acquainted with this gentleman while I was at Leipsic. It pleased him exceedingly to have been the contriver of so fine a structure as the conclusions of Leipsic, and he was glad to be entertained on that subject. I had the relation from his own mouth, when, but very modestly, he told me he thought it was an inspiration darted on a sudden into his mind, when the Duke of Saxony, calling him into his closet one morning with a countenance full of concern, shaking his head, and looking earnestly,

"What will become of us, doctor?" said the duke: "we shall all be undone at Frankfort au Main."

"Why so, please your highness?" says the doctor.

"They will fight the King of Sweden with our armies and money," says the duke, "and entirely devour us and our friends."

"But what is become of our confederacy then," said the doctor, "which your highness had so happily framed, and which the Landgrave of Hesse was so pleased with?"

"Become of it?" said the duke; "it's a good thought enough, but it is impossible to bring it to pass among so many members of the Protestant princes that are to be consulted with; for we neither have time to treat, nor will half of them dare to negotiate the matter, the Imperialists being quartered in their very bowels."

"But may not some expedient be found out," says the doctor, "to bring them altogether to treat of it at a general meeting?"

"It is well proposed," says the duke; "but in what town or city shall they assemble where the very deputies shall not be besieged by Tilly or Wallenstein in fourteen days' time, and sacrificed to the cruelty and fury of the Emperor Ferdinand?"

"Will your highness be the easier in it," replies the doctor, "if a way be found out to call such an assembly upon other causes, at which the Emperor may have no umbrage, and perhaps give his assent? You know the diet at Frankfort is at hand: it is necessary the Protestants should have an assembly of their own, to prepare matters for the general diet, and it may be no difficult matter to obtain it."

The duke, surprised with joy at the motion, embraced the doctor with an extraordinary transport:—"Thou hast done it, doctor," said he, and immediately caused him to draw a form of a letter to the Emperor, which he did with the

utmost dexterity of style, in which he was a great master, representing to his Imperial Majesty, that, in order to put an end to the troubles in Germany, his Majesty would be pleased to permit the Protestant princes of the empire to hold a diet to themselves, to consider of such matters as they were to treat of at the general diet, in order to conform themselves to the will and pleasure of his Imperial Majesty, to drive out foreigners, and settle a lasting peace in the empire. He also insinuated something of their resolutions unanimously to give their suffrages in favour of the King of Hungary at the election of a King of the Romans, a thing which he knew the Emperor had in his thoughts, and would push with all his might at the diet. This letter was sent, and the bait so neatly concealed, that the Electors of Bavaria and Mentz, the King of Hungary, and several of the Popish princes, not foreseeing that the ruin of them all lay in the bottom of it, foolishly advised the Emperor to consent to it.

In consenting to this the Emperor signed his own destruction; for here began the conjunction of the German Protestants with the Swede, which was the most fatal blow to Ferdinand and never could be recovered.

Accordingly the diet was held at Leipsic, 8th February, 1630, where the Protestants agreed on several heads for their mutual defence, which were the grounds of the following war: these were the famous conclusions of Leipsic, which so alarmed the Emperor and the whole empire, that, to crush it in the beginning, the Emperor commanded Count Tilly immediately to fall upon the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Saxony, as the principal heads of the union,—but it was too late. (*Note 1.*)

The conclusions were digested into ten heads.

1. That since their sins had brought God's judgment upon the whole Protestant church, they should command public prayers to be made to Almighty God for the diverting the calamities that attended them.

2. That a treaty of peace might be set on foot, in order to come to a right understanding with the Catholic princes.

3. That a time for such a treaty being obtained, they should appoint an assembly of delegates to meet preparatory to the treaty.

4. That all their complaints should be humbly represented to his Imperial Majesty and the Catholic Electors, in order to a peaceable accommodation.

5. That they claim the protection of the Emperor, according to the laws of the empire, and the present Emperor's solemn oath and promise.

6. That they would appoint deputies, who should meet at certain times to consult of their common interest, and who should be always empowered to conclude of what should be thought needful for their safety.

7. That they shall raise a competent force to maintain and defend their liberties, rights, and religion.

8. That it is agreeable to the constitution of the empire, concluded in the diet at Augsburg, to do so.

9. That the arming for their necessary de-

fence shall by no means hinder their obedience to his Imperial Majesty, but that they will still continue their loyalty to him.

10. They agree to proportion their forces, which, in all, amounted to seventy thousand men. (*Note 2.*)

The Emperor, exceedingly startled at the conclusions, issued out a severe proclamation or ban against them, which imported much the same thing as a declaration of war, and commanded Tilly to begin, and immediately to fall on the Duke of Saxony with all the fury imaginable, as I have already observed.

Here began the flame to break out; for, upon the Emperor's ban, the Protestants sent away to the King of Sweden for succour. His Swedish Majesty had already conquered Mecklenburg and part of Pomerania, and was advancing with his victorious troops, increased by the addition of some regiments raised in those parts, in order to carry on the war against the Emperor, having designed to follow up the Oder into Silesia, and so to push the war home to the Emperor's hereditary countries of Austria and Bohemia, when the first messengers came to him in this case; but this changed his measures, and brought him to the frontiers of Brandenburg, resolved to answer the desires of the Protestants. But here the Duke of Brandenburg began to halt, making some difficulties, and demanding terms, which drove the King to use some extremities with him, and stopt the Swede for a while, who had otherwise been on the banks of the Elbe as soon as Tilly, the Imperial general, had entered Saxony, which if they had done, the miserable destruction of Magdeburg had been prevented, as I have observed before.

The King had been invited into the union, and when he first came back from the banks of the Oder he had accepted it, and was preparing to back it with all his power. The Duke of Saxony had already a good army, which he had with infinite diligence recruited, and mustered under the cannon of Leipsic. The King of Sweden having, by his ambassador at Leipsic, entered into the union of the Protestants, was advancing victoriously to their aid, just as Count Tilly had entered the Duke of Saxony's dominions.

The fame of the Swedish conquests, and of the hero who commanded them, shook my resolution of travelling into Turkey, being resolved to see the conjunction of the Protestants' armies, and, before the fire was broken out too far, to take the advantage of seeing both sides.

While I remained at Vienna, uncertain which way I should proceed, I remember I observed they talked of the King of Sweden as a prince of no consideration; one that they might let go on and tire himself in Mecklenburg, and thereabout, till they could find leisure to deal with him, and then might be crushed as they pleased; but as it is never safe to despise an enemy, so this was not an enemy to be despised, as they afterwards found.

As to the conclusions of Leipsic, indeed at first they gave the Imperial court some uneasiness; but when they found the Imperial armies began to fright the members out of the union, and that the several branches had no consider-

able forces on foot, it was the general discourse at Vienna that the union at Leipsic only gave the Emperor an opportunity to crush absolutely the Dukes of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and they looked upon it as a thing certain.

I never saw any real concern in their faces at Vienna until news came to court that the King of Sweden had entered into the union; but as this made them very uneasy, they began to move the powerfulest methods possible to divert this storm; and upon this news Tilly was hastened to fall upon Saxony before this union could proceed to a conjunction of forces.

This was certainly a very good resolution, and no measure could have been more exactly concerted, had not the diligence of the Saxons prevented it.

The gathering of this storm, which, from a cloud, began to spread over the empire, and from the little duchy of Mecklenburg began to threaten all Germany, absolutely determined me, as I noted before, as to travelling; and, laying aside the thoughts of Hungary, I resolved, if possible, to see the King of Sweden's army.

I parted from Vienna the middle of May, and took post for Great Glogau, in Silesia, as if I had purposed to pass into Poland, but designing indeed to go down the Oder to Custrin, in the marquisate of Brandenburg, and so to Berlin; but when I came to the frontiers of Silesia, though I had passes, I could go no further, the guards on all the frontiers were so strict; so I was obliged to come back into Bohemia, and went to Prague.

From hence I found I could easily pass through the Imperial provinces to the Lower Saxony, and accordingly took passes for Hamburg, designing, however, to use them no further than I found occasion. By virtue of these passes I got into the Imperial army under Count Tilly, then at the siege of Magdeburg, May the second. (*Note 3.*)

I confess I did not foresee the fate of this city; neither, I believe, did Count Tilly himself think of glutting his fury with so entire a desolation; much less did the people expect it. I did believe they must capitulate; and I perceived, by discourse in the army, that Tilly would give them but very indifferent conditions, but it fell out otherwise. The treaty of surrender was, as it were, begun, nay some say concluded, when some of the outguards of the Imperialists, finding the citizens had abandoned the guards of the works, and looked to themselves with less diligence than usual, they broke in, carried a half moon sword in hand with little resistance; and though it was a surprise on both sides, the citizens neither fearing, nor the army expecting, the occasion, the garrison, with as much resolution as could be expected under such a fright, flew to the walls, twice beat the Imperialists off; but fresh men coming up, and the administrator of Magdeburg himself being wounded and taken, the enemy broke in, took the city by storm, and entered with such terrible fury, that, without respect to age or condition, they put all the garrison and inhabitants, man, woman, and child, to the sword, plundered the city, and, when they had done, set it on fire.

This calamity, sure, was the most dreadful sight that ever I saw: the rage of the Imperial soldiers was quite intolerable, and not to be expressed. Out of twenty-five thousand, some said thirty thousand people, there was not a soul to be seen alive, till the flames drove those that were hid in vaults and secret places to seek death in the streets, rather than perish in the fire. Of these miserable creatures some were killed, too, by the furious soldiers; but at last they saved the lives of such as came out of their cellars and holes, and so about two thousand poor desperate creatures were left. The exact number of those that perished in this city could never be known, because those the soldiers had first butchered the flames afterwards consumed.

I was on the other side the Elbe when this dreadful piece of butchery was done. The city of Magdeburg had a sconce or fort over against it, called the toll-house, which joined to the city by a very fine bridge of boats. This was taken by the Imperialists a few days before; and having a mind to see it, and the rather because from thence I could have a very good view of the city, I was gone over Tilly's bridge of boats to view this fort. About ten o'clock in the morning I perceived they were storming by the firing, and immediately all ran to the works: I little thought of the taking the city, but imagined it might be some out-work attacked; for we all expected the city would surrender that day or next, and they might have capitulated upon very good terms.

Being upon the works of the fort, on a sudden I heard a cry in the city that that cannot be imagined, and it is not possible to express the manner of it; but I could see the women and children running about the streets in a most lamentable condition.

The city wall did not run along the side of the river with so great a height, but we could plainly see the market place, and several streets which ran down to the river. In about an hour's time after this first cry all was confusion; there was little shooting; the execution was all cutting of throats and mere house-murders. The resolute garrison, with the brave Baron Falenberg, fought it out to the last, and were cut in pieces; and by this time the Imperial soldiers having broke open the gates and entered on all sides, the slaughter was very dreadful. We could see the poor people in crowds driven down the streets, flying from the fury of the soldiers, who followed, butchering them as fast as they could, till, driving them to the river's edge, the desperate wretches threw themselves into the river, where thousands perished, especially women and children.

Several men that could swim got over to our side, where the soldiers, not heated with fight, gave them quarter, and took them up; and I cannot but do this justice to the German officers in the fort, they had five small flat boats, and they gave leave to the soldiers to go off in them, and get what booty they could, but charged them not to kill anybody, but take them all prisoners.

Their humanity was not ill rewarded; for the soldiers, wisely avoiding those places where their fellows were employed in butchering the mise-

nable people, rowed to other places, where crowds of people stood crying out for help, and expecting to be every minute either drowned or murdered: of these, at sundry times, they fetched over near six hundred, but took care to take in none but such as offered them good pay.

Never was money or jewels of greater service than now, for they that had anything of that sort to offer were soonest helped.

There was a burgher of the town, who, seeing a boat coming near him, but out of his call, by the help of a speaking-trumpet told the soldiers he would give them twenty thousand dollars to fetch him off: they rowed close to the shore, and took him, with his wife and six children, into the boat; but such throngs of people got about it, they had like to have sunk her; so that the soldiers were fain to drive a great many out again by main force; and while they were doing this, some of the enemy, coming down the street, desperately drove them all into the water.

The boat, however, brought the burgher and his wife and children safe; and though they had not all that wealth about them, yet in jewels and money he gave them so much as made all the fellows very rich.

I cannot pretend to describe the cruelty of this day; the town by five in the afternoon was all in flames; the wealth consumed was inestimable, and a loss to the very conqueror. I think there was little or nothing left but the great church, and about one hundred houses.

This was a sad welcome into the army for me, and gave me a horror and aversion to the Emperor's people, as well as to his cause. I quitted the camp the third day after this execution, while the fire was hardly out in the city; and from thence, getting safe conduct to pass into the Palatinate, I turned out of the road at a small village on the Elbe, called Emerfield, but can give but small account of the town, having a boor for our guide, whom we could hardly understand. I arrived at Leipsic on the 17th of May.

We found the elector intense upon strengthening his army, but the people in the greatest terror imaginable, every day expecting Tilly with the German army, who, by his cruelty at Magdeburg, was become so dreadful to the Protestants, that they expected no mercy wherever he came.

The Emperor's power was made so formidable to all the Protestants, particularly since the diet at Ratisbon left them in a worse case than it found them, that they had not only formed the conclusions of Leipsic, which all men looked upon as the effect of desperation rather than any probable means of their deliverance, but had privately implored the protection and assistance of foreign powers, and particularly the King of Sweden, from whom they had promises of a speedy and powerful assistance.

And truly, if the Swede had not, with a very strong hand, rescued them, all their conclusions at Leipsic had served but to hasten their ruin.

I remember very well, when I was in the Imperial army, they discoursed with such contempt of the forces of the Protestants, that not only Imperialists, but the Protestants themselves, gave them up as lost. The Emperor had not less

than two hundred thousand men, in several armies, on foot, who most of them were on the back of the Protestants in every corner.

If Tilly did but write a threatening letter to any city or prince of the union, they presently submitted, renounced the conclusions of Leipsic, and received Imperial garrisons, as the cities of Ulm and Memingen, the duchy of Wirtemberg, and several others, and almost all Suabia.

Only the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse upheld the drooping courage of the Protestants, and refused all terms of peace; slighted all the threatenings of the Imperial generals; and the Duke of Brandenburg was brought in afterwards almost by force.

The Duke of Saxony mustered his forces under the walls of Leipsic, and I, having returned to the city two days before, saw them pass in review.

The duke, gallantly mounted, rode through the ranks, attended by his field-marshal Arnheim, and seemed mighty well pleased with them, and indeed the troops made a very fine appearance; but I that had seen Tilly's army, and his old weather-beaten soldiers, whose discipline and exercises were so exact, and their courage so often tried, could not look on the Saxon army without some concern for them when I considered who they had to deal with.

Tilly's men were rugged, surly fellows; their faces had an air of hardy courage, mangled with wounds and scars; their armour showed the bruises of musket-bullets, and the rust of winter storms. I observed of them their clothes were always dirty, but their arms were clean and bright: they were used to camp in the open fields, and sleep in the frosts and rain; their horses were strong and hardy like themselves, and well taught their exercises.

The soldiers knew their business so exactly, that general orders were enough; every private man was fit to command, and their wheelings, marchings, counter-marchings, and exercises were done with such order and readiness, that the distinct words of command were hardly of any use among them: they were flushed with victory, and scarce knew what it was to fly.

There had passed some messages between Tilly and the duke, and he gave always such ambiguous answers as he thought might serve to gain time; but Tilly was not to be put off with words, and drawing his army towards Saxony, sends four propositions to him to sign, and demands an immediate reply: the propositions were positive.

1. To cause his troops to enter into the Emperor's service, and to march in person with them against the King of Sweden.

2. To give the Imperial army quarters in his country, and supply them with necessary provisions.

3. To relinquish the union of Leipsic, and disown the ten conclusions.

4. To make restitution of the goods and lands of the church.

The Duke, being pressed by Tilly's trumpeter for an immediate answer, sat all night and part of the next day with his privy councillors, debating what reply to give; which at last was concluded, in short, that he would live and die in defence of

the Protestant religion and the conclusions of Leipsic, and bade Tilly defiance.

The die being thus cast, he immediately decamped with his whole army for Torgau, fearing that Tilly should get there before him, and so prevent his junction with the Swede. The duke had not yet concluded any positive treaty with the King of Sweden, and the Duke of Brandenburg having made some difficulty of joining, they both stood on niceties till they had like to have ruined themselves at once.

Brandenburg had given up the town of Spandau to the king by a former treaty, to secure a retreat for his army, and the king was advanced as far as Frankfort upon the Oder, when, on a sudden, some small difficulties arising, Brandenburg seemed cold in the matter, and with a sort of indifference demands his town of Spandau to be restored again.

Gustavus Adolphus, who began presently to imagine the duke had made his peace with the Emperor, and so would either be his enemy or pretend a neutrality, generously delivered him his town of Spandau; but immediately turns about, and with his whole army besieges him in his capital city of Berlin.

This brought the duke to know his error; and by the interposition of the ladies, the Queen of Sweden being the duke's sister, the matter was accommodated, and the duke joined his forces with the king.

But the Duke of Saxony had like to have been undone by this delay; for the Imperialists, under Count de Furstenburg, were entered his country, and had possessed themselves of Hall, and Count Tilly was on his march to join him, as he afterwards did, and, ravaging the whole country, laid siege to Leipsic itself. The duke, driven to this extremity, rather flies to the Swede than treats with him, and on the 2nd of September the duke's army joined with the King of Sweden.

I came to Leipsic to see the Duke of Saxony's army, and that being marched, as I have said, for Torgau, I had no business there; but if I had, the approach of Tilly and the Imperial army was enough to hasten me away, for I had no occasion to be besieged there; so on the 27th of August I left the town, as several of the principal inhabitants had done before, and more would have done had not the governor published a proclamation against it; and besides, they knew not whither to fly, for all places were alike exposed. The poor people were under dreadful apprehensions of a siege, and of the merciless usage of the Imperial soldiers, the example of Magdeburg being fresh before them, the duke and his army gone from them, and the town, though well furnished, but indifferently fortified.

In this condition I left them, buying up stores of provisions, working hard to secure their meats, set up palisades, repair their fortifications, and preparing all things for a siege; and following the Saxon army to Torgau, I continued in the camp till a few days before they joined the King of Sweden.

I had much ado to persuade my companion from entering into the service of the Duke of Saxony, one of whose colonels, with whom we had contracted a particular acquaintance, offering

him a commission to be cornet in one of the old regiments of horse.

But the difference I had observed between this new army and Tilly's old troops had made such an impression on me, that I confess I had no manner of inclination for the service, and therefore persuaded him to wait awhile till we had seen a little further into affairs, and particularly till we had seen the Swedish army, which we had heard so much of.

The difficulties which the Elector Duke of Saxony made of joining with the king were made up by a treaty concluded with the king on the 2d of September, at Coswig, a small town on the Elbe, where the king's army was arrived the night before; for General Tilly being now entered into the duke's country, had plundered and ruined all the lower part of it, and was now actually besieging the capital city of Leipsic.

These necessities made almost any conditions easy to him; the greatest difficulty was that the King of Sweden demanded the absolute command of the army, which the duke submitted to with less good will than he had reason to do, the king's experience and conduct considered.

I had not patience to attend the conclusions of their particular treaties; but as soon as ever the passage was clear I quitted the Saxon camp, and went to see the Swedish army. I fell in with the out-guards of the Swedes at a little town called Beltsig, on the river Wersa, just as they were relieving the guards, and going to march, and, having a pass from the English ambassador, was very well received by the officer who changed the guards, and with him I went back into the army. By nine in the morning the army was in full march, the king himself at the head of them, on a grey pad, and riding from one brigade to another, ordered the march of every line himself.

When I saw the Swedish troops, their exact discipline, their order, the modesty and familiarity of their officers, and the regular living of the soldiers, their camp seemed a well-ordered city; the meanest countrywoman with her market-ware was as safe from violence as in the streets of Vienna.

There were no regiments of whores in rags, such as followed the Imperialists; nor any women in the camp but such as were known to the provosts to be the wives of the soldiers, who were necessary for washing linen, taking care of the soldiers' clothes, and dressing their victuals.

The soldiers were well clad, not gay, furnished with excellent arms, and exceedingly careful of them; and though they did not seem so terrible as I thought Tilly's men did when I first saw them, yet the figure they made, together with what we had heard of them made them seem to me invincible.

The discipline and order of their marchings, camping, and exercise, was excellent and singular, and which was to be seen in no armies but the king's, his own skill, judgment, and vigilance, having added much to the general conduct of armies then in use.

As I met the Swedes on their march, I had no opportunity to acquaint myself with anybody till after the junction of the Saxon army, and then it being but four days to the great battle of

Leipsic, our acquaintance was small, saving what fell accidentally by conversation.

I met with several gentlemen in the king's army who spoke English very well; besides that, there were three regiments of Scots in the army, the colonels whereof I found were extraordinarily esteemed by the king, as the Lord Rea, Colonel Lumsdell, and Sir John Hepburn; the latter of these, after I had by accident become acquainted with, I found had been for many years acquainted with my father, and on that account I received a great deal of civility from him, which afterwards grew into a kind of intimate friendship. He was a complete soldier indeed, and for that reason so well beloved by that gallant king, that he hardly knew how to go about any great action without him.

It was impossible for me now to restrain my young comrade from entering into the Swedish service, and indeed everything was so inviting that I could not blame him.

A captain in Sir John Hepburn's regiment had picked acquaintance with him, and he, having as much gallantry in his face as real courage in his heart, the captain had persuaded him to take service, and promised to use his interest to get him a company in the Scotch brigade.

I had made him promise not to part from me in my travels without my consent, which was the only obstacle to his desires of entering into the Swedish pay; and being one evening in the captain's tent with him, and discoursing very freely together, the captain asked him very short, but friendly, and looking earnestly at me, "Is this the gentleman, Mr Fielding, that has done so much prejudice to the King of Sweden's service?"

I was doubly surprised at the expression, and at the colonel, Sir John Hepburn, coming at that very moment into the tent. The colonel hearing something of the question, but knowing nothing of the reason of it, any more than as I seemed a little to concern myself at it, yet, after the ceremony due to his character was over, would needs know what I had done to hinder his majesty's service.

"So much truly," says the captain, "that if his majesty knew it, he would think himself very little beholden to him."

"I am sorry, sir," says I, "I should offend in anything, who am but a stranger; but if you would please to inform me, I will endeavour to alter anything in my behaviour that is prejudicial to any one, much less to his majesty's service."

"I shall take you at your word, sir," says the captain; "the King of Sweden, sir, has a particular request to you."

"I should be glad to know two things, sir," said I; "first, how that can be possible, since I am not yet known to any man in the army, much less to his majesty? and, secondly, what the request may be?"

"Why, sir, his majesty desires you would not hinder this gentleman from entering into his service, who, it seems, desires nothing more, if he may have your consent."

"I have too much honour for his majesty," returned I, "to deny anything which he pleases to command; but methinks it is some hardship you should make that the king's order which it is very probable he knows nothing of."

Here Sir John Hepburn took the case up something gravely, and, drinking a glass of Leipsic beer to the captain, said—"Come, captain, don't press these gentlemen; the king desires no man's service but what is purely volunteer." So we entered into other discourse; and the colonel, perceiving by my talk that I had seen Tilly's army, was mighty curious in his questions, and seemed very well satisfied with the account I gave him.

The next day, the army having passed the Elbe at Wittenburg, and joined the Saxon army near Torgau, his majesty caused both armies to draw up in battalian, giving every brigade the same post in the lines as he purposed it to fight in.

I must do the memory of that glorious general this honour, that I never saw an army drawn up with so much variety, order, and exact regularity since, though I have seen many armies drawn up by some of the greatest captains of the age; the order by which his men were directed to flank and relieve one another, the methods of receiving one body of men, if disordered, into another, and rallying one squadron without disordering another, was so admirable; the horse everywhere flanked, lined, and defended by the foot, and the foot by the horse, and both by the cannon, was such, that if those orders were but as punctually obeyed, it were impossible to put an army so modelled into confusion.

The review being over, and the troops returned to their camps, the captain, with whom we drank the day before, meeting me, told me I must come and sup with him in his tent, where he would ask my pardon for the affront he gave me before.

I told him he need not put himself to the trouble; I was not affronted at all; that I would do myself the honour to wait on him, provided he would give me his word not to speak any more of it as an affront.

We had not been a quarter of an hour in his tent before Sir John Hepburn came in again, told me he was glad to find me there; that he came to the captain's tent to inquire how to send to me; and that I must do him the honour to go with him to wait on the king, who had a mind to hear the account I could give him of the Imperial army from my own mouth.

I must confess I was at some loss in my mind how to make my address to his majesty; but I had heard so much of his conversible temper, and particular sweetness of humour with the meanest soldier, that I made no more difficulty, but having paid my respects to Colonel Hepburn, thanked him for the honour he had done me, and offered to rise and wait upon him.

"Nay," says the colonel, "we will eat first, for I find Gourdon," which was the captain's name, "has got something for supper, and the king's order is at seven o'clock." Sir John, becoming very friendly, must know my name; which when I had told him, and of what place and family, he rose from his seat, and embracing me, told me he knew my father very well, and had been intimately acquainted with him; and told me several passages wherein my father had particularly obliged him.

After this we went to supper, and the king's health being drunk round, the colonel moved the

sooner, because he had a mind to talk with me. When we were going to the king he inquired where I had been, and what occasion brought me to the army.

I gave him the short history of my travels, and that I came hither from Vienna on purpose to see the King of Sweden and his army. He asked me if there was any service he could do me, by which he meant, whether I desired an employment. I pretended not to take him so; but told him the protection his acquaintance would afford me was more than I could have asked, since I might thereby have opportunity to satisfy my curiosity, which was the chief end of my coming abroad.

He, perceiving by this that I had no mind to be a soldier, told me very kindly I should command him in anything; that his tent and equipage, horses and servants, should always have orders to be at my service; but that, as a piece of friendship, he would advise me to retire to some place distant from the army, for they would march to-morrow, and the king was resolved to fight General Tilly, and he would not have me hazard myself; that, if I thought fit to take his advice, he would have me take that interval to see the court at Berlin, whither he would send one of his servants to wait on me.

His discourse was too kind not to extort the tenderest acknowledgment from me that I was capable of. I told him his care was so obliging, that I knew not what return to make, but if he pleased to leave me to my choice, I desired no greater favour than to trail a pike under his command in the ensuing battle.

"I can never answer it to your father, young gentleman," says he, "to suffer you to expose yourself so far."

I replied, my father would certainly acknowledge his friendship in the proposal made me; but I believed he knew him better than to think he would be well pleased with me if I should accept of it; that I was sure my father would have rode post five hundred miles to have been at such a battle under such a general, and it should never be told him that his son had rode fifty miles to be out of it.

He seemed to be something concerned at the resolution I had taken, and replied very quickly upon me, that he approved very much of my courage: "But," says he, "no man gets any credit by running upon needless adventures, nor loses any by shunning hazards which he has no order for. It is enough," says he, "for a gentleman to behave well when he is commanded upon any service: I have had fighting enough," says he, "upon these points of honour, and I never got anything but reproof for it from the king himself."

"Well, sir," said I, "but if a man expects to rise by his valour, he must show it somewhere; and if I were to have any command in an army, I would first try whether I could deserve it: I have never yet seen any service, and must have my induction some time or other: I shall never have a better master than yourself, nor a better school than such an army."

"Well," says Sir John, "but you may have the same school, and the same teaching, after this battle is over; for I must tell you beforehand this will be a bloody touch. Tilly has a

great army of old lads that are used to boxing; fellows with iron faces; and it is a little too much to engage so hotly the first entrance into the wars. You may see our discipline this winter, and make your campaign with us next summer, when you need not fear but we shall have fighting enough, and you will be better acquainted with things: we never put our common soldiers upon pitched battles the first campaign, but place our new men in garrisons, and try them in parties first."

"Sir," said I, with a little more freedom, "I believe I shall not make a trade of the war, and therefore need not serve an apprenticeship to it: it is a hard battle where none escape. If I come off, I hope not to disgrace you; and if not, it will be some satisfaction to my father to hear his son died fighting, under the command of Sir John Hepburn, in the army of the King of Sweden; and I desire no better epitaph upon my tomb."

"Well," says Sir John; and by this time we were just come to the king's quarters, and the guards calling to us interrupted his reply; so we went into the court-yard where the king was lodged, which was in an indifferent house of one of the burghers of Dieben, and Sir John stepping up, met the king coming down some steps into a large room which looked over the town-wall into a field where part of the artillery was drawn up. Sir John Hepburn sent his man presently to me to come up, which I did; and Sir John, without any ceremony, takes me up to the king, who was leaning on his elbow in the window. The king turning about, "This is the English gentleman," says Sir John, "who I told your majesty had been in the Imperial army."

"How then did he get hither," says the king, "without being taken by the scouts?" At which question Sir John said nothing.

"By a pass, and please your majesty, from the English ambassador's secretary at Vienna," said I, making a profound reverence.

"Have you then been at Vienna?" says the king.

"Yes, and please your majesty," said I. Upon which the king, folding up a letter he had in his hand, seemed much more earnest to talk about Vienna than about Tilly.

"And pray what news had you at Vienna?"

"Nothing, sir," said I, "but daily accounts, one in the neck of another, of their own misfortunes, and your majesty's conquests, which make a very melancholy court there."

"But pray," said the king, "what is the common opinion there about these affairs?"

"The common people are terrified to the last degree," said I; "and when your majesty took Frankfort on the Oder, if your army had marched but twenty miles into Silesia, half the people would have run out of Vienna; and I left them fortifying the city."

"They need not," replied the king, smiling; "I have no design to trouble them; it is the Protestant countries I must be for." Upon this the Duke of Saxony entered the room, and, finding the king engaged, offered to retire; but the king beckoned with his hand, and called to him in French: "Cousin," says the king, "this gentleman has been travelling, and comes from Vienna;" and so made me repeat what I had said

before; at which the king went on with me, and Sir John Hepburn informing his majesty that I spoke High Dutch, he changed his language, and asked me in High Dutch where it was that I saw General Tilly's army? I told his majesty at the siege of Magdeburg.

"At Magdeburg!" said the king, shaking his head. "Tilly must answer to me one day for that city; and if not to me, to a greater king than I. Can you guess what army he had with him?"

"He had two armies with him," said I; "but one, I suppose, will do your majesty no harm."

"Two armies!" said the king.

"Yes, sir; he has one army of about twenty-six thousand men," said I; "and another of above fifteen thousand whores and their attendants;" at which the king laughed heartily.

"Aye, aye," says the king; "those do us as much harm as the twenty-six thousand; for they eat up the country, and devour the poor Protestants more than the men. Well," says the king, "do they talk of fighting us?"

"They talk big enough, sir," said I; "but your majesty has not been so often fought with, as beaten in their discourse."

"I know not for the men," said the king; "but the old man is as likely to do it as talk of it, and I hope to try them in a day or two." The king inquired after that of several matters about the Low Countries, the Prince of Orange, and of the court and affairs in England; and Sir John Hepburn, informing his majesty that I was the son of an English gentleman of his acquaintance, the king had the goodness to ask him what care he had taken of me against the day of battle.

Upon which Sir John repeated to him the discourse we had together by the way: the king seemed particularly pleased with it, and began to take me to task himself.

"You English gentlemen," says he, "are too forward in the wars, which makes you leave them too soon again."

"Your majesty," replied I, "makes war in so pleasant a manner, as makes all the world fond of fighting under your conduct."

"Not so pleasant neither," says the king: "here's a man can tell you that sometimes it is not very pleasant."

"I know not much of the warrior, sir," said I, "nor of the world; but if always to conquer be the pleasure of war, your majesty's soldiers have all that can be desired."

"Well," says the king; "but, however, considering all things, I think you would do well to take the advice Sir John Hepburn has given you."

"Your majesty may command me to anything; but where your majesty and so many gallant gentlemen hazard their lives, mine is not worth mentioning; and I should not dare to tell my father, at my return into England, that I was in your majesty's army, and made so mean a figure, that your majesty would not permit me to fight under your royal standard."

"Nay," replied the king, "I lay no commands; but you are young."

"I can never die, sir," said I, "with more honour than in your majesty's service." I spoke

this with so much freedom, and his majesty was so pleased with it, that he asked me how I would choose to serve, on horseback or on foot?

I told his majesty I should be glad to receive any of his majesty's commands; but if I had not that honour, I purposed to trail a pike under Sir John Hepburn, who had done me so much honour as to introduce me into his majesty's presence.

"Do so, then," replied the king; and, turning to Sir John Hepburn, said, "and pray do you take care of him;" at which, overcome with the goodness of his discourse, I could not answer a word, but made him a profound reverence, and retired.

The next day but one, being the 7th of September, before day the army marched from Dieben to a large field about a mile from Leipsic, where we found Tilly's army in full battalian, in admirable order, which made a show both glorious and terrible.

Tilly, like a fair gamester, had taken up but one side of the plain, and left the other free, and all the avenues open for the king's army; nor did he stir to the charge till the king's army was completely drawn up, and advanced towards him. He had in his army forty-four thousand old soldiers, every way answerable to what I said before; and I shall only add, a better army, I believe, never was so soundly beaten.

The king was not much inferior in force, being joined with the Saxons, who were reckoned twenty-two thousand, and who drew up on the left, making a main battle and two wings, as the king did on the right.

His majesty placed himself at the right wing of his own horse; Gustavus Horne had the main battle of the Swedes; the Duke of Saxony had the main battle of his own troops, and General Arnheim the right wing of his horse.

The second line of the Swedes consisted of the two Scotch brigades and three Swedish, with the Finland horse in the wings.

In the beginning of the fight Tilly's right wing charged with such irresistible fury upon the left of the king's army where the Saxons were posted, that nothing could withstand them: the Saxons fled amain, and some of them carried the news over the country that all was lost, and the king's army overthrown; and indeed it passed for an oversight with some, that the king did not place some of his old troops among the Saxons, who were new-raised men. The Saxons lost here near two thousand men, and hardly ever showed their faces again all the battle, except some few of their horse.

I was posted with my companion, the captain, at the head of three Scotch regiments of foot, commanded by Sir John Hepburn, with express directions from the colonel to keep by him.

Our post was in the second line, as a reserve to the king's main battle; and, which was strange, the main battle, which consisted of four great brigades of foot, were never charged during the whole fight, and yet we, who had the reserve, were obliged to endure the whole weight of the Imperial army.

The occasion was, the right wing of the Imperialists having defeated the Saxons, and being eager in the chace, Tilly, who was an old soldier,

and ready to prevent all mistakes, forbids any pursuit: "Let them go," said he; "but let us beat the Swedes, or we do nothing."

Upon this the victorious troops fall in upon the flank of the king's army, which, by the Saxons being fled, lay open to them: Gustavus Horne commanded the left wing of the Swedes, and, having first defeated some regiments which charged him, falls in upon the rear of the Imperial right wing, and separates them from the van, who were advanced a great way forward in pursuit of the Saxons; and having routed the rear, or reserve, falls on Tilly's main battle, and defeated part of them; the other part had gone in chace of the Saxons, but now returned, fell in upon the rear of the left wing of the Swedes, charging them in the flank, for they drew up on the very ground which the Saxons had quitted.

This changed the whole front, and made the Swedes face about to the left, and make a great front on their flank to make this good. Our brigades, who were placed as a reserve for the main battle, were, by special order from the king, wheeled about to the left, and placed for the right of this new front to charge the Imperialists: they were about twelve thousand of their best foot, besides horse, and, flushed with the execution of the Saxons, fell on like furies.

The king by this time had almost defeated the Imperialists' left wing: their horse, with more haste than good speed, had charged faster than their foot could follow, and having broke into the king's first line, he let them go; where, while the second line bore the shock, and bravely resisted them, the king followed them on the crupper with thirteen troops of horse and some musketeers, by which, being hemmed in, they were all cut down in a moment, as it were, and the army never disordered with them.

This fatal blow to the left wing gave the king more leisure to defeat the foot who followed, and to send some assistance to Gustavus Horne in his left wing, who had his hands full with the main battle of the Imperialists.

But those troops who, as I said, had routed the Saxons, being called off from the pursuit, had charged our flank, and were now grown very strong, and renewed the battle in a terrible manner.

Here it was I saw our men go to wrack. Colonel Hall, a brave soldier, commanded the rear of the Swedes' left wing: he fought like a lion, but was slain, and most of his regiment cut off, though not unrevenged, for they entirely ruined Furstenburg's regiment of foot. Colonel Cullembach, with his regiment of horse, was extremely overlaid also, and the colonel and many brave officers killed, and, in short, all that wing was shattered, and in an ill condition.

At this juncture came the king, and having seen what havoc the enemy made of Cullembach's troops, he came riding along the front of our three brigades, and led us on to the charge himself. The colonel of his guards, the Baron Dyvel, was shot dead just as the king had given him some orders.

When the Scots advanced, seconded by some regiments of horse, which the king also sent to the charge, the bloodiest fight began that ever man beheld; for the Scotch brigades giving fire

three ranks at a time, over one another's head, poured in their shot so thick, that the enemy were cut down like grass before a scythe; and following into the thickest of their foot, with the clubs of their muskets made a most dreadful slaughter, and yet there was no flying—Tilly's men might be killed and knocked down, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, marched, or retreated by their officers.

There was a regiment of cuirassiers which stood whole to the last, and fought like heroes, went ranging over the field when all their army was broken, and nobody cared for charging them: they were commanded by Baron Cronenburg, and at last went off from the battle whole. These were armed in black armour from head to foot, and they carried off their general.

About six o'clock the field was cleared of the enemy, except at one place on the king's side, where some of them rallied, and, though they knew all was lost, would take no quarter, but fought it out to the last man, being found dead the next day in rank and file, as they were drawn up.

I had the good fortune to receive no hurt in this battle, excepting a small scratch on the side of my neck by the push of a pike; but my friend received a very dangerous wound when the battle was as good as over.

He had engaged with a German colonel, whose name we could never learn; and having pressed very close upon him so that he had shot his horse, the horse in the fall kept the colonel down, lying on one of his legs; upon which he demanded quarter, which Captain Fielding granting, helped him to quit his horse, and, having disarmed him, was bringing him into the line, when the regiment of cuirassiers, which I mentioned, commanded by Baron Cronenburg, came roving over the field, and with a flying charge saluted our front with a salvo of carabine shot, which wounded us a great many men; and, among the rest, the captain received a shot in his thigh which laid him on the ground, and, being separated from the line, his prisoner got away with them.

This was the first service I was in, and indeed I never saw any fight since maintained with such gallantry, such desperate valour, together with such dexterity of management, both sides being composed of soldiers fully tried, bred to the wars, expert in everything, exact in their order, and incapable of fear, which made the battle much more bloody than usual.

Sir John Hepburn, at my request, took particular care of my comrade, and sent his own surgeon to look after him; and afterwards, when the city of Leipsic was retaken, provided him lodgings there, and came very often to see him; and indeed I was in great care for him too, the surgeons being very doubtful of him a great while; for, having lain in the field all night among the dead, his wound, for want of dressing, and with the extremity of cold, was in a very ill condition, and the pain of it had thrown him into a fever.

It was quite dusk before the fight ended, especially where the last-rallied troops fought so long, and therefore we durst not break our order to seek out our friends; so that it was near seven o'clock the next morning before we found the

captain, who, though very weak by the loss of blood, had raised himself up, and placed his back against the buttock of a dead horse.

I was the first that knew him, and, running to him, embraced him with a great deal of joy: he was not able to speak, but made signs to let me see he knew me; so we brought him into the camp, and Sir John Hepburn, as I noted before, sent his own surgeons to look after him.

The darkness of the night prevented any pursuit, and was the only refuge the enemy had left; for had there been three hours more daylight, ten thousand more lives had been lost; for the Swedes, and Saxons especially, enraged by the obstinacy of the enemy, were so thoroughly heated, that they would have given quarter but to few.

The retreat was not sounded until seven o'clock, when the king drew up the whole army upon the field of battle, and gave strict command that none should stir from their order; so the army lay under arms all night, which was another reason why the wounded soldiers suffered very much by the cold; for the king, who had a bold enemy to deal with, was not ignorant what a small body of desperate men rallied together might have done in the darkness of the night, and therefore he lay in his coach all night at the head of the line, though it froze very hard.

As soon as the day began to peep, the trumpets sounded to horse, and all the dragoons and eight horse in the army were commanded to the pursuit: the cuirassiers and some commanded musketeers advanced some miles to make good their retreat, if need were, and all the foot stood to their arms for a reserve. But in half an hour word was brought to the king that the enemy was quite dispersed; upon which detachments were made out of every regiment to search among the dead for any of our friends that were wounded; and the king himself gave a strict order, that if any were found wounded and alive among the enemy, none should kill them, but take care to bring them into the camp—a piece of humanity which saved the lives of near a thousand of the enemy.

This piece of service being over, the enemy's camp was seized upon, and the soldiers permitted to plunder it; all the cannon, arms, and ammunition, were secured for the king's use; the rest was given up to the soldiers, who found so much plunder, that they had no reason to quarrel for shares.

For my share, I was so busy with my wounded captain, that I got nothing but a sword, which I found just by when I first saw him; but my man brought me a very good horse, with furniture and a pistol of extraordinary workmanship.

I bade him get upon his back and make the best of the day for himself, which he did, and I saw him no more till three days after, when he found me out at Leipsic, but was so richly dressed that I hardly knew him; and, after making his excuse for being so long absent, gave me a very pleasant account where he had been.

He told me, that, according to my order, being mounted on the horse he had brought me, he first rode into the field among the dead to get some clothes suitable to the equipage of his horse; and having seized on a laced coat, a helmet, a

sword, and an extraordinary good cane, was resolved to see what was become of the enemy, and following the track of the dragoons, which he could easily do by the bodies on the road, he fell in with a small party of twenty-five dragoons, under no command but a corporal, making to a village where some of the enemy's horse had been quartered. The dragoons, taking him for an officer by his horse, desired him to command them: told him the enemy was very rich, and they doubted not a good booty. He was a bold, brisk fellow, and told them with all his heart; but said he had but one pistol, the other being broke with firing; so they lent him a pair, and a small piece they had taken, and he led them on.

There had been a regiment of horse and some troops of Crabats in the village, but they were fled on the first notice of the pursuit, excepting three troops; and these, on sight of this small party, supposing them to be only the first of a greater number, fled in the greatest confusion imaginable: they took the village and about fifty horses, with all the plunder of the enemy, and with the heat of the service, he said, he had spoiled my horse, for which he had brought me two more; for he, passing for the commander of the party, had all the advantage the custom of war gives an officer in like cases.

I was very well pleased with the relation the fellow gave me, and laughing at him, "Well, captain," said I, "and what plunder have you got?"

"Enough, sir," said he, "to make me a captain, if you please, and a troop ready raised too; for the party of dragoons are posted in the village, by my command, till they have further orders."

In short, he pulled out sixty or seventy pieces of gold, five or six watches, thirteen or fourteen rings, whereof two were diamond—one of them worth fifty dollars; silver, as much as his pockets would hold; besides that, he had brought three horses, two of which were laden with baggage, and he had hired a boor to stay with them at Leipsic till he had found me.

"But I am afraid, captain," says I, "you plundered the village, instead of plundering the enemy."

"No, indeed, not we, sir," said he; "but the Crabats had done it for us, and we lit on them just as they were carrying it off."

"Well," said I, "but what will you do with your men? for when you come to give them orders, they will know you well enough."

"No, no," said he, "I took care of that; for just now I gave a soldier five dollars to carry them news that the army was marched to Moersburg, and that they should follow thither to the regiment."

Having secured his money in my lodgings, he asked me if I pleased to see his horses, and to have one for myself? I told him I would see them in the afternoon; but the man being impatient, goes and fetches them. There were three horses, one a very good one—and, by the furniture, an officer's horse of the Crabats, and that my man would have me accept—for the other he had spoiled, as he said.

I was but indifferently horsed before, so I accepted of the horse, and went down with him

to see the rest of his plunder: he had three or four pair of pistols, two or three bundles of officer's linen and lace, a field bed and a tent, and several other things of value; but at last coming to a small fardel, "this," says he, "I took whole from a Crabat running away with it under his arm;" so he brought it up into my chamber. He had not looked into it, he said, but he understood it was some plunder the soldiers had made, and, finding it heavy, took it by consent: we opened it, and found it was a bundle of some linen, three or four pieces of plate, and in a small cup three rings, a fine necklace of pearl, and the value of one hundred rix dollars in money.

The fellow was amazed at his own good fortune, and hardly knew what to do with himself. I bade him go take care of his other things; and his horses, and come again; so he went and discharged the boor that waited, packed up all his plunder, and came up to me in his old clothes again.

"How now, captain?" says I, "what! have you altered your equipage already?"

"I am no more ashamed," answered he, "of your livery, than of your service; nevertheless, your servant for what I have got by it."

"Well," said I to him, "but what will you do with all your money?"

"I wish my poor father had some of it," says he; "and, for the rest, I got it for you, sir, and desire you would take it."

This was spoke with so much honesty and freedom, that I could not but take it very kind; but, however, I told him I would not take a farthing from him as his master, but I would have him play the good husband with it, as he had had such good fortune.

He told me he would take my directions in everything.

"Why, then," says I, "I'll tell you what I would advise you to do; turn it all into ready money, and convey it by return home into England, and follow yourself the first opportunity, and, with good management, you may put yourself in a good situation."

The man, with a sort of dejection in his looks, asked me if he had disobligeed me in anything? "Why?" says I. "That you are willing to turn me out of your service," says he.

"No, George," (that was his name) "but you may live on this money without being a servant."

"I would throw it all into the Elbe," says he, "over Torgau-bridge, rather than leave your service; and besides," says he, "cannot I save my money without going from you? I got it in your service, and I will never spend it out of it, unless you put me away. I hope my money will not make me the worse servant: if I thought so, I would soon have little enough."

"Nay, George," says I, "I shall not oblige you to it, for I am not willing to lose you neither;—let us put all our effects together, and see what they come to."

So he laid all on the table, and, by our computation, he had got as much as was worth about fourteen hundred rix-dollars, besides three horses with their furniture, a tent, bed, and some wearing linen. He then took the necklace of pearl, a very good watch, a diamond ring, and one

hundred pieces of gold, and laid them by themselves, and having, according to our best calculation, valued the things, he put up all the rest, and, as I was going to ask him what they were left out for, he took them up in his hand, and, coming round the table, told me that if I did not think him unworthy of my service and favour, he begged I would give him leave to make that present to me; that his going out was my first thought that he had got it all in my service, and he should think I had no kindness for him if I refused it.

I was resolved in my mind not to take it from him, and yet I could find no means to resist his importunity. At last I told him I would accept part of his present, and that I esteemed his respect in that as much as the whole; and that I would not have him importune me further, I took the ring and watch, with the horse and furniture, and made him turn all the rest into money at Leipsic, not suffering him, as before, to wear his livery, made him put himself into a tolerable equipage, and taking a young Leipsicker into my service, he attended me as a gentleman from that time forward.

The king's army never entered Leipsic, but proceeded to Moersburg, and from thence to Hall, and so marched on into Franconia, while the Duke of Saxony employed his forces in recovering Leipsic, and in driving the Imperialists out of his country.

I continued at Leipsic twelve days, not being willing to leave Fielding till he was recovered; but Sir John Hepburn so often importuned me to come into the army, and sent me word that the king had very often inquired for me, that at last I consented to go without him; so having made our appointment where to meet, and how to correspond by letters, I went to wait on Sir John Hepburn, who then lay with the king's army at the city of Erfurt in Saxony.

As I was riding between Leipsic and Hall, I observed my horse went very awkwardly and uneasy, and sweat very much, though the weather was cold, and we had ridden but very gently: I fancied, therefore, that the saddle might hurt the horse, and, calling up my new captain, "George," says I, "I believe this saddle hurts the horse;" so we alighted, and, looking under the saddle, found the back of the horse extremely galled: so I bid him take off the saddle, which he did, and, giving the horse to my young Leipsicker to hold, we sat down to see if we could mend it, for there was no town near us. Says George, pointing with his finger, "If you please to cut open the panel there, I'll get something to stuff into it which will bear it from the horse's back."

So while he looked for something to thrust in, I cut a hole in the pannel of the saddle, and, following it with my finger, I felt something hard, which seemed to move up and down again as I thrust it with my finger. "Here's something that should not be here;" said I, not yet imagining what afterwards fell out, and calling him back, bade him put up his finger.

"Whatever it is," says he, "it is this hurts the horse, for it bears just on his back when the saddle is set on." So we strove to take hold of it, but could not reach it: at last we took the

upper part of the saddle quite from the pannel, and there lay a silk purse wrapped in a piece of leather, and full of gold ducats.

"Thou art born to be rich, George," says I to him; "here's more money." We opened the purse, and found in it four hundred and thirty-eight pieces of gold.

Here I had a new skirmish with him whose the money should be. I said it was his; he said no: I had accepted of the horse and furniture, and all that was about him was mine, and solemnly vowed he would not have a penny of it. I saw no remedy, but put up the money for the present, mended our saddle, and went on.

We lay that night at Hall, and having had such a booty in the saddle, I made him search the saddles of the other two horses, in one of which he found three French crowns, but nothing in the other.

We arrived at Erfurt the 28th of September; but the army was removed, and entered into Franconia, and at the siege of Koningshoven we came up with them. The first thing I did was to pay my civilities to Sir John Hepburn, who received me very kindly, but told me, withal, I had not done well to be so long from him; that the king had particularly inquired for me, and had commanded him to bring me to him at my return. I told him the reason of my stay at Leipsic, and how I had left that place and my companion, before he was cured of his wounds, to wait on him according to his letters.

He told me the king had spoken some things very obliging about me, and he believed would offer me some command in the army, if I thought well to accept of it. I told him I had promised my father not to take service in an army without his leave; and yet, if his majesty should offer it, I neither knew how to resist it, nor had I an inclination to anything more than the service and such a leader; though I had much rather have served as a volunteer at my own charge, which he knew was the custom of our English gentlemen, than in any command.

He replied, "Do as you think fit; but some gentlemen would give twenty thousand crowns to stand so fair for advancement as you do."

The town of Koningshoven capitulated that day, and Sir John was ordered to treat with the citizens, so I had no further discourse with him then; and the town being taken, the army immediately advanced down the river Main, for the king had his eye upon Frankfort and Mentz, two great cities, both which he soon became master of, chiefly by the prodigious expedition of his march, for within a month after the battle he was in the lower parts of the empire, and had passed from the Elbe to the Rhine, an incredible conquest; had taken all the strong cities, the Bishoprics of Bamberg, of Wurzburg, and almost all the circle of Franconia, with part of Schawberland:—a conquest large enough to be seven years obtaining by the common course of arms.

Business going on thus, the king had not leisure to think of small matters, and I being not thoroughly resolved in my mind, did not press Sir John to introduce me. I had wrote to my father an account of my reception in the army, the civilities of Sir John Hepburn, the particulars of the battle, and indeed pressed him to give me

leave to serve the King of Sweden, to which particulars I waited for an answer; but the following occasion determined me before an answer could possibly reach me.

The king was before the strong castle of Marienburg, which commands the city of Wurtsburg: he had taken the city, but the garrison and richer part of the burghers were retired into the castle, and, trusting to the strength of the place, which was thought impregnable, they bade the Swedes do their worst. It was well provided with all things, and a strong garrison in it, so that the army indeed expected it would be a long piece of work.

The castle stood on a high rock, and on the steep of the rock was a bastion, which defended the only passage up the hill into the castle. The Scots were chose out to make this attack, and the king was an eye-witness to their gallantry. In the action Sir John was not commanded out, but Sir James Ramsey led them on; but I observed that most of the Scotch officers in the other regiments prepared to serve as volunteers for the honour of their countrymen, and Sir John Hepburn led them on.

I was resolved to see this piece of service, and therefore joined myself to the volunteers. We were armed with partisans, and each man two pistols at his belt; it was a piece of service that seemed perfectly desperate; the advantage of the hill, the precipice we were to mount, the height of the bastion, the resolute courage and number of the garrison, who, from a complete covert, made a terrible fire upon us, all joined to make the action hopeless; but the fury of the Scotch musketeers was not to be abated by any difficulties: they mounted the hill, scaled the works like madmen, running on the enemy's pikes, and after two hours' desperate fight, in the midst of fire and smoke, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The volunteers did their part, and had their share of the loss too; for thirteen or fourteen were killed out of thirty-seven, besides the wounded, among whom I received a hurt more troublesome than dangerous, by a thrust of a halberd into my arm, which proved a very painful wound, and it was a great while in being thoroughly recovered.

The king received us as we drew off at the foot of the hill, calling the soldiers his brave Scots, and commending the officers by name. The next morning the castle was also taken by storm, and the greatest booty that ever was found in any one conquest in the whole war. The soldiers got here so much money, that they knew not what to do with it; and the plunder they got here and at the battle of Leipsic made them so unruly, that, had not the king been the best master of discipline in the world, they had never been kept in any reasonable bounds.

The king had taken notice of our small party of volunteers, and though I thought he had not seen me, yet he sent the next morning for Sir John Hepburn, and asked him if I were not come to the army?

"Yes, sir," said Sir John, "he has been here two or three days." And as he was forming an excuse for not having brought me to wait on his majesty, says the king, interrupting him, "I wonder you would let him thrust himself into

such a hot piece of service as storming the Port Graft. Pray let him know I saw him, and have a very good account of his behaviour."

Sir John returned with this account to me, and pressed me to pay my duty to his majesty the next morning; and accordingly, though I had but an ill night with the pain of my wound, I was with him at the levee in the castle.

I cannot but give some short account of the glory of that morning. The castle had been cleared of the dead bodies of the enemy; and what was not pillaged by the soldiers, was placed under a guard. There was first, a magazine of very good arms for about eighteen or twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse; a very good train of artillery of eighteen pieces of battery, thirty-two brass field-pieces, and four mortars.

The bishop's treasure, and other public moneys not plundered by the soldiers, which belonged to the officers, amounted to four hundred thousand florins in money; and the burghers of the town, in solemn procession, bareheaded, brought the king three tons of gold as a composition to exempt the city from plunder.

Here was also a stable of gallant horses, which the king had the curiosity to go and see.

When the ceremony of the burghers was over, the king came down into the castle-court, walked on the parade (where the great train of artillery was placed on their carriages) and round the walls, and gave orders for repairing the bastion that was stormed by the Scots; and as at the entrance of the parade Sir John Hepburn and I made our reverence to the king, "Ho! Cavalier," said the king to me, "I am glad to see you," and so passed forward. I made my bow very low; but his majesty said no more at that time.

When the view was over, the king went up into the lodgings, and Sir John and I walked in the chamber for about a quarter of an hour, when one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber came out to Sir John, and told him the king asked for him. He staid but a little with the king, and came out to me, and said the king had ordered him to bring me to him.

His majesty, with a countenance full of honour and goodness, interrupted my compliment, and asked me how I did; at which, answering only with a bow, said the king, "I am sorry to see you are hurt; I would have laid my commands on you not to have shown yourself in so sharp a piece of service, if I had known you had been in the camp."

"Your majesty does me too much honour," said I, "in your care of a life that has yet done nothing to deserve your favour."

His majesty was pleased to say something very kind to me relating to my behaviour in the battle of Leipsic, which I have not vanity enough to write; at the conclusion whereof, when I replied very humbly I was not sensible any service I had done, or could do, could possibly merit so much goodness, he told me he had ordered me a small testimony of his esteem, and withal gave me his hand to kiss. I was now conquered, and with a sort of surprise told his Majesty, I found myself so much engaged by his goodness, as well as my own inclination, that if his Majesty would please to accept of my devoir, I was resolved to

serve in his army, or wherever he pleased to command me.

"Serve me!" says the king, "why so you do; but I must not have you be a musqueteer; a poor soldier at a dollar a week will do that; pray, Sir John," says he king, "give him what commission he desires."

"No commission, sir," says I, "would please me better than leave to fight near your majesty's person, and to serve you at my own charge, till I am qualified by more experience to receive your commands."

Why, then, it shall be so, said the king; "and I charge you, Hepburn, when anything offers that is either fit for him, or he desires, you will tell me of it," and giving me his hand again to kiss, I withdrew.

I was followed, before I had passed the castle-court, by one of the king's pages, who brought me a warrant directed to Sir John Hepburn, to go to the master of the horse for an immediate delivery of things ordered by the king himself for my account, where being come, the equerry produced me a very good coach, with four horses, harness, and equipage, and two very fine saddle horses out of the bishop's stable; with these there was a list for those servants, and a warrant to the steward of the king's baggage to defray me, my horses, and servants, at the king's charge, till further orders. I was very much at a loss how to manage myself in this strange freedom of so great a prince and consulting with Sir John Hepburn, I was proposing to him whether it was not proper to go immediately back to pay my duty to his majesty, and acknowledge his bounty in the best terms I could; but while we were resolving to do so, the guards stood to their arms, and we saw the king go out at the gate in his coach to pass into the city, so we were diverted from it for that time. I acknowledge the bounty of the king was very surprising; but I must say it was not so very strange to me when I afterwards saw the course of his management—bounty in him was a natural talent; but he never distributed his favours only where he thought himself both beloved and faithfully served, and when he was so, even the single actions of his private soldiers he would take particular notice of, and publicly own, acknowledge, and reward, of which I am obliged to give some instances,

A private musketeer, at the storming of the castle of Wurtburg, when all the detachment was beaten off, stood in the face of the enemy, fired his piece, and though he had a thousand shot made at him, stood unconcerned, and charged his piece again, and let fly at the enemy, continuing to do so thrice, at the same time beckoning with his hand to his fellows to come on again—which they did, animated by his example, and carried the place for the king.

When the town was taken, the king ordered the regiment to be drawn out, and calling for that soldier, thanked him before them all for taking the town for him, gave him a thousand dollars, and a commission with his own hand for a foot company, or leave to go home, which he chose. The soldier took the commission on his knees, kissed it, and put it into his bosom, and told the

king he would never leave his service while he lived.

This bounty of the king's, timed and suited by his judgment, was the reason that he was very well served, universally beloved, and most punctually obeyed by his soldiers, who were sure to be cherished and encouraged if they did well, having the king generally an eye-witness of their behaviour.

My indiscretion, rather than valour, had engaged me so far at the battle of Leipsic, that, being in the van of Sir John Hepburn's brigade, almost three whole companies of us were separated from our line, and surrounded by the enemy's pikes: I cannot but say also, that we were disengaged rather by a desperate charge Sir John made with the whole regiment to fetch us off, than by our own valour, though we were not wanting to ourselves neither; but this part of the action being talked of very much to the advantage of the young English volunteer, and possibly more than I deserved, was the occasion of all the distinction the king used me with.

I had by this time letters from my father, in which, though with some reluctance, he left me at liberty to enter into arms if I thought fit, always obliging me to be directed, and, as he said, commanded, by Sir John Hepburn; at the same time he wrote to Sir John, commending his son's fortunes, as he called it, to his care: which letters Sir John showed the king unknown to me. I took care always to acquaint my father of every circumstance, and forgot not to mention his majesty's extraordinary favour, which so affected my father, that he obtained a very honourable mention of it in a letter from King Charles to the King of Sweden, written by his own hand.

I had waited on his majesty with Sir John Hepburn to give him thanks for his magnificent present, and was received with his usual goodness; and after that I was every day among the gentlemen of his ordinary attendance; and if his majesty went out on a party, as he would often do, or to view the country, I always attended him among the volunteers, of whom a great many always followed him, and he would often call me out, talk with me, send me on messages to towns, to princes, free cities, and the like upon extraordinary occasions.

The first piece of service he put me on had like to have embroiled me with one of his favourite colonels. The king was marching through the Bergstraet, a low country on the edge of the Rhine, and, as all men thought, was going to besiege Heidelberg; but on a sudden orders a party of his guards, with five companies of Scots, to be drawn out. While they were drawing out this detachment, the king called me to him. "Ho! cavalier," says he, that was his usual word, "you shall command this party;" and thereupon gives me orders to march back all night, and in the morning, by break of day, to take post under the walls of the fort of Oppenheim, and immediately to entrench myself as well as I could. Grave Neels, the colonel of his guards, thought himself injured by this command; but the king took the matter upon himself, and Neels told me very familiarly afterwards, "We have such a master," says he, "that no man can be affronted by: I thought myself

wronged," says he, "when you commanded my men over my head, but for my life I knew not which way to be angry."

I executed my commission so punctually, that by break of day I was set down within musket-shot of the fort, under covert of a little mount, on which stood a windmill, and had indifferently fortified myself, and at the same time had posted some of my men on two other passes, but at farther distance from the fort, so that it was effectually blocked up on the land side. In the afternoon the enemy sallied on my first entrenchment; but being covered from their cannon, and defended by a ditch which I had drawn across the road, they were so well received by my musketeers, that they retired with the loss of six or seven men. (*Note 5.*)

The next day Sir John Hepburn was sent with two brigades of foot to carry on the work, and so my commission ended. The king expressed himself very well pleased with what I had done, and, when he was so, was never sparing in telling it: for he used to say that public commendations were great encouragements to valour.

While Sir John Hepburn lay before the fort, and was preparing to storm it, the king's design was to get over the Rhine; but the Spaniards, who were in Oppenheim, had sunk all the boats they could find: at last the king, being informed where some lay that were sunk, caused them to be weighed with all expedition possible, and in the night of the 27th of December, in three boats, passed over his regiment of guards about three miles above the town, and, as the king thought, secure from danger; but they were no sooner landed, and not drawn into order, but they were charged by a body of Spanish horse, and had not the darkness given them opportunity to draw up in the enclosures in several little parties, they had been in great danger of being disordered; but by this means they lined the edges and lanes so with musketeers, that the remainder had time to draw up in battalia, and saluted the horse in such a manner that they drew further off.

The king was very impatient, hearing his men engaged, having no boats nor possible means to get over to help them; at last, about eleven o'clock at night, the boats came back, and the king thrust another regiment into them, and, though his officers dissuaded him, would go over himself with them on foot, and did so. This was three months that very day since the battle of Leipsic was fought, and winter-time too, that the progress of his arms had spread from the Elbe, where it parts Saxony and Brandenburg, to the Lower Palatinate and the Rhine.

I went over in the boat with the king, and never saw him in so much concern in my life, for he was in pain for his men; but before we got on shore the Spaniards retired; however, the king landed, ordered his men, and prepared to entrench; but he had not time, for by this the boats were put off again, the Spaniards not knowing more troops were landed, and being reinforced from Oppenheim, came on again, and charged with great fury; but all things were now in order, and they were readily received and beaten back again. They came on again a third time, and with repeated charges attacked us; but at last,

finding us too strong for them, they gave it over. By this time another regiment of foot was come over; and as soon as day appeared, the king, with the three regiments, marched again to the town, which surrendered at the first summons, and the next day the fort yielded to Sir John Hepburn.

The castle at Oppenheim held out still with a garrison of eight hundred Spaniards, and the king, leaving two hundred Scots of Sir James Ramsey's men in the town, drew out to attack the castle. Sir James Ramsey being left wounded at Wurtzburg, the king gave me the command of those two hundred men, which were a regiment, that is, all that were left of a gallant regiment of two thousand Scots, which the king brought out of Sweden with him under that brave colonel. There were about thirty officers who, having no soldiers, were yet in pay, and served as reformadoes with the regiment, and were over and above the two hundred men. The king designed to storm the castle on the lower side by the way that leads to Mentz, and Sir John Hepburn landed from the other side, and marched up to storm on the Rhine port.

My reformado Scots, having observed that the town-port of the castle was not so well guarded as the rest, all the eyes of the garrison being bent towards the king and Sir John Hepburn, came running to me, and told me they believed they could enter the castle sword in hand, if I would give them leave. I said I dare not give them orders, my commission being only to keep and defend the town; but they being very importunate, I told them they were volunteers, and might do what they pleased; that I would lend them fifty men, and draw the rest up to second them, or bring them off, as I saw occasion, so as I might not hazard the town. This was as much as they desired: they sallied immediately, and in a trice the volunteers scaled the port, cut in pieces the guard totally, and burst open the gate, at which the fifty entered. Finding the gate won, I advanced immediately with a hundred musketeers more, having locked up all the gates of the town but the castle port, and leaving still fifty for a reserve just at that gate; the townsmen, too, seeing the castle, as it were, taken, ran to arms, and followed me with above two hundred men. The Spaniards were knocked down by the Scots before they knew what the matter was, and the king and Sir John Hepburn, advancing to storm, were surprised when, instead of resistance, they saw the Spaniards throwing themselves over the walls to avoid the fury of the Scots. Few of the garrison got away, as most of them were either killed or taken; and having cleared the castle, I set open the port on the king's side, and sent his majesty word that the castle was his own.

The king came on, and entered on foot: I received him at the head of the Scotch reformadoes, who all saluted him with their pikes. The king gave them his hat, and turning about, "Brave Scots," says he, smiling, "you were too quick for me:" then, beckoning to me, made me tell him how and in what manner we had managed the storm, which he was exceedingly well pleased with, but especially at the caution I had used to bring them off if they had miscarried, and secure the town.

From hence the army marched to Mentz, which in four days capitulated, with the fort and citadel, and the city paid his majesty three hundred thousand dollars to be exempted from the fury of the soldiers. Here the king himself drew the plan of those invincible fortifications which to this day make it one of the strongest cities in Germany. Friburg, Koningstein, Neustadt, Keiser-Lauteren, and almost all the Lower Palatinate, surrendered at the very terror of the King of Sweden's approach, and never suffered the danger of a siege.

The king held a most magnificent court at Mentz, attended by the Landgrave of Hesse, with an incredible number of princes and lords of the empire, with ambassadors and residents of foreign princes; and here his majesty stayed till March, when the queen, with a great retinue of Swedish nobility, came from Erfurt to see him. The king, attended by a gallant train of German nobility, went to Frankfort, and from thence on to Hoest, to meet the queen, where her majesty arrived February 8th.

During the king's stay in these parts his armies were not idle: his troops, on one side, under the Rhinegrave, a brave and ever-fortunate commander, and under the Landgrave of Hesse on the other, ranged the country from Lorrain to Luxemburg, and passed the Moselle on the west, and the Weser on the north. Nothing could stand before them. The Spanish army, which came to the relief of the Catholic electors, was everywhere defeated, and beaten quite out of the country, and the Lorrain army quite ruined. It was a most pleasant court, to be sure, as ever was seen, where every day expresses arrived of armies defeated, towns surrendered, contributions agreed upon, parties routed, prisoners taken, and princes sending ambassadors to sue for truces and neutralities, to make submissions and compositions, and to pay arrears and contributions.

Here arrived, February 10, the King of Bohemia from England, and with him my Lord Craven, with a body of Dutch horse, and a very fine train of English volunteers, who immediately, without any stay, marched on to Hoest, to wait upon his Majesty of Sweden, who received him with a great deal of civility, and was treated at a noble collation, by the king and queen, at Frankfort. Never had the unfortunate king so fair a prospect of being restored to his inheritance of the Palatinate as at that time, and had King James, his father-in-law, had a soul answerable to the occasion, it had been effected before; but it was a strange thing to see him equipped from the English court with one lord and about forty or fifty English gentlemen in his attendance: whereas, had the King of England now, as it is well known he might have done, furnished him with ten or twelve thousand English foot, nothing could have hindered him taking a full possession of his country; and yet even without that help did the King of Sweden clear almost his whole country of Imperialists, and after his death reinstall his son in the electorate; but no thanks to us.

Lord Craven did me the honour to inquire for me by name, and his majesty of Sweden did me yet more by presenting me to the King of Bohemia, and Lord Craven gave me a letter from my father; and speaking something of my father

having served under the Prince of Orange in the famous battle of Nieuport, the King of Sweden, smiling, returned, "And pray tell him from me his son has served as well in the warm battle of Leipsic."

My father being very much pleased with the honour I had received from so great a king, had ordered me to acquaint his majesty, that if he pleased to accept of their service, he would raise him a regiment of English horse, at his own charge, to be under my command, and to be sent over into Holland; and Lord Craven had orders from the King of England to signify his consent to the said levy. I acquainted my old friend, Sir John Hepburn, with the contents of the letter, in order to have his advice, who, being pleased with the proposal, would have me go to the King immediately with the letter; but present service put it off some days.

The taking of Creutznach was the next service of any moment: the King drew out in person to the siege of this town: they soon came to a parley, but the castle seemed a work of difficulty, for its situation was so strong, and so surrounded with works behind and above one another, that most people thought the King would receive a check from it; but it was not easy to resist the resolution of the King of Sweden. (*Note 6.*)

He never battered it but with two small pieces; but having viewed the works himself, ordered a mine under the first ravelin, which being sprung with success, he commanded a storm. I think there were not more commanded men than volunteers, both English, Scotch, French, and Germans: my old comrade, Captain Fielding, was by this time recovered of his wound at Leipsic, and made one. The first body of volunteers of about forty were led on by Lord Craven, and I led the second, among whom were most of the reformed Scotch officers who took the castle of Oppenheim; the first party was not able to make anything of it; the garrison fought with so much fury, that many of the volunteer gentlemen being wounded, and some killed, the rest were beaten off with loss. The king was in some passion at his men, and rated them for running away, as he called it, though they really retreated in good order, and commanded the assault to be renewed.

It was our turn to fall on next: our Scotch officers, not being used to be beaten, advanced immediately, and Lord Craven, with his volunteers, pierced in with us, fighting gallantly in the breach with a pike in his hand; and to give him the honour due to his bravery, he was with the first on the top of the rampart, and gave his hand to my comrade and lifted him up after him: we helped one another up, till at last almost all the volunteers had gained the height of the ravelin, and maintained it with a great deal of resolution, expecting, when the commanded men had gained the height, to advance upon the enemy, when one of the enemy's captains called to Lord Craven, and said, if they might have honourable terms they would capitulate, which my lord telling him he would engage for, the garrison fired no more, and the captain leaping down from the next rampart, came with Lord Craven into the camp, where the conditions were agreed on, and the castle surrendered.

After the taking of this town, the king, hearing of Tilly's approach, and how he had beaten Gustavus Horne, the king's field-marshal, out of Bamberg, began to draw his forces together, and, leaving the care of his conquests in these parts to his chancellor, Oxenstern, prepared to advance towards Bavaria.

I had taken an opportunity to wait upon his majesty with Sir John Hepburn, and being about to introduce the discourse of my father's letter, the king told me he had received a compliment on my account in a letter from King Charles.

I then said his majesty had, by his exceeding generosity, bound me and all my friends to pay their acknowledgments to him, and that I supposed my father had obtained such a mention of it from the King of England as gratitude moved him to: that his majesty's favour had been shown me to a family both willing and ready to serve him; that I had received some commands from my father, which, if his majesty pleased to do me the honour to accept of, might put me in a condition to acknowledge his majesty's goodness in a manner more proportioned to the sense I had of his favour; and with that I produced my father's letter, and read that clause in it which related to the regiment of horse, which was as follows:—

"I read with the utmost satisfaction the account you gave of the great and extraordinary conquests of the King of Sweden, and with his majesty's singular favour to you. I hope you will be careful to value and deserve so much honour. I am pleased you rather chose to serve as a volunteer at your own charge, than to take any command which, for want of experience, you might have misbehaved in."

"I have obtained of the king that he will particularly thank his majesty of Sweden for the honour he has done you; and if his majesty gives you so much freedom, I could be glad you should, in the humblest manner, thank his majesty, in the name of an old broken soldier."

"If you think yourself officer enough to command them, and his majesty please to accept them, I would have you offer to raise his majesty a regiment of horse, which I think I may nearly complete in our neighbourhood with some of your old acquaintance, who are willing to see the world."

"If his majesty gives you the word, they shall receive his commands in the Maese, the king having promised me to give them arms, and transport them for that service into Holland; and I hope they may do his majesty such service as may be for your honour and the advantage of his majesty's interest and glory."

"YOUR LOVING FATHER."

"'Tis an offer like a gentleman and like a soldier," says the king, "and I'll accept of it upon two conditions: first, that I will pay your father the advance money for raising the regiment; and next, that they shall be landed in the Weser or the Elbe, for which, if the King of England will not, I will pay the passage; for if they land in Holland, it may prove very difficult to get them to us when the army shall be marched out of this part of the country."

I returned this answer to my father, and sent my man George into England to order that

regiment, and made him quarter-master. I sent blank commissions for the officers, signed by the King of Sweden, to be filled up as my father should think fit; and when I had the king's order for the commissions, the secretary told me I must go back to the king with them. Accordingly I went back to the king, who, opening the packet, laid all the commissions but one upon a table before him, and bade me take them, and keeping the one still in his hand, "Now," says he, "you are one of my soldiers," and therewith gave me a commission as colonel of horse in present pay.

I took the commission, kneeling, and humbly thanked his majesty: "But," says the king, "there is one article of war I expect of you more than of others."

"Your majesty can expect nothing of me which I shall not willingly comply with," said I, "as soon as I have the honour to understand what it is."

"Why, it is," says the king, "that you shall never fight but when you have orders; for I shall not be willing to lose my colonel before I have the regiment."

"I shall be ready at all times," returned I, "to obey your majesty's commands."

I sent my man express with the king's answer, and the commission to my father, who had the regiment completed in less than two months; and six of the officers, with a list of the rest, came away to me, whom I presented to his majesty, when he lay before Nuremburg, where they kissed his hand.

One of the captains offered to bring the whole regiment travelling as private men to the army in six weeks' time, and either to transport their equipage or buy it in Germany; but it was thought impracticable: however, I had so many came in that manner, that I had a complete troop always about me, and obtained the king's order to muster them as a troop.

On the 8th of March the king decamped, and, marching up the river Maine, bent his course directly for Bavaria, taking several small places by the way, and expecting to engage with Tilly, who he thought would dispute his entrance into Bavaria, kept his army together; but Tilly finding himself too weak to encounter him, turned away, and leaving Bavaria open to the king, marched into the Upper Palatinate. The king, finding the country clear of the Imperialists, comes to Nuremberg, made his entrance into that city the 21st March, and being nobly treated by the citizens, he continued his march into Bavaria, and on the 26th sat down before Donawert: the town was taken next day by storm, so swift were the conquests of this invincible captain. Sir John Hepburn, at the head of the English and Scotch volunteers, entered the town first, and cut all the garrison to pieces, except such as escaped over the bridge.

I had no share in the business of Donawert, being now among the horse, but I was posted on the roads with five troops of horse, where we picked up a great many stragglers of the garrison, whom we made prisoners of war. It is observable, that this town of Donawert was a very strong place and well fortified, and yet such expedition did the king make, and such

resolution did he use in his first attacks, that he carried the town without putting himself to the trouble of formal approaches. It was generally his way when he came before any town, with a design to besiege it, not to encamp at a distance, and begin his trenches a great way off, but bring his men immediately within half musket-shot of the place; there, getting under the best cover he could, he would immediately begin his batteries and trenches before their faces, and, if there was any place possible to be attacked, he would fall to storming immediately. By this resolute way of coming on, he carried many a town in the first heat of his men, which would have held out many days against a more regular siege.

This march of the king broke all Tilly's measures; for now he was obliged to face about, and, leaving the Upper Palatinate, to come to the assistance of the Duke of Bavaria; for the king being twenty thousand strong, besides ten thousand foot and four thousand horse and dragoons which joined him from the Düringer Wald, was resolved to ruin the duke, who now lay open to him, and was the most powerful and inveterate enemy of the protestants in the empire.

Tilly was now joined with the Duke of Bavaria, and might together make about twenty-two thousand men, and, in order to keep the Swedes out of the country of Bavaria, had planted themselves along the banks of the river Lech, which runs on the edge of the duke's territories; and having fortified the other side of the river, and planted his cannon for several miles at all the convenient places on the river resolved to dispute the king's passage.

I shall be the longer in relating this account of the Lech, being esteemed in those days as great an action as any battle or siege of that age, and particularly famous for the disaster of the gallant old General Tilly; and for that I can be more particular in it than other accounts, having been an eye-witness to every part of it.

The king, being truly informed of the disposition of the Bavarian army, was once of the mind to have left the banks of the Lech, have repassed the Danube, and so setting down before Ingolstadt, the duke's capital city, by the taking that strong town, to have made his entrance into Bavaria, and the conquest of such a fortress, one entire action; but the strength of the place, and the difficulty of maintaining his leaguer in an enemy's country, while Tilly was so strong in the field, diverted him from that design: he therefore concluded that Tilly was first to be beaten out of the country, and then the siege of Ingolstadt would be easier.

Whereupon the king resolved to go and view the situation of the enemy. His majesty went out the 2nd of April with a strong party of horse which I had the honour to command. We marched as near as we could to the banks of the river, not to be too much exposed to the enemy's cannon, and having gained a little height, where the whole course of the river might be seen, the king halted and commanded to draw up. The king alighted, and, calling me to him, examined every reach and turning of the river by his glass, but finding it run a long and almost a straight

course, he could find no place which he liked; but at last turning himself north, and looking down the stream, he found the river fetching a long reach, doubles short upon itself, making a round and very narrow point: "There's a point will do our business," says the king; "and if the ground be good I will pass there, let Tilly do his worst."

He immediately ordered a small party of horse to view the ground, and to bring him word particularly how high the bank was on each side and at the point. "And he," says the king, "shall have fifty dollars that will bring me word how deep the water is."

I asked his majesty leave to let me go, which he would by no means allow; but, as the party was drawing out, a sergeant of dragoons told the king, if he pleased to let him go disguised as a boor, he would bring him an account of everything he desired. The king liked the motion very well, and the fellow being well acquainted with the country, puts on a ploughman's habit, and went away immediately, with a long pole upon his shoulder; the horse lay all this while in the woods, and the king stood undiscerned by the enemy on the little hill aforesaid. The dragoon with his long pole comes boldly to the banks of the river, and calling to the sentinels which Tilly had placed on the other bank, talked with them, asked if they could not help him over the river and pretended he wanted to come to them; at last, being come to the point, where, as I said, the river makes a short turn, he stands parleying with them a great while, and sometimes pretended to wade over; he puts his long pole into the water, till, being gotten up to his middle, he could reach beyond him, where it was too deep, and, shaking his head, came back again.

The soldiers on the other side, laughing at him, asked him if he could swim? He said, "No, I cannot."

"Why, you fool," said one of the sentinels, "the channel of the river is twenty feet deep."

"How do you know that?" said the dragoon.

"Why, our engineer," answered he, "measured it yesterday."

This was what he wanted; but not yet fully satisfied—"Ay, but," says he, "may be it may not be very broad; if one of you would wade in to meet me, till I can reach you with my pole, I would give him half a ducat to pull me over."

The innocent way of his discourse so deluded the soldiers, that one of them immediately strips and goes in up to the shoulders, and our dragoon got in on this side to meet him; but the stream took the other soldier away, and he, being a good swimmer, came over to this side.

The dragoon was then in a great deal of pain for fear of being discovered, and was once going to kill the fellow and make off, but at last resolved to carry on the humour, and having entertained the man with the tale of a tub about the Swedes stealing his oats, the fellow, being cold, wanted to be gone, and the dragoon, as willing to be rid of him, pretended to be very sorry he could not get over the river, and so makes off.

By this, however, he learned both the depth and breadth of the channel, the bottom and nature of both shores, and everything the king wanted to know. We could see him from the

hill by our glasses very plain, and could see the soldier naked with him.

"He is a fool," says the king, "he does not kill the fellow and run off;" but when the dragoon told his tale, the king was extremely well satisfied with him, gave him a hundred dollars, and made him a quarter-master of cuirassiers.

The king having further examined the dragoon, he gave him a very distinct account of the ground on this side, which he found to be higher than the enemy's by ten or twelve feet, and a hard gravel.

Hereupon the king resolves to pass there; and, in order to it, gives, himself, particular directions for such a bridge as I believe never any army passed a river on before or since.

His bridge was only loose planks laid upon large tressels, in the same homely manner as I have seen bricklayers raise a low scaffold to build a brick wall. The tressels were made higher than one another to answer to the river as it became deeper or shallower, and were all framed and fitted before any appearance was made of attempting to pass.

When all was ready, the king brings his army down to the bank of the river, and plants his cannon as the enemy had done, some here and some there, to amuse them.

At night, April 4th, the king commanded about two thousand men to march to the point, and to throw up a trench on either side, and quite round it, with a battery of six pieces of cannon at each end, besides three small mounts one at the point, and one on each side, which had each two pieces upon them. This work was begun so briskly, and so well carried on, the king firing all night from the other parts of the river, that by daylight all the batteries at the new work were mounted, the trench lined with two thousand musketeers, and all the utensils of the bridge lay ready to be put together.

Now the Imperialists discovered the design, but it was too late to hinder it; the musketeers in the great trench and the five new batteries made such continual fire, that the other bank, which, as before, laid twelve feet below them, was too hot for the Imperialists; whereupon Tilly, to be provided for the king at his coming over, falls to work in a wood right against the point, and raises a great battery for twenty pieces of cannon, with a breast-work, or line, as near the river as he could to cover his men, thinking that when the king had built his bridge he might easily beat it down with his cannon.

But the king had doubly prevented him, first, by laying his bridge so low that none of Tilly's shot could hurt it, for the bridge lay not half a foot above the water's surface; by which means the king, who in that showed himself an excellent engineer, had secured it from any batteries being made within the land, and the angle of the bank secured it from the remoter batteries on the other side, and the continual fire of the cannon and small shot beat the Imperialists from their station just against it, they having no works to cover them.

And in the second place, to secure his passage he sent over about two hundred men, and after that two hundred more, who had orders to cast

up a large ravelin on the other bank just where he designed to land his bridge. This was done with such expedition, too, that it was finished before night, and in a condition to receive all the shot of Tilly's great battery, and effectually covered the bridge.

While this was doing, the king, on his side, lays over his bridge. Both sides wrought hard all day and all night, as if the spade, not the sword, had been to decide the controversy, and that he would get the victory whose trenches and batteries were first ready. In the meanwhile the cannon and musket-bullets flew like hail, and made the service so hot, that both sides had enough to do to make their men stand to their work. The king, in the hottest of it, animated his men by his presence, and Tilly, to give him his due, did the same; for the execution was so great, and so many officers killed, General Attringer wounded, and two serjeant-majors killed, that at last Tilly himself was obliged to be exposed, and to come up to the very face of our line to encourage his men, and give his necessary orders. (*Note 7.*)

And here, about one o'clock, much about the time that the king's bridge and works were finished, and just as, they said, he had ordered to fall upon our ravelin with three thousand foot, was the brave old Tilly wounded with a musket-bullet in the thigh: he was carried off to Ingolstadt, and lived some days after, but died of his wound the same day as the king had his horse shot under him at the siege of that town.

We made no question of passing the river here, having brought everything so forward, and with such extraordinary success; but we should have found it a very hot piece of work if Tilly had lived one day longer: and if I may give my opinion of it, having seen Tilly's battery and breastwork, in the face of which we must have passed the river, I must say, that whenever we had marched, if Tilly had fallen in with his horse and foot, placed in that trench, the whole army would have passed as much in danger as in the face of a strong town in the storming a counterscarp.

The king, when he saw with what judgment Tilly had prepared his works, and what danger he himself must have run, would often say, that day's success was every way equal to the victory of Leipsic.

Tilly being hurt and carried off, as if the soul of the army had been lost, they began to draw off. The Duke of Bavaria took horse and rode away, as if he had fled out of battle for his life.

The other generals, with a little more caution as well as courage, drew off by degrees, sending their cannons and baggage away first, and leaving some to continue firing on the bank of the river to conceal their retreat. The river preventing any intelligence, we knew nothing of the disaster which had befallen them; and the king, who looked for blows, having finished his bridge and ravelin, ordered to run a line with palisadoes to take in more ground on the bank of the river to cover the first troops he should send over. This being finished the same night, the king sends over a party of his guards to relieve the men who were in the ravelin, and commanded

six hundred musketeers to man the new line out of the Scotch brigade.

Early in the morning, a small party of Scots, commanded by a Captain Forbes, of my Lord Rea's regiment, were sent out to learn something of the enemy, the king observing they had not fired all night; and while this party were abroad, the army stood in battalia; and my old friend Sir John Hepburn, whom, of all men, the king most depended upon for any desperate service, was ordered to pass the bridge with his brigade, and to draw up without the line, with command to advance as he found the horse who were to second him come over.

Sir John, being passed without the trench, meets Captain Forbes with some prisoners, and the good news of the enemy's retreat: he sends him directly to the king, who was by this time at the head of his army, in full battalia, ready to follow his vanguard, expecting a hot day's work of it.

Sir John sends messenger after messenger to the king, entreating him to give him orders to advance, but the king would not suffer him, for he was ever upon his guard, and would not venture a surprise; so the army continued on this side the Lech all day and the next night.

In the morning the king sent for me, and ordered me to draw out three hundred horse, and a colonel with six hundred horse, and another with eight hundred dragoons, and ordered us to enter the wood by three ways, but so as to be able to relieve one another; and then ordered Sir John Hepburn with his brigade to advance to the edge of the wood to secure our retreat; and at the same time commanded another brigade of foot to pass the bridge, if necessary, to second Sir John Hepburn; so warily did this prudent general proceed.

We advanced with our horse into the Bavarian camp, which we found forsaken. The plunder of it was inconsiderable; for the exceeding caution the king had used gave them time to carry off all their baggage. We followed them three or four miles, and returned to our camp.

I confess I was most diverted that day with viewing the works which Tilly had cast up, and must own again, that had he not been taken off, we had met with as desperate a piece of work as ever was attempted. The next day the rest of the cavalry came up to us, commanded by Gustavus Horne, and the king and the whole army followed: we advanced through the heart of Bavaria, took Rain at the first summons, and several other small towns, and sat down before Augsburg.

Augsburg, though a protestant city, had a popish Bavarian garrison in it of above five thousand men, commanded by a Fugger, a great family in Bavaria. The governor had posted several little parties as outscouts, at the distance of two miles and a half or three miles from the town. The king, at his coming up to this town, sends me with my little troop and three companies of dragoons to beat in these out-scouts: the first party I discovered was not above sixteen men, who had made a small barricado across the road, and stood resolutely upon their guard. I commanded the dragoons to alight, and open the barricado, which, while they resolutely performed,

the sixteen men gave them two volleys of their muskets, and through the enclosures made their retreat to a turnpike about a quarter of a mile further.

We passed their first traverse, and coming up to the turnpike, I found it defended by two hundred musketeers: I prepared to attack them, sending word to the king of the strength of the enemy, and desired some foot to be sent me.

My dragoons fell on, and though the enemy made a very hot fire, had beat them from this post before two hundred foot, which the king had sent me, had come up. Being joined with the foot, I followed the enemy, who retreated, fighting, till they came under the cannon of a strong redoubt, where they drew up; and I could see another body of foot, of about three hundred, join them out of the works.

Upon this I halted, and considering I was in view of the town, and a great way from the army, I faced about, and began to march off. As we marched I found the enemy followed, but kept at a distance, as if they only designed to observe us. We had not marched far before I heard a volley of small shot, answered by two or three more, which I presently apprehended to be at the turnpike, where I had left a small guard of twenty-six men with a lieutenant.

I immediately detached one hundred dragoons to relieve my men, and secure my retreat, following myself as fast as the foot could march.

The lieutenant sent me back word the post was taken by the enemy, and my men cut off. Upon this I doubled my pace, and when I came up I found it as the lieutenant had said; for the post was taken, and defended by three hundred musketeers and three troops of horse. By this time also I found the party in my rear made up towards me; so that I was like to be charged, in a narrow place, both in front and rear.

I saw there was no remedy but with all my force to fall upon that party before me, and so to break through before those from the town could come up with me: therefore, commanding my dragoons to alight, I ordered them to fall on upon the foot. Their horse were drawn up in an enclosed field on one side of the road, a great ditch securing the other side; so that they thought if I charged the foot in front, they would fall upon my flank, while those behind would charge my rear; and, indeed, had the other come in time, they had cut me off. My dragoons made three fair charges on their foot; but were received with so much resolution, and so brisk a fire, that they were beaten off, and sixteen men killed.

Seeing them so rudely handled, and the horse ready to fall in, I relieved them with one hundred musketeers, and they renewed the attack; at the same time with my troop of horse, flanked on both wings with fifty musketeers, I faced their horse, but did not offer to charge them. The case grew now desperate, and the enemy behind were just at my heels with near six hundred men. The captain who commanded the musketeers, and flanked my horse, came up to me, and said, "If we do not force this pass, all will be lost: if you will draw out your troop and twenty of my foot, and fall in, I will engage to keep off

the horse with the rest." "With all my heart," said I.

Immediately I wheeled off my troop, and a small party of the musketeers followed me, and fell in with the dragoons and foot, who, seeing the danger too as well as I, fought like madmen. The foot at the turnpike were not able to hinder our breaking through; so we made our way out, killing about one hundred and fifty of them, and put the rest into confusion.

But now I was in as great difficulty as before how to fetch off my brave captain of foot, for they charged home upon him: he defended himself with extraordinary gallantry, having the benefit of a piece of a hedge to cover him; but he lost half his men, and was just upon the point of being defeated, when the king, informed by a soldier that escaped from the turnpike, one of twenty-six, had sent a party of six hundred dragoons to bring me off: these came upon the spur, and joined with me just as I had broke through the turnpike. The enemy's foot rallied behind their horse, and by this time their other party was come in; but, seeing our relief, they drew off together.

I lost above one hundred men in these skirmishes, and killed of the enemy about one hundred and eighty. We secured the turnpike, and placed a company of foot there with one hundred dragoons, and came back well beaten to the army. The king, to prevent such uncertain skirmishes, advanced the next day in view of the town, and, according to his custom, sits down with his whole army within cannon-shot of their walls.

The king won this great city by force of words, for by two or three messages and letters to and from the citizens the town was gained, the garrison not daring to defend them against their wills. His majesty made his public entrance into the city on the 14th of April, and, receiving the compliments of the citizens, advanced immediately to Ingolstadt, which is accounted, and really is, the strongest town in all those parts.

There was a very strong garrison in it, and the Duke of Bavaria lay intrenched with his army under the walls of it, on the other side of the river. The king, who never loved long sieges, having reviewed the town, and brought his army within musket-shot of it, called a council of war, where it was the king's opinion, in short, that the town would cost him more than it was worth, and therefore he resolved to raise the siege.

Here the king, going to view the town, had his horse shot with a cannon-bullet from the works, which tumbled the king and his horse over each other, that every body thought he had been killed, but he received no hurt at all: that very minute, as near as could be learned, General Tilly died in the town of the shot he received on the bank of the Lech.

I was not in the camp when the king was hurt; for the king had sent almost all the horse and dragoons, under Gustavus Horne, to face the Duke of Bavaria's camp, and after that to plunder the country, which truly was a work the soldiers were glad of, for it was very seldom they had that liberty given them, and they made very good use of it when it was, for the country

of Bavaria was rich and plentiful, having seen no enemy before during the whole war.

The army having left the siege of Ingolstadt, proceeds to take in the rest of Bavaria. Sir John Hepburn, with three brigades of foot, and Gustavus Horne, with three thousand horse and dragoons, went to the Landshut, and took it the same day. The garrison was all horse, and gave us several camisadoes at our approach, in one of which I lost two of my troops; but when we had beat them into close quarters they presently capitulated.

The general got a large sum of money of the town, besides a great many presents to the officers; and from thence the King went on to Munich, the Duke of Bavaria's court. Some of the general officers would fain have had the plundering of the duke's palace; but the king was too generous—the city paid him four hundred thousand dollars, and the duke's magazine was there seized, in which were one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and small arms for above twenty thousand men.

The great chamber of the duke's rarities was preserved, by the king's special order, with a great deal of care. I expected to have staid here some time, and to have taken very exact account of this curious laboratory; but being commanded away, I had no time, and the fate of the war never gave me an opportunity to see it again.

The Imperialists, under the command of Commissary Osta, had besieged Bibrach, an Imperial city not very well fortified; and the inhabitants, being under the Swede's protection, defended themselves as well as they could, but were in great danger, and sent several expresses to the king for help.

The king immediately detaches a strong body of horse and foot to relieve Bibrach, and would be the commander himself—I marched among the horse—but the Imperialists saved us the labour; for the news of the king coming frightened away Osta, that he left Bibrach and hardly looked behind him till he got up to the Bodensee, on the confines of Switzerland.

At our return from this expedition the king had the first news of Wallenstein's approach, who, on the death of Count Tilly, being declared generalissimo of the Emperor's forces, had played the tyrant in Bohemia, and was now advancing with sixty thousand men, as they reported, to relieve the Duke of Bavaria. (Note 8.)

The King, therefore, in order to be in a situation to receive this great general, resolves to quit Bavaria, and to expect him on the frontiers of Franconia; and because he knew the Nurembergers, for their kindness to him, would be their first sacrifice, he resolved to defend that city against him, whatever it cost.

Nevertheless he did not leave Bavaria without a defence; but, on the one hand, he left Sir John Bannier with ten thousand men about Augsburg, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar with another like army about Ulme and Meiningen, with orders so to direct their march as that they might join him upon any occasion in a few days.

We encamped about Nuremburg the middle of June. The army, after so many detachments, was not above nineteen thousand men. The Imperial army, joined with the Bavarian, were

not so numerous as was reported, but were really sixty thousand men.

The king, not strong enough to fight yet (as he used to say), was strong enough not to be forced to fight, formed his camp so under the cannon of Nuremburg, that there was no besieging the town, but they must besiege him too; and he fortified his camp in so formidable a manner, that Wallenstein never durst attack him.

On the 30th of June Wallenstein's troops appeared, and on the 5th of July encamped close by the king, and posted themselves not on the Bavarian side, but between the king and his own friends of Schwaben and Frankendal, in order to intercept his provisions, and, as they thought, to starve him out of his camp. (Note 9.)

Here they lay to see who could subsist longest. The king was strong in horse, for we had full eight thousand horse and dragoons in the army, and this gave us great advantage in the several skirmishes we had with the enemy. They had possession of the whole country, and had taken effectual care to furnish their army with provisions: they placed their guards in such excellent order to secure their convoys, that their waggons went from stage to stage as quiet as in time of peace, and were relieved every five miles by parties constantly posted on the road.

And thus the Imperial general sat down by us, not doubting but he should force the king either to fight his way through on very disadvantageous terms, or to rise for want of provisions, and leave the city of Nuremburg a prey to his army; for he had vowed the destruction of the city, and to make it a second Magdeburg.

But the king, who was not to be easily deceived, had countermined all Wallenstein's designs: he had passed his honour to the Nurembergers that he would not leave them, and they had undertaken to victual his army, and secure him from want, which they did so effectually that he had no occasion to expose his troops to any hazard or fatigues for convoys or forage on any account whatever.

The city of Nuremburg is a very rich and populous city; and the king, being very sensible of their danger, had given his word for their defence: and when they, being terrified at the threats of the Imperialists, sent their deputies to beseech the king to take care of them, he sent them word he would, and be besieged with them. They, on the other hand, laid in such stores of all sorts of provision, both for man and horse, that had Wallenstein lain before it six months longer, there would have been no scarcity. Every private house was a magazine: the camp was plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, and the market always full, and as cheap as in times of peace.

The magistrates were so careful, and preserved so excellent an order in the disposal of all sorts of provision, that no engrossing of corn could be practised, for the prices were every day directed at the town-house; and if any man offered to demand more money for corn than the stated price, he could not sell, because at the town storehouse you might buy cheaper.

Here are two instances of good and bad conduct:—The city of Magdeburg had been entreated by the king to settle funds, and raise

money for their provision and security, and to have a sufficient garrison to defend them; but they made difficulties either to raise men for themselves, or to admit the king's troops to assist them, for fear of the charge of maintaining them; and this was the cause of the city's ruin.

The city of Nuremburg opened their arms to receive the assistance proffered by the Swedes, and their purses to defend their town and common cause; and this was the saving them absolutely from destruction. The rich burghers and magistrates kept open houses, where the officers of the army were always welcome; and the council of the city took such care of the poor, that there was no complaining, nor any disorders in the whole city.

There is no doubt but it cost the city a great deal of money; but I never saw a public charge borne with so much cheerfulness, nor managed with so much prudence and conduct, in my life. The city fed about fifty thousand every day, including their own poor, besides themselves; and yet the king had lain thus three months, and finding his armies longer in coming up than he expected, asked the burgrave how their magazines held out. He answered, they desired his majesty not to hasten things for them, for they could maintain themselves and him twelve months longer, if there was occasion. This plenty kept both the army and city in good health, as well as in good heart; whereas nothing was to be had of us but blows; for we fetched nothing from without our works, nor had any business without the line but to interrupt the enemy.

The manner of the king's encampment deserves a particular attention. He was a complete surveyor, and a master in fortification, not to be outdone by any. He had posted his army in the suburbs of the town, and drawn lines round the whole circumference, so that he begirt the whole city with his army: his works were large, the ditch deep, flanked with innumerable bastions, ravelins, hornworks, forts, redoubts, batteries, and pallisadoes, the incessant work of eight thousand men for about fourteen days.

Besides that, the king was adding something or other to it every day; and the very posture of his camp was enough to tell a larger army than Wallenstein's that he was not to be assaulted in his trenches.

The king's design appeared chiefly to be the preservation of the city; but that was not all—he had three armies acting abroad in three several places, namely, Gustavus Horne was on the Mosel; the chancellor Oxenstern about Mentz, Cologne, and the Rhine; Duke William and Duke Bernard, together with General Bannier, in Bavaria; and though he designed they should all join him, and had written to them to that purpose, yet he did not hasten them, knowing that while he kept the main army at bay about Nuremburg they would, without opposition, reduce those several countries they were acting in to his power.

This occasioned his lying longer in the camp at Nuremburg than he would have done, and also his giving the Imperialists so many alarms by his strong parties of horse, of which he was well provided, that they might not be able to make any considerable detachments for the relief of

their friends; and here he showed his mastership in the war, for by this means his conquests went on as effectually as if he had been abroad himself.

In the meantime, it was not to be expected two such armies should lie long so near without some action. The Imperial army, being masters of the field, laid the country for about twenty miles round Nuremburg in a manner desolate: what the inhabitants could carry away had been before secured in such strong towns as had garrisons to protect them, and what was left the hungry Crabats devoured, or set on fire; but sometimes they were met with by our men, who often paid them home for it.

There had passed several rencounters between our parties and theirs; and, as it falls out in such cases, sometimes one side, sometimes the other got the better; but I have observed there never was any party sent out by the king's special appointment but always came home with victory.

The first considerable attempt, as I remember, was made on a convoy of ammunition. The party sent out was commanded by a Saxon colonel, and consisted of a thousand horse and five hundred dragoons, who burnt above six hundred waggons loaded with ammunition and stores for the army, besides taking about two thousand muskets, which they brought back to the army.

The latter end of July the king received advice that the Imperialists had formed a magazine for provisions at a town called Freynstat, twenty miles from Nuremburg. Hither all the booty and contributions raised in the Upper Palatinate, and parts adjacent, were brought and laid up in a place of security, a garrison of six hundred men being placed to defend it; and when a quantity of provisions was got together, convoys were appointed to fetch it off.

The king resolved, if possible, to take or destroy this magazine; and sending for Colonel Dubalt, a Swede, a man of extraordinary conduct, he tells him his design, and also that he must be the instrument to put it in execution, and ordered him to take what forces he thought convenient.

The colonel, who well knew the town, and the country about it, told his majesty he would attempt it with all his heart; but he was afraid it would require some foot to make the attack.

"We cannot stay for them," says the king; "you must then take some dragoons with you;" and immediately the king called for me.

I was just going up the stairs as the king's page was coming out to inquire for me; so I went immediately to the king.

"Here is a piece of hot work for you," says his majesty; "Dubalt will tell it you—go together and contrive it."

We immediately withdrew; and when the colonel had acquainted me with the discourse which had passed between the king and himself, I replied I thought dragoons might do as well; so we agreed to take sixteen hundred horse and four hundred dragoons.

The king, impatient in his design, came into the room to us to know what we had resolved on, approved our measures, gave us orders immediately, and, turning to me, says, "You shall

command the dragoons, but Dubalt must be general in this case, for he knows the country."

"Your majesty," said I, "shall be always served by me in any figure you please." The king wished us good speed, and hurried us away the same afternoon, in order to get to the place in time.

We could march but slowly because of the carriages we had with us, and came to Freynstat about one o'clock in the night perfectly undiscovered. The guards were so negligent, that we came to the very port before they had notice of us; and a sergeant, with twelve dragoons, thrust in upon the out-sentinels, and killed them without noise.

Immediately ladders were placed to the half-moon which defended the gate, which the dragoons mounted and carried in a trice, about twenty-eight men being cut in pieces within. As soon as the ravelin was taken they burst open the gate, at which I entered at the head of two hundred dragoons, and seized the drawbridge. By this time the town was in alarm, and the drums beat to arms, but it was too late; for, by the help of a petard, we broke open the gate, and entered the town.

The garrison made an obstinate resistance for about half an hour; but our men being all in, and three troops of horse dismounted coming to our assistance with their carbines, the town was entirely mastered by three o'clock, and guards set to prevent anybody running to give notice to the enemy.

There were about two hundred of the garrison killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The town being thus secured, the gates were opened, and Colonel Dubalt came in with the horse.

The guards being set, we entered the magazine, where we found an incredible quantity of all sorts of provisions. There were one hundred and fifty tons of bread, eight thousand sacks of meal, four thousand sacks of oats, and of other provisions in proportion.

We caused as much of it as could be loaded to be brought away in such waggons and carriages as we found, and set the rest on fire, town and all. We staid by it till we saw it past a possibility of being saved, and then drew off with eight hundred waggons which we found in the place, most of which we loaded with bread, meal, and oats.

While we were doing this, we sent a party of dragoons into the fields, who met us again as we came out with about a thousand head of black cattle, besides sheep.

Our next care was to bring this booty home without meeting with the enemy; to secure which Colonel Dubalt immediately dispatched an express to the king to let him know of our success, and to desire a detachment might be made to secure our retreat, being charged with so much plunder.

And it is well the colonel did so; for though we had used all the diligence possible to prevent any notice, yet somebody had carried the news to the Imperial army; and their general, upon this, detaches Major-general Sparr with a body of six thousand men to cut off our retreat.

The king, who had notice of this detachment, marches out in person with three thousand men

to wait upon General Sparr. All this was the account of one day. The king met General Sparr at the moment when his troops were divided, fell upon them, routed one part of them, and the rest in a few hours after; killed them one thousand men, and took General Sparr prisoner.

In the interval of this action we came safe to the camp with our booty, which was very considerable, and would have supplied our whole army for a month. Thus we feasted at the enemy's cost, and beat them into the bargain.

The king gave all the live cattle to the Nurembergers, who, though they had really no want of provisions, yet fresh meat was not so plentiful as such provisions, which were stored up in vessels and laid by.

After this skirmish we had the country more at command than before, and daily fetched in fresh provisions and forage from the fields.

The two armies had now lain a long time in sight of one another, and daily skirmishes had considerably weakened them; and the king, beginning to be impatient, hastened the advancement of his friends to join him, in which they were not backward; but having drawn together their forces from several parts, and all joined the Chancellor Oxenstern, news came the 15th of August that they were in full march to join us; and being come to a small town called Bruck, the king went out of the camp with about one thousand horse to view them.

I went along with the horse, and the 21st of August saw the review of all the armies together, which were thirty thousand men, in extraordinary equipage, old soldiers, and commanded by officers of the greatest conduct and experience in the world. There was the rich Chancellor of Sweden, who commanded as general; Gustavus Horne and John Bannier, both Swedes, and old generals; Duke William and Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Palatine of Birkenfeld, and abundance of princes and lords of the empire.

The armies being joined, the king, who was now a match for Wallenstein, quits his camp, and draws up in battalia before the Imperial trenches; but the scene was changed—Wallenstein was no more able to fight now than the king was before; but keeping within his trenches, stood upon his guard. The king, coming up close to his works, plants batteries, and cannonaded him in his very camp.

The Imperialists, finding the king press upon them, retreated into a woody country about three leagues, and taking possession of an old ruined castle, posted their army behind it.

This old castle they fortified, and placed a very strong guard there. The king having viewed the place, though it was a very strong post, resolved to attack it with the whole right wing. The attack was made with a great deal of order and resolution, the king leading the first party on with sword in hand, and the fight was maintained with the utmost gallantry and obstinacy all the day and the next night too, for the cannon and musket never gave over until the morning; but the Imperialists having the advantage of the hill, of their works and batteries, and being continually relieved, and the Swedes naked, without cannon or works, the post was maintained; and the king,

finding it would cost him too much blood, drew off in the morning.

This was the famous fight at Altenberg, where the Imperialist boasted to have shown the world the King of Sweden was not invincible. They call it the victory at Altenberg. It is true the king failed in his attempt of carrying their works; but there was so little of a victory in it, that the Imperial general thought fit not to venture a second attack, but to draw off their army as soon as they could to a safer quarter.

I had no share in this battle, very few of the horse being in the action; but my companion, who was always among the Scotch volunteers, was wounded and taken prisoner by the enemy. They used him very civilly; and the king and Wallenstein straining courtesies with one another, the king released Major-General Sparr without ransom, and the Imperial general sent home Colonel Tortenson, a Swede, and sixteen volunteer gentlemen who were taken in the heat of the action, among whom my captain was one.

The king lay fourteen days facing the Imperial army, and using all the stratagems possible to bring them to a battle, but to no purpose; during which time we had parties continually out, and very often skirmishes with the enemy.

I had a command of one of these parties in an adventure wherein I got no booty, nor much honour. The king had received advice of a convoy of provisions which was to come to the enemy's camp from the Upper Palatinate, and intending to surprise them, he commanded us to waylay them with twelve hundred horse and eight hundred dragoons. I had exact directions given me of the way they were to come, and posting my horse in a village a little out of the road, I lay with my dragoons in a wood by which they were to pass by break of day.

The enemy appeared with their convoy, and being very wary, their outscouts discovered us in wood, and fired upon the sentinel I had posted in a tree at the entrance of the wood. Finding myself discovered, I would have retreated to the village where my horse were posted, but in a moment the wood was skirted with the enemy's horse, and a thousand musketeers advanced to beat me out.

In this dilemma I sent away three messengers one after another for the horse, who were within two miles of me, to advance to my relief; but all my messengers fell into the enemy's hands. Four hundred of my dragoons on foot, whom I had placed at a little distance before me, stood to their work, and beat off two charges of the enemy's foot, with some loss on both sides. Meantime two hundred of my men faced about, and, rushing out of the wood, broke through a party of the enemy's horse who stood to watch our coming out.

I confess I was exceedingly surprised at it, thinking the fellows had done it to make their escape, or else were gone over to the enemy; and my men were so discouraged at it, that they began to look about which way to run for safety, and were just upon the point of disbanding to shift for themselves, when one of the captains called to me aloud to beat a parley and treat. I made no answer, as if I had not heard him, and immediately gave the word for all the captains to

come together. The consultation was but short, for the musketeers were advancing to a third charge with numbers which we were not likely to deal with.

In short, we resolved to beat a parley, and demand quarter, for that was all we could expect; when on a sudden the body of horse I had posted in the village, being directed by the noise, had advanced to relieve me, if they saw occasion, and had met the two hundred dragoons, who guided them directly to the spot where they had broke through, and all together fell upon the horse of the enemy who were posted on that side, and, mastering them before they could be relieved, cut them all to pieces and brought me off.

Under the shelter of this party we made good our retreat to the village, but we lost above three hundred men, and were glad to make off from the village too, for the enemy were very much too strong for us.

Returning thence towards the camp, we met with two hundred Crabats who had been upon the plundering account: we made ourselves some amends upon them for our former loss, for we showed them no mercy; but our misfortunes were not ended, for we had just dispatched those Crabats when we fell in with three thousand Imperial horse, who, on the expectation of the aforesaid convoy, were sent out to secure them.

All I could do could not persuade my men to stand their ground against this party; so that, finding they would run away in confusion, I agreed to make off, and, facing to the right, we went over a large common at full trot, till at last fear, which always increases in a flight, brought us to a gallop, with the enemy at our heels.

I must confess I was never so mortified in my life—it was to no purpose to turn—no man would stand by us—we ran for life—and a great many were left by the way, who were either wounded by the enemy's shot, or else could not keep pace with us.

At last, having got over the common, which was near two miles, we came to a lane: one of our captains, a Saxon, and a gentleman of good fortune, alighted at the entrance of the lane, and with a bold heart faced about, shot his own horse, and called his men to stand by him and defend the lane. Some of his men halted, and we rallied about six hundred men, which we posted as well as we could to defend the pass, but the enemy charged us with great fury.

The Saxon gentleman, after defending himself with exceeding gallantry, and refusing quarter, was killed upon the spot. A German dragoon, as I thought him, gave me a rude blow with the stock of his piece on the side of my head, and was just going to repeat it, when one of my men shot him dead. I was so stunned with the blow that I knew nothing; but, recovering, I found myself in the hands of two of the enemy's officers, who offered me quarter, which I accepted, and indeed, to give them their due, they used me very civilly.

Thus this whole party was defeated, and not above five hundred men got safe to the army, nor would half the number have escaped had not the Saxon captain made so bold a stand at the head of the lane.

Several other parties of the king's army revenged our quarrel, and paid them home for it;

but I had a particular loss in this defeat, that I never saw the King of Sweden after; for though his majesty sent a trumpet to reclaim us as prisoners the very next day, yet I was not delivered, some scruple happening about exchanging till after the battle of Lutzen, where that gallant prince lost his life. (*Note 10.*)

The Imperial army arose from their camp about eight or ten days after the king had removed, and I was carried prisoner in the army till they sat down to the siege of Coburg Castle, and then was left with other prisoners of war, in the custody of Colonel Spezuter, in a small castle near the camp called Neustadt.

Here we continued indifferently well treated, but could learn nothing of what action the armies were upon, till the Duke of Friedland, having been beaten off from the Castle of Coburg, marched into Saxony, and the prisoners were sent for into the camp, as was said, in order to be exchanged.

I came into the Imperial leaguer at the siege of Leipsic, and within three days after the city was surrendered, and I got liberty to lodge at my old quarters in the town upon my parole.

The King of Sweden was at the heels of the Imperialists, for, finding Wallenstein resolved to ruin the Elector of Saxony, the king had collected as much of his divided army as he could, and came upon him just as he was going to besiege Torgaw.

As it is not my design to write a history of any more of these wars than I was actually concerned in, I shall only note, that, upon the king's approach, Wallenstein halted, and likewise called all his troops together, for he apprehended the king would fall on him; and we that were prisoners fancied the Imperial soldiers went unwillingly out, for the very name of the King of Sweden was become terrible to them.

In short, they drew all the soldiers of the garrison they could spare out of Leipsic, and sent for Papenheim again, who was gone but three days before with six thousand men on a private expedition.

On the 10th of November the armies met on the plains of Lutzen—a long and bloody battle was fought; the Imperialists were entirely routed and beaten, twelve thousand slain upon the spot, their cannon, baggage, and two thousand prisoners taken; but the King of Sweden lost his life, being killed at the head of his troops in the beginning of the fight.

It is impossible to describe the consternation the death of this conquering king struck into all the princes of Germany—the grief for him exceeded all manner of human sorrow.

All people looked upon themselves as ruined and swallowed up; the inhabitants of two thirds of all Germany put themselves into mourning for him. When the ministers mentioned him in their sermons or prayers, whole congregations would burst out into tears. The Elector of Saxony was utterly inconsolable, and would for several days walk about his palace like a distracted man, crying, "The saviour of Germany was lost; the refuge of abused princes was gone; the soul of war was dead;" and from that hour was so hopeless of outliving the war, that he sought to make peace with the emperor.

Three days after this mournful victory the Saxons recovered the town of Leipsic by stratagem. The Duke of Saxony's forces lay at Torgow, and perceiving the confusion the Imperialists were in at the news of the overthrow of their army, they resolved to attempt the recovery of the town.

They sent about twenty scattering troopers, who, pretending to be Imperialists fled from the battle, were let in one by one; and still as they came in they staid at the court of guard in the port, entertaining the soldiers with discourse about the fight, and how they escaped, and the like, till the whole number being got in, at a watchword they fell on the guard, and cut them all in pieces; and immediately opening the gate to three troops of Saxon horse, the town was taken in a moment.

It was a welcome surprise to me, for I was then at liberty of course; and the war being now on another footing, as I thought, and the king no more, I resolved to quit the service.

I had sent my man, as I have already noted, into England, in order to bring over the troops my father had raised for the King of Sweden. He executed his commission so well, that he landed with five troops at Embden in a very good condition, and orders were sent them by the king to join the Duke of Lunenburg's army, which they did at the siege of Boxthude, in the Lower Saxony. Here, by long and very sharp service, they were most of them cut off; and though they were several times recruited, yet I understood there were not three full troops left.

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, a gentleman of great courage, had the command of the army after the death of the king, and managed it with so much prudence, that all things were in as much order as could be expected after so great a loss, for the Imperialists were everywhere beaten, and Wallenstein never made any advantage of the king's death.

I waited on the duke at Hailbron, whither he was gone to meet the great Chancellor of Sweden, where I paid him my respects, and desired he would bestow the remainder of my regiment on my friend Captain Fielding, which he did with all the civility and readiness imaginable. I then took leave of my friend, and prepared to come into England.

I shall only note, that at this diet the Protestant princes of the empire renewed their league with one another, and with the crown of Sweden, and came to several regulations and conclusions for carrying on the war, which they afterwards prosecuted under the direction of the said Chancellor of Sweden.

But it was not the work of a small difficulty, nor of a short time. Having been persuaded to continue almost two years afterwards at Frankfurt, Hailbron, and thereabout, by the particular friendship of that noble, wise man, and extraordinary statesman, Axell Oxenstern, Chancellor of Sweden, I had an opportunity to be concerned in, and present at, several treaties of extraordinary consequence, sufficient for a history, if that were my design.

Particularly, I had the happiness to be present at, and have some concern in, the treaty for the restoring the posterity of the truly noble Pals-

grave, King of Bohemia. King James of England had, indeed, too much neglected the whole family; and I might say with authority enough, from my own knowledge of affairs, had nothing been done for them but what was from England, that family had remained desolate and forsaken to this day.

But that glorious king, Gustavus, whom I can never mention without some remark of his extraordinary merit, had left particular instructions with his chancellor to rescue the Palatinate to its rightful lord, as a proof of his design to restore the liberty of Germany, and reinstate the oppressed princes who were subjected to the tyranny of the house of Austria.

Pursuant to this resolution, the chancellor proceeded very much like a man of honour; and though the King of Bohemia died a little before, yet he carefully managed the treaty, answered the objections of several princes who, in the general ruin of the family, had reaped private advantages, settled the capitulations for the quota of contributions very much for their advantage, and fully reinstalled Prince Charles in the possession of all his dominions in the Lower Palatinate, which afterwards was confirmed to him and his posterity by the peace of Westphalia, where all those bloody wars were finished in a peace, which has since been the foundation of the Protestants' liberty, and the best security of the whole empire.

I spent two years rather in wandering up and down than travelling; for though I had no mind to serve, yet I could not find in my heart to leave Germany; and I had obtained some so very close intimacies with the general officers, that I was often in the army, and sometimes they did me the honour to bring me into their councils of war.

Particularly, at that eminent council before the battle of Norlingen, I was invited to the council of war both by Duke Bernard of Weimar and by Gustavus Horne. They were generals of equal worth, and their courage and experience had been so well and so often tried, that more than ordinary regard was always paid to what they said. Duke Bernard was indeed the younger man, and Horne, too, had served longer under our great master the king; but it was hard to judge which was the better general, since they had experience enough, and shown undeniable proofs both of their bravery and conduct.

I am obliged, in the course of my relation, so often to mention the great respect I often received from these great men, that it makes me sometimes jealous lest the reader may think I affect it as vanity.

The truth is, and I am ready to confess the honours I received, upon all occasions, from persons of such worth, and who had such an eminent share in the greatest actions of that age, very much pleased me, and particularly as they gave me occasions to see everything that was doing on the whole stage of the war; for being under no command, but at liberty to rove about, I could come to no Swedish garrison or party, but sending my name to the commanding officer, I could have the word sent me; and if I came into the army, I was often treated as I then was at the famous battle of Norlingen.

I cannot but say that I always looked upon

this particular respect to be the effect of the more than ordinary regard the great King of Sweden always showed me, rather than any merit of my own; and the veneration they all had for his memory made them continue to show me all the marks of a suitable esteem.

But to return to the council of war—the great, and indeed the only question before us, was, Shall we give battle to the Imperialists or not? Gustavus Horne was against it, and gave, as I thought, the most invincible arguments against a battle that reason could dictate.

First. They were weaker than the enemy by above five thousand men.

Secondly. The cardinal Infant of Spain, who was in the Imperial army with eight thousand men, was but there as a passenger, being going from Italy to Flanders to take upon him the government of the Low Countries; and if he saw no prospect of immediate action, would be gone in a few days.

Thirdly. They had two reinforcements, one of five thousand men under the command of Colonel Cratz, and one of seven thousand men under the Rhinegrave, who were at hand, the last within three days' march of them.

Lastly. They had already saved their honour, as they had put six hundred foot into the town of Norlingen in the face of the enemy's army, and consequently the town might hold out some days longer.

Fate, rather than reason, certainly guided the rest of the generals against such arguments as these. Duke Bernard and almost all the generals were for fighting, alleging the affront it would be to the Swedish reputation to see their friends in the town lost before their faces.

Gustavus Horne stood stiff to his cautious advice, and was against it; and I thought Baron d'Offkirk treated him a little indecently, for, being very warm in the matter, he told them, that if Gustavus Adolphus had been governed by such cowardly counsel, he had never been conqueror of half Germany in two years.

"No," replied old General Horne very smartly; "but had he been now alive to have testified for me that I was never taken by him for a coward, and yet the king was never for a victory with a hazard when he could have it without."

I was asked my opinion, which I would have declined, not being in any commission; but they pressed me to speak. I told them I was for staying at least till the Rhinegrave came up, who might, if expresses were sent to hasten him, be with us in twenty-four hours. But Offkirk could not hold his passion; and, had not he been overruled, he would have almost quarrelled with Marshal Horne. Upon which the old general, not to foment him, with a great deal of mildness, stood up, and spoke thus:—

"Come, Offkirk," says he, "I'll submit my opinion to you and the majority of our fellow-soldiers. We will fight; but, believe me, we shall have our hands full."

The resolution thus taken, they attacked the Imperial army. I must confess the councils of this day seemed as confused as the resolutions of the night.

Duke Bernard was to lead the van of the left wing, and to post himself upon a hill which was

on the enemy's right without their intrenchments; so that, having secured that post, they might level their cannon upon the foot who stood behind the lines, and relieve the town at pleasure.

He marched accordingly by break of day, and falling with great fury upon eight regiments of foot which were posted at the bottom of the hill, he presently routed them, and made himself master of the post. Flushed with this success, he never regarded his own concerted measures of stopping there, and possessing what he had got, but pushes on and falls in with the main body of the enemy's army.

While this was doing Gustavus Horne attacks another post on a hill, where the Spaniards had posted and lodged themselves behind some works they had cast up on the side of the hill. Here they defended themselves with extreme obstinacy for five hours, and at last obliged the Swedes to give it over with loss.

This extraordinary gallantry of the Spaniards was certainly the saving of the Imperial army; for Duke Bernard having all this while resisted the frequent charges of the Imperialists, and borne the weight of two-thirds of their army, was not able to stand any longer; but sending one messenger on the neck of another to Gustavus Horne for more foot, he, finding he could not carry his point, had given it over, and was in full march to second the duke.

But now it was too late; for the King of Hungary, seeing the duke's men, as it were, wavering, and having notice of Horne's wheeling about to second him, falls in with all his force upon his flank, and with his Hungarian hussars made such a furious charge, that the Swedes could stand no longer.

The rout of the left wing was so much the more unhappy, as it happened just upon Gustavus Horne's coming up; for being pushed on with the enemy at their heels, they were driven upon their own friends, who, having no ground to open and give them way, were trodden down by their own runaway brethren. This brought all into the utmost confusion. The Imperialists cried "Victoria," and fell into the middle of the infantry with a terrible slaughter.

I have always observed it is fatal to upbraid an old experienced officer with want of courage. If Gustavus Horn had not been whetted with the reproaches of Baron d'Offkirk, and some of the other general officers, I believe it had saved the lives of one thousand men; for, when all was thus lost, several officers advised him to make a retreat with such regiments as he had yet unbroken, but nothing could persuade him to stir a foot; but, turning his flank into a front, he saluted the enemy as they passed by him in pursuit of the rest with such terrible volleys of small shot as cost them the lives of abundance of their men.

The Imperialists, eager in the pursuit, left him unbroken, till the Spanish brigade came up and charged him; these he bravely repulsed with a great slaughter, and after them a body of dragoons, till, being laid at on every side, and most of his men killed, the brave old general, with all who were left, were made prisoners. (*Note 11.*)

The Swedes had a terrible loss here; for almost all their infantry were killed or taken prisoners.

Gustavus Horne refused quarter several times, and still those that attacked him were cut down by his men, who fought like furies, and, by the example of their general, behaved themselves like lions. But at last these poor remains of a body of the bravest men in the world were forced to submit. I have heard him say he had much rather have died than been taken, but that he yielded in compassion to so many brave men as were about him; for none of them would take quarter till he gave his consent.

I had the worst share in this battle that ever I had in any action in my life, and that was, to be posted among as brave a body of horse as any in Germany, and yet not to be able to succour our own men, for our foot were cut in pieces, as it were, before our faces, and the situation of the ground was such that we could not fall in. All that we were able to do was to carry off about two thousand of the foot, who, running away in the rout of the left wing, rallied among our squadrons, and got away with us.

Thus we stood till we saw all was lost, and then made the best retreat we could to save ourselves, several regiments having never charged nor fired a shot; for the foot had so embarrassed themselves among the lines and works of the enemy, and in the vineyards and mountains, that the horse were rendered absolutely unserviceable.

The Rhinegrave had made such expedition to join us, that he reached within three miles of the place of action that night, and he was a great safeguard for us in rallying our dispersed men, who else had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in checking the pursuit of the enemy.

And, indeed, had but any considerable body of the foot made an orderly retreat, it had been very probable they had given the enemy a brush that would have turned the scale of victory; for our horse being whole, and in a manner untouched, the enemy found such a check in the pursuit, that sixteen hundred of their forwardest men, following too eagerly, fell in with the Rhinegrave's advanced troops the next day, and were cut in pieces without mercy.

This gave us some satisfaction for the loss, but it was but small compared to the ruin of that day. We lost near eight thousand men upon the spot, and above three thousand prisoners, all our cannon and baggage, and one hundred and twenty colours. I thought I never made so indifferent a figure in my life, and so we thought all, to come away, lose our infantry, our general, and our honour, and not so much as fight for it.

Duke Bernard was utterly disconsolate for old Gustavus Horne, for he concluded him killed; he tore the hair from his head like a madman, and, telling the Rhinegrave the story of the council of war, would reproach himself with not taking his advice, often repeating in his passion, "'Tis I that have been the death of the bravest general in Germany;" would call himself fool and boy, and such names, for not listening to the reasons of an old, experienced soldier. But when he heard he was still alive in the enemy's hands he was the easier, and applied himself to the recruiting his troops, and other business of the war, and it was not long before he paid the Imperialists with interest.

I returned to Frankfort au Main after this action, which happened the 17th of August, 1634; but the progress of the Imperialists was so great that there was no staying at Frankfort. The Chancellor Oxenstern removed to Magdeburg, Duke Bernard and the Landgrave marched into Alsatia, and the Imperialists carried all before them for the remainder of the campaign: they took Philipsburgh by surprise; they took Augsburg by famine; Spire and Treves by sieges, taking the elector prisoner.

But this success did one piece of service to the Swedes, that it brought the French into the war on their side, for the Elector of Treves was their confederate. The French gave the conduct of the war to Duke Bernard. This, though the Duke of Saxony fell off, and fought against them, turned the scale so much in their favour, that they recovered their losses, and proved a terror to all Germany. The further accounts of the war I refer to the histories of those times, which I have since read with great delight.

I confess, when I saw the progress of the Imperial army after the battle of Norlingen, and the Duke of Saxony turning his arms against them, I thought their affairs declining; and giving them over for lost, I left Frankfort, and came down the Rhine to Cologne, and from thence into Holland.

I came to the Hague the 8th of March, 1635, having spent three years and a half in Germany, and the greatest part of it in the Swedish army.

I stayed some time in Holland, viewing the wonderful power of art which I observed in the fortifications of their towns, where the very bastions stand on bottomless morasses, and yet are firm as any in the world. There I had the opportunity of seeing the Dutch army, and their famous general, Prince Maurice.

It is true the men behaved themselves well enough in action, when they were put to it; but the prince's way of beating his enemies, without fighting, was so unlike the gallantry of my royal instructor, that it had no manner of relish with me.

Our way in Germany was always to seek out the enemy and fight him; and, give the Imperialists their due, they were seldom hard to be found, but were as free of their flesh as we were.

Whereas Prince Maurice would lie in a camp till he starved half his men, if by lying there he could but starve two-thirds of his enemy's; so that indeed the war in Holland had more of fatigues and hardships in it, and ours had more of fighting and blows: hasty marches, long and unwholesome encampments, winter parties, counter-marching, dodging, and intrenching, were the exercises of his men, and oftentimes killed him more men with hunger, cold, and diseases, than he could do with fighting.

Not that it required less courage, but rather more; for a soldier had, at any time, rather die in the field by a musket than be starved with hunger, or frozen to death in the trenches.

Nor do I think I lessen the reputation of that great general; for it is most certain he ruined the Spaniards more by spinning the war thus out in length than he could possibly have done by a swift conquest; for had he, Gustavus like, with a torrent of victory dislodged the Spaniards of all the twelve provinces in five years, whereas he

was forty years in beating them out of seven, he had left them rich and strong at home, and able to keep him in constant apprehensions of a return of their power.

Whereas, by the long continuance of the war, he so broke the very heart of the Spanish monarchy, so absolutely and irrecoverably impoverished them, that they have ever since languished of the disease, till they are fallen from the most powerful to be the most despicable nation in the world.

The prodigious charge the King of Spain was at in losing the seven provinces broke the very spirit of the nation, and that so much, that all the wealth of their Peruvian mountains have not been able to retrieve it.

King Philip having often declared that war, besides his armada for invading England, had cost him three hundred and seventy millions of ducats, and four millions of the best soldiers in Europe; whereof, by an unreasonable Spanish obstinacy, above sixty thousand lost their lives before Ostend, a town not worth a sixth part either of the blood or money it cost in a siege of three years, and which at last he had never taken, but that Prince Maurice thought it not worth the charge of defending it any longer.

However, I say, their way of fighting in Holland did not relish with me at all. The prince lay a long time before a little fort called Shenks-cans, which the Spaniards took by surprise, and I thought he might have taken it much sooner. Perhaps it might be my mistake; but I fancied my hero, the King of Sweden, would have carried it sword in hand in half the time.

However it was, I did not like it; so, in the latter end of the year, I came to the Hague, and took shipping for England, where I arrived, to the great satisfaction of my father and all my friends.

My father was then in London, and carried me to kiss the king's hand. His majesty was pleased to receive me very well, and to say a great many very obliging things to my father upon my account.

I spent my time very retired from court, for I was almost wholly in the country; and it being so much different from my genius, which hankered after a warmer sport than hunting among our Welsh mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the accounts from Germany to see how things went on. I could never hear of a battle but the Germans were beaten, yet I began to wish myself there.

But when an account came of the progress of Sir John Bannier, the Swedish general in Saxony, and of the constant victories he had there over the Saxons, I could no longer contain myself, and told my father this life was very disagreeable to me; that I lost my time here, and might to much more advantage go into Germany, where I was sure I might make my fortune upon my own terms; that, young as I was, I might have been a general officer by this time, if I had not laid down my commission; and if he pleased to give me leave, I would go to Germany again.

My father was very unwilling to let me go; but, seeing me uneasy, told me, if I was resolved, he would oblige me to stay no longer in England than the next spring, and then I should have his consent.

The winter following began to look very unpleasant upon us in England, and my father used often to sigh at it, and would sometimes tell me he was afraid we should have no need to send Englishmen to fight in Germany.

The cloud that seemed to threaten most was from Scotland. My father, who had made himself master of the arguments on both sides, used to say he feared there was some about the king, who exasperated him too much against the Scots, and drove things too high.

For my part, I confess I did not much trouble my head with the cause; but all my fear was they would not fall out, and we should have no fighting. I have often reflected since, that I ought to have known better, that had seen how the most flourishing provinces of Germany were reduced to the most miserable condition that ever any country in the world was, by the ravagings of soldiers, and the calamities of war.

How much soever I was to blame, yet so it was, I had a secret joy at the news of the king's raising an army, and nothing could have withheld me from appearing in it; but my eagerness was still increased by an express the king sent to my father to know if his son was in England; and my father having ordered me to carry the answer myself, I waited upon his majesty with the messenger. The king received me with his usual kindness, and asked me if I was willing to serve him against the Scots.

I answered, I was ready to serve him against any that his majesty thought fit to account his enemies, and should esteem it an honour to receive his commands. Hereupon his majesty offered me a commission. I told him I supposed there would not be much time for raising of men; that if his majesty pleased I would be at the rendezvous with as many gentlemen as I could get together to serve his majesty as volunteers.

The truth is, I found all the regiments of horse the king designed to raise were but two, as regiments; the rest of the horse were such as the nobility raised in their several counties, and commanded by themselves. As I had commanded a regiment of horse abroad, it looked a little odd to serve with a single troop at home; and the king took the thing presently.

"Indeed, it will be a volunteer war," said the king, "for the northern gentry have sent me an account of above four hundred horse they have already."

I bowed, and told his majesty I was glad to hear his subjects were so forward to serve him; so, taking his majesty's orders to be at York by the end of March, I returned to my father.

My father was very glad I had not taken a commission, for I know not from what kind of emulation between the western and northern gentry, the gentlemen of our side were not very forward in the service; their loyalty to the king in the succeeding times made it appear it was not from any disaffection to his majesty's interest or person, or to the cause; but this, however, made it difficult for me, when I came home, to get any gentleman of quality to serve with me; so that I presented myself to his majesty only as a volunteer, with eight gentlemen, and about thirty-six countrymen, well mounted and armed.

And as it proved, these were enough, for this

expedition ended in an accommodation with the Scots; and they not advancing so much as to their own borders, we never came to any action; but the armies lay in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, eat up the country, and spent the king a vast sum of money; and so this war ended, a pacification was made, and both sides returned.

But, indeed, I never saw such a despicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war in my life; whether it was that I had seen so many braver armies abroad that prejudiced me against them, or that it really was so, for to me they seemed little better than a rabble met together to devour, rather than fight for their king and country. There was, indeed, a great appearance of gentlemen, and those of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages, and their mien, did not look like war; their troops were filled with footmen and servants, and wretchedly armed, God wot!

I believe I might say, without vanity, one regiment of Finland horse would have made sport at beating them all. There were such crowds of parsons, for this was a church war in particular, that the camp and court was full of them; and the king was so eternally besieged with clergymen of one sort or another, that it gave offence to the chief of the nobility.

As was the appearance, so was the service; the army marched to the borders, and the headquarters was at Berwick-upon-Tweed; but the Scots never appeared, no, not so much as their scouts; whereupon the king called a council of war, and there it was resolved to send the Earl of Holland, with a party of horse, into Scotland, to learn some news of the enemy; and, truly, the first news he brought us was, that, finding their army encamped about Coldingham, fifteen miles from Berwick, as soon as he appeared the Scots drew out a party to charge him; upon which most of his men halted—I do not say run away, but it was next to it; for they could not be persuaded to fire their pieces, and wheel off like soldiers, but retreated in such a disorderly and shameful manner, that had the enemy had either the courage or conduct to have followed them, it must have certainly ended in the ruin of the whole party.

I confess, when I went into arms at the beginning of this war, I never troubled myself to examine sides; I was as glad to hear the drums beat for soldiers as if I had been a mere Swiss, who cares not which side gets the better, provided he receives his pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about my business as the meanest wretch that listed into the army; nor had I the least compassionate thought for the miseries of my native country till after the fight at Edgehill.

I had known as much, and perhaps more than most in the army, what it was to have an enemy ranging in the bowels of a kingdom; I had seen the most flourishing provinces of Germany reduced to perfect deserts, and the voracious Crabs, with inhuman barbarity, quenching the fires of the plundered villages with the blood of the inhabitants. Whether this had hardened me against the natural tenderness which I afterwards found return upon me or not, I cannot tell, but I reflected upon myself afterwards with a great deal

of trouble for the unconcernedness of my temper at the approaching ruin of my native country.

I was in the first army at York, as I have already noted, and I must confess had the least diversion there that ever I found in an army in my life; for when I was in Germany with the King of Sweden, we used to see the king with the general officers every morning on horseback viewing his men, his artillery, his horses, and always something going forward.

Here we saw nothing but bishops, courtiers, and clergymen, as busy as if the direction of the war had been in them; the king was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them about him.

Those few of us that had seen the wars abroad, and would have made a short end of this campaign for him, began to be very uneasy, and particularly a certain nobleman took the freedom to tell the king that the clergy would certainly ruin the expedition. The case was this—he would have had the king to have immediately marched into Scotland, and put the matter to the trial of a battle, and he urged it every day; and the king, finding his reasons very good, would often be of his opinion, but next morning would be quite different.

This nobleman was a man of good conduct and of unquestioned courage, and afterwards lost his life for the king. He saw we had an army of young, stout fellows, numerous enough, and though they had not yet seen much service, he was for bringing them to action, that the Scots might not have time to strengthen themselves, nor they have time, by idleness and sotting (the bane of soldiers) to make themselves unfit for anything.

I was one morning in company with my lord, and as he was a warm man, and eager in his discourse, he said, “Pox of these priests—it is for them the king has raised this army, and put his friends to a vast charge; and now we are come, they will not let us fight.”

But I was afterwards convinced the clergy saw further into the matter than we did; they saw the Scots had a better army than we had, bold and ready, commanded by brave officers; and they foresaw that if we fought we should be beaten, and if beaten they were undone. And it was very true we had all been ruined if we had engaged. (Note 12.)

It is true, when we came to the pacification which followed, I confess I was of the same mind my lord had been of, for we had better have fought, and been beaten, than have made so dishonourable a treaty without striking a stroke. This pacification seems to me to have laid the scheme of all the blood and confusion which followed in the civil war; for whatever the king and his friends might pretend to do by talking big, the Scots saw he was to be bullied into anything, and that when it came to the push the courtiers never cared to bring it to blows.

I have little or nothing to say as to action in this mock expedition. The king was persuaded at last to march to Berwick, and, as I have said already, a party of horse went out to learn news of the Scots, and as soon as they saw them ran away bravely.

This made the Scots so insolent, that whereas

before they lay encamped behind a river, and never showed themselves, in a sort of modest deference to their king, which was the pretence of not being aggressors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the English troops entering Scotland, they had what they wanted; and to show it was not fear that restrained them before, but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day.

I had, with more curiosity than discretion, put myself as a volunteer at the head of one of our parties of horse under my Lord Holland, when they went out to discover the enemy; they went, they said, to see what the Scots were doing.

We had not marched far, but our scouts brought word they had discovered some horse, but could not come up to them because a river parted them. At the heels of these came another party of our men upon the spur to us, and said the enemy was behind, which might be true for aught we knew, but they were so far behind that nobody could see them, and yet the country was plain and open for above a mile before us.

Hereupon we made a halt, and indeed I was afraid it would have been a strange sort of a halt, for our men began to look one upon another, as they always do when they are going to break; and when the scouts came galloping in, the men were in such disorder, that, had but one man broke away, I am satisfied they had all run for it.

I found my Lord Holland did not perceive it; but after the first surprise was a little over, I told my lord what I had observed, and that, unless some course was immediately taken, they would all run at the first sight of the enemy. I found he was much concerned at it, and began to consult what course to take to prevent it.

I confess it is a hard question how to make men stand and face an enemy when fear has possessed their minds with an inclination to run away; but I will give that honour to the memory of that nobleman, who, though his experience in matters of war was small, having never been in much service, yet his courage made amends for it; for I dare say he would not have turned his horse from an army of enemies, nor have saved his life at the price of running away for it.

My lord soon saw as well as I the fright the men were in after I had given him a hint of it; and to encourage them rode through their ranks, spoke cheerfully to them, and used what arguments he thought proper to settle their minds.

I remembered a saying which I had heard old Marshal Gustavus Horne speak in Germany: “If you find your men falter, or in doubt, never suffer them to halt, but keep them advancing, for while they are going forward it keeps up their courage.”

As soon as I could get an opportunity to speak to him, I gave him this as my opinion. “That is very well,” says my lord; “but I am studying to post them so that they cannot run off if they would; and if they stand but once to face the enemy, I do not fear them afterwards.”

While we were discoursing thus, word was brought that several parties of the enemy were seen on the further side of the river; upon which my lord gave the word to march, and as we were marching on my lord calls out a lieute-

nant who had been an old soldier, with only five troopers in whom he put most confidence, and having given him his lesson, he sends him away : in a quarter of an hour one of the five troopers comes back galloping and hallooing, and tells us his lieutenant had with his small party beaten a party of twenty of the enemy's horse over the river, and had secured the pass, and desired my lord would march up to him immediately.

It is strange that men's spirits should be subject to such sudden changes, and capable of so much alteration from shadows of things. They were for running before they saw the enemy ; now they were in haste to be led on, but in raw men we are obliged to bear with anything, for the disorder in both was intolerable.

The story was a premeditated sham, and not a word of truth in it, invented to raise their spirits, and cheat them out of their cowardly, phlegmatic apprehensions, and my lord had his end in it, for they were all on fire to fall on ; and I am persuaded had they been led immediately into a battle begun to their hands, they would have laid about them like furies, for there is nothing like victory to flush a young soldier. Thus, while the humour was high, and the fermentation lasted, away we marched ; and passing one of their great commons, which they call moors, we came to the river, as he called it, where our lieutenant was posted with his four men. It was a little brook, fordable with ease ; and, leaving a guard at the pass, we advanced to the top of a small ascent, from whence we had a fair view of the Scotch army as they lay behind another river larger than the former.

Our men were posted well enough behind a small enclosure, with a narrow lane in their front, and my lord had caused his dragoons to be placed in the front to line the hedges ; and in this posture he stood viewing the enemy at a distance. The Scots, who had some intelligence of our coming, drew out three small parties, and sent them by different ways to observe our number ; and, forming a fourth party, which I guessed to be about six hundred horse, advanced to the top of the plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the small parties, making about a hundred men, one third foot, passes upon our flank in view, but out of reach, and as they marched shouted at us, which our men, better pleased with that work than with fighting, readily enough answered, and would fain have fired at them for the pleasure of making a noise, for they were too far off to hit them.

I observed that these parties had always some foot with them, and yet, if the horse galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage.

Gustavus Adolphus, that king of soldiers, was the first that I have ever observed found the advantage of mixing small bodies of musketeers among his horse ; and had he had such nimble strong fellows as these, he would have prized them above all the rest of his men. These were those they called Highlanders : they would run on foot with their arms and all their accoutrements, keep very good order too, and keep pace with the horse, let them go at what rate they

would. When I saw the foot thus interlined among the horse, together with their way of ordering flying parties, it presently occurred to my mind that here were some of our old Scots, come home out of Germany, that had the ordering of matters, and, if so, I knew we were not a match for them.

Thus we stood facing the enemy till our scouts brought us word the whole Scotch army was in motion, and in full march to attack us ; and though it was not true, for the fear of our men doubled every object, yet it was thought convenient to make our retreat. The whole matter was, that the scouts having informed them what they could of our strength, the six hundred were ordered to march towards us, and three regiments of foot were drawn out to support the horse.

I know not whether they would have ventured to attack us, at least before their foot had come up, but whether they would have put it to the hazard or not, we were resolved not to hazard the trial, so we drew down to the pass ; and as retreating looks something like running away, especially when an enemy is at hand, our men had much ado to make their retreat pass for a march, and not a flight ; and, by their often looking behind them, anybody might know what they would have done if they had been pressed.

I confess I was heartily ashamed when the Scots, coming up to the place where we had been posted, stood and shouted at us. I would have persuaded my lord to have charged them, and he would have done it with all his heart, but he saw it was not practicable ; so we stood at gaze with them above two hours, by which time their foot were come up to them, and yet they did not offer to attack us.

Never was I so ashamed of myself. We were all dispirited. The Scotch gentlemen would come out singly within shot of our post, which, in time of war, is always accounted a challenge to any single gentleman to come out and exchange a pistol with them, and nobody would stir. At last our old lieutenant rides out to meet a Scotchman that came pickeering on his quarter.

This lieutenant was a brave and a strong fellow, had been a soldier in the Low Countries, and though he was not of any quality, only a mere soldier, had his preferment for his conduct. He gallops bravely up to his adversary, and, exchanging their pistols, the lieutenant's horse happened to be killed. The Scotchman very generously dismounts, engages him with his sword, fairly masters him, and carries him away prisoner. I think this horse was all the blood that was shed in this war.

Lieutenant English (for that was his name), as he was a very stout old soldier, the disgrace of it broke his heart. The Scotchman, indeed, used him very generously, for he treated him in the camp very courteously, gave him another horse, and set him at liberty ; yet the man laid it so to heart that he never would appear again in the army, but went home to his own country and died.

I had enough of party-making, and was quite sick with indignation at the cowardice of the men, and my lord was in as great a fright as I, but there was no remedy ; we durst not turn about to retreat, for we should have been in such con-

fusion that the enemy must have discovered it ; so my lord resolved to keep the post, if possible, and send to the king for some foot.

Then were our men ready to fight with one another who should be the messenger, and at last when a lieutenant with twenty dragoons was dispatched, he told him afterwards he found himself a hundred strong before he had got a mile from the place.

In short, as soon as ever the day declined, and the dusk of the evening began to shelter the designs of the men, they dropped away from us one by one, and at last in such numbers, that if we had stayed till the morning, we should not have had fifty men left out of twelve hundred horse and dragoons.

When I saw how it was, consulting with some of the officers, we all went to my Lord Holland, and pressed him to retreat before the enemy should discern the flight of our men ; so he drew us off, and we came to the camp next morning in the most shameful condition ever poor men could do, and this was the end of the worst expedition ever I made.

To fight and be beaten is a casualty common to a soldier, and I have since had enough of it ; but to run away at the sight of an enemy, and neither strike nor be stricken, is the very shame of the profession, and no man that has done it ought to show his face again in the field, unless disadvantages of place or number make it tolerable, neither of which was our case.

My Lord Holland made another march a few days after, in hopes to retrieve this miscarriage ; but I had enough of it, so I kept in my quarters ; and though his men did not desert him as before, they did not think fit to fight, and came off with but little more honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to seek the enemy after this, for they came, as I have said, and pitched in sight of us, and their parties came up every day to the very outworks of Berwick, but nobody cared to meddle with them ; and in this posture things stood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties, which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath to prepare for a new war, more ridiculously managed than the former.

When the treaty was so near a conclusion that conversation was admitted on both sides, I went over to the Scotch camp to satisfy my curiosity, as did many of our English officers.

I confess the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the Highlanders ; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in them remarkable.

They were generally tall, robust fellows ; their swords were extravagantly, and I think insignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies ; their dress was as antique as the rest—a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of merry Andrews ready for Barthlomew fair.

They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their Christian names,

as Jemmy, Jockey, Sawny, and the like ; and they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans or lairds they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due, were their skill in exercises and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the bravest soldiers in the world.

They are large bodies, and prodigiously strong ; and two qualities they have above other nations—hardy to endure hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it ; for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them ; and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. These were some of those who, as I have observed before, went out in parties with their horse.

There were three or four thousand of these in the Scotch army, armed only with swords and targets ; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no muskets at that time among them.

But there were also a great many regiments of disciplined men, who, by the carrying of their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and, by their faces, that they durst see an enemy.

I had not been half an hour in their camp after the ceremony of giving our names, and passing their out-guards and main guard, was over, but I was saluted by several of my acquaintance, and, in particular, by one who led the Scotch volunteers at the taking the Castle of Oppenheim, of which I have given an account. They used me with all the respect they thought due to me on account of old affairs, gave me the word, and a sergeant waited upon me whenever I pleased to go abroad.

I continued twelve or fourteen days among them till the pacification was concluded, and they were ordered to march home. They spoke very respectfully of the king, but I found were exasperated to the last degree at Archbishop Laud and the English bishops, for endeavouring to impose the Common Prayer-book upon them ; and they always talked with the utmost contempt of our soldiers and army. I always waved the discourse about the clergy, and the occasion of the war ; but I could not but be too sensible what they said of our men was true ; and by this I perceived they had a universal intelligence from among us, both of what we were doing and what sort of people we were that were doing it ; and they were mighty desirous of coming to blows with us.

I had an invitation from their general, but I declined it, lest I should give offence. I found they accepted the pacification as a thing not likely to hold, and that they were resolved to keep their forces on foot, notwithstanding the agreement. Their whole army was full of brave officers, men of much experience and conduct ; and all men who know anything of war know good officers make a good army.

Things being thus huddled up, the English

came back to York, where the army separated, and the Scots went home to increase theirs; for I easily foresaw that peace was the furthest thing from their thoughts.

The next year the flame broke out again: the king drew his forces down into the north as before, and expresses were sent to all the gentlemen that had commands to be at the place by the 15th of July. As I had accepted of no command in the army, so I had no inclination at all to go; for I foresaw there would be nothing but disgrace attend it.

My father, observing such an alteration in my usual forwardness, asked me one day what was the matter that I, who used to be so forward to go into the army, and so eager to run abroad to fight, now showed no inclination to appear when the service of the king and country called me to it.

I replied, I had as much zeal as ever for the king's service, and for the country too; but he knew a soldier could not abide to be beaten: and being from thence a little more inquisitive, I told him the observations I had made in the Scotch army, and the people I had conversed with there; and I added, "Sir, assure yourself, if the king offers to fight them, he will be beaten; and I do not love to engage when my judgment tells me beforehand I shall be worsted."

And as I had foreseen it came to pass; for the Scots, resolving to proceed, never stood upon the ceremony of aggression as before, but, on the 20th of August, they entered England with their army.

However, as my father desired, I went to the king's army, which was then at York, but had not got altogether, the king himself being at London; but upon this news takes post for the army, and advancing a part of his forces, he posted Lord Conway and Sir Jacob Astley, with a brigade of foot and some horse, at Newborn, upon the river Tyne, to keep the Scots from passing that river.

The Scots could have passed the Tyne without fighting; but to let us see that they were able to force their passage, they fell upon this body of men, and, notwithstanding all the advantages of the place, drove them from the post, took their baggage and two pieces of cannon, with some prisoners.

Sir Jacob Astley made what resistance he could; but the Scots charged with so much fury, and Sir Jacob being overpowered, he was soon put into confusion. Immediately the Scots made themselves masters of Newcastle, and the next day of Durham, and laid those two counties under intolerable contributions. (*Note 13.*)

Now was the king absolutely ruined; for among his own people the discontents before were so plain, that, had the clergy had any forecast, they would never have embroiled him with the Scots till he had fully brought matters to an understanding at home: but the case was thus:—

The king, by the good management of Bishop Juxon, his treasurer, had a million of ready money in his treasury, and, upon that account having no need of a parliament, had not called one in twelve years, and perhaps had never called another, if he had not, by this unhappy circumstance, been reduced to an extremity; for now the above money was spent in two foolish expe-

ditions, and his army appeared in a condition not fit to engage the Scots. The detachment under Sir Jacob Astley, which were of the flower of his men, had been routed at Newborn, and the enemy had possession of two entire counties.

Archbishop Laud was universally blamed for prompting the king to provoke the Scots, a headstrong nation, and zealous for their own way of worship; and Laud himself found too late the consequences of it, both to the whole cause and to himself; for the Scots, whose native temper is not easy to forget an injury, pursued him, by their party in England, and never gave it over till they laid his head on the block.

The ruined country now clamoured in his majesty's ears with daily petitions, and the gentry of other neighbouring counties cried out for peace and a parliament. The king, embarrassed with these difficulties, and quite empty of money, calls a great council of the nobility at York, and demands their advice, which any one could have told him before would be to call a parliament.

I cannot, without regret, look back upon the misfortune of the king, who, as he was one of the best princes in his personal conduct, had yet some of the greatest unhappinesses, as a king, that ever prince had, and the whole course of his life demonstrated it.

1. Impolitic honesty. His enemies called it obstinacy: but as I was perfectly acquainted with his temper, I cannot but think it was his judgment, when he thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as a duty, though against his interest.

2. Too much compliance when he was complying.

No man but himself would have denied what at times he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted; and this uncertainty of counsel proceeded from two causes:—

1. The heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himself.

2. The wisdom of his nobility.

Thus, when the counsel of his bishops prevailed, all was fire and fury; the Scots were rebels, and must be subdued; and the parliament's demands were to be rejected as exorbitant.

But whenever the king's judgment was led by the grave and steady advice of his nobility and councillors, he was always inclined by them to temperate his measures between the two extremes: and had he gone on in such a temper, he had never met with the misfortunes which afterwards attended him, nor had so many thousands of his friends lost their lives and fortunes in his service.

I am sure we that knew what it was to fight for him, and that loved him better than any of the clergy could pretend to, have had many a consultation how to bring over our master from so espousing their interest as to ruin himself for it; but it was in vain.

I took this interval, when I sat still and only looked on, to make these remarks, because I remember the best friends the king had were at this time of that opinion. That it was an unaccountable piece of indiscretion to commence a quarrel with the Scots, a poor and obstinate people, for a ceremony and a book of church dis-

cipline, at a time when the king stood but upon indifferent terms with his people at home.

The consequence was, it put arms into the hands of his subjects to rebel against him: it embroiled him with his parliament in England, to whom he was fain to stoop in a fatal and unusual manner to get money, all his own being spent, and so to buy off the Scots, whom he could not beat.

I must give one instance of the unaccountable politics of his ministers. If they over-ruled this unhappy king to it, with design to exhaust and impoverish him, they were the worst of traitors, if not the grossest of fools.

They prompted the king to equip a fleet against the Scots, and to put on board five thousand landmen. Had this been all, the design had been good, that while the king had faced the army upon the borders, these five thousand landing in the frith of Edinburgh might have put that whole nation into confusion. But, in order to this, they advise the king to lay out his money in fitting out the biggest ships he had; and the Royal Sovereign, the largest ship the world had then ever seen, which cost him no less than one hundred thousand pounds, was now built, and fitted out for this voyage.

This was the most incongruous and ridiculous advice that could be given, and made us all believe we were betrayed, though we knew not by whom.

To fit out ships of one hundred guns to invade Scotland, which had not one man of war in the world, nor any open confederacy with any prince or state that had any fleet for a defence, was a most ridiculous thing. A hundred sail of Newcastle colliers to carry the men, with their stores and provisions, and ten frigates of forty guns each, had been as good a fleet as reason and the nature of things could have made tolerable.

Thus things were carried on, until the king, reduced by the mismanagement of his councils, and beaten by the Scots, was driven to the necessity of calling a parliament in England.

It is not my design to enter into the feuds and wrangles of this parliament. I have noted my observations of their mistakes who brought the king to this unhappy necessity of calling them.

His majesty had tried parliaments upon several occasions before, but never found himself so much embroiled with them but he could send them home and there was an end of it; but as he could not avoid calling these, so they took care to put him out of a condition to dismiss them.

The Scotch army was now quartered upon the English. The counties, the gentry, and the assembly of lords at York, petitioned for a parliament.

The Scots presented their demands to the king, in which it was observed that matters were concerted between them and a party in England; and I confess, when I saw that, I began to think the king in an ill case.

For as the Scots pretended grievances, we thought, the king redressing those grievances, they could ask no more; and therefore all men advised the king to grant their full demands. And the king, not having money sufficient to sup-

ply the Scots in their march home, I know there were several meetings of gentlemen with a design to advance considerable sums to the king to set him free, and in order to reinstate his majesty as before.

Not that we ever advised the king to rule without a parliament, but we were very desirous of putting him out of the necessity of calling them, at least just then.

But the eighth article of the Scots' demands expressly required that an English parliament might be called to remove all obstructions of commerce, and to settle peace, religion, and liberty; and in another article they tell the king, the 24th of September, being the time his majesty appointed for the meeting of the peers, will make it too long ere the parliament meet.

And in another, that a parliament was the only way of settling peace, and bringing them to his majesty's obedience.

When we saw this in the army, it was time to look about. Everybody indeed perceived that the Scotch army would call an English parliament; and whatever aversion the king had to it, all saw he would be obliged to comply with it; and now they began to see their error who advised the king to this Scotch war.

While these things were transacting, the assembly of the peers met at York, and, by their advice, a treaty was begun with the Scots. I had the honour to be sent with the first message, which was in writing.

I brought it, attended with a trumpet and a guard of five hundred horse, to the Scotch quarters. I was stopped at Darlington, and my errand being known, General Lesly sent a Scotch major and fifty horse to receive me, but would let neither my trumpet nor guard set foot within their quarters.

In this manner I was conducted to an audience in the chapter-house at Durham, where a committee of Scotch lords, who attended the army, received me very courteously, and gave me their answer in writing also.

It was in this answer that they showed, at least to me, their design of embroiling the king with his English subjects; they discoursed very freely with me, and did not order me to withdraw when they debated their private opinions; they drew up several answers, but did not like them; at last they offered me one, which I did not receive—I thought it was too insolent to be borne with: as near as I can remember it ran thus:—

“The commissioners of Scotland, attending the service in the army, do refuse any treaty in the city of York.”

One of the commissioners, who treated me with more distinction than the rest, gave me an opportunity, by the kindness of his discourse, to speak more freely of this than I expected.

I told them, if they would return to his majesty an answer fit for me to carry, or if they would say they would not treat at all, I would deliver such a message.

I then beseeched them to consider the answer was to their sovereign, and to whom they made a great profession of duty and respect, and at least they ought to give their reasons why they declined a treaty at York, and to name some other place, or humbly to desire his majesty to name some

other place; but to send word they would not treat at York, I could deliver no such message, for, when fully considered, it would signify they would not treat at all.

I used a great many reasons and arguments with them on this head; and at last, with some difficulty, obtained of them to give the reason, which was, the Earl of Strafford's having the chief command at York, whom they denounced their mortal enemy, he having declared them rebels in Ireland.

With this answer I returned. I could make no observation in the short time I was with them, for I staid but one night, and was guarded as a close prisoner all the while. I saw several of their officers whom I knew, but they durst not speak to me, and if they had offered, my guard would not have permitted them.

In this manner I was conducted out of their quarters to my own party again; and having delivered my message to the king, and told his majesty the circumstances, I saw the king received the account of the haughty behaviour of the Scots with some regret; however, it was his majesty's time now to bear, and therefore the Scots were complied with, and the treaty appointed at Rippon, where, after much debate, several preliminary articles were agreed on, as a cessation of arms, quarters and bounds to the armies, subsistence to the Scotch army, and the residue of the demands was referred to a treaty at London.

We were all amazed at the treaty, and I remember we would much rather have been suffered to fight, for, though we had been worsted at first, the power and strength of the king's interest, which was not yet tried, must, in the end, have been too strong for the Scots, whereas we now saw the king was for complying with anything, and all his friends would be ruined.

I confess I had nothing to fear, and so was not much concerned; but our predictions soon came to pass, for no sooner was this parliament called, but abundance of those who had embroiled their king with his people of both kingdoms, like the disciples when their Master was betrayed to the Jews, forsook him and fled.

And now parliament tyranny began to succeed church tyranny, and we soldiers were glad to see it at first. The bishops trembled; the judges went to gaol; the officers of the customs were laid hold on; and the parliament began to lay their fingers on the great ones, particularly Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford.

We had no great concern for the first, but the last was a man of so much conduct and gallantry, and so beloved by the soldiers and principal gentry of England, that everybody was touched with his misfortune.

The parliament now grew mad in their turn, and as the prosperity of any party is the time to show their discretion, the parliament showed they knew as little where to stop as other people. The king was not in a condition to deny anything, and, shortly after, whatever was demanded was complied with.

They attainted the Earl of Strafford, and, metaphorically, made the king cut off his right hand to save his left, and yet not save it neither; they obtained another bill, to empower them to sit

during their own pleasure, and after them triennial parliaments to meet, whether the king called them or not; and granting this completed his majesty's ruin.

Had the house only regulated the abuses of the court, punished evil counsellors, and restored parliaments to their original and just powers, all had been well, and the king, though he had been more than mortified, had yet reaped the benefit of future peace; for now the Scots were sent home, after having eaten up two counties, and received a prodigious sum of money to boot; and the king, though too late, goes in person to Edinburgh, and grants them all they could desire, and more than they asked; but in England the desires were unbounded, and drove at all extremes.

They threw out the bishops from sitting in the house, made a protestation equivalent to the Scotch covenant, and, this done, printed their remonstrance. This so provoked the king, that he resolves upon seizing some of the members, and in an ill hour enters the House of Commons in person to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one hand produced another on the other hand, until the king was obliged to leave them to themselves for fear of receiving treatment unworthy of himself.

These proceedings began to alarm the gentry and nobility of England, for however willing we were to have evil counsellors removed, and the government return to a settled and legal course, according to the happy constitution of this nation, and might have been forward enough to have owned the king had been misled and imposed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done, yet it did not follow that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown should devolve upon the parliament, and the king, in a manner, be deposed, or else sacrificed to the fury of the rabble.

The heats of the house running them thus to all extremes, and at last to take from the king the power of the militia, which indeed was all that was left to make him anything of a king, put him upon opposing force with force; and thus the flame of civil war began.

However backward I was in engaging in the second year's expedition against the Scots, I was as forward now, for I waited on the king at York, where a gallant company of gentlemen as ever were seen in England engaged themselves to enter into his service; and here some of us formed ourselves into troops for the guard of his person.

The king having been waited upon by the gentry of Yorkshire, and having told them his resolution of erecting his royal standard, and received from them hearty assurances of support, dismisses them, and marches to Hull, where lay the train of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition belonging to the northern army which had been disbanded.

But here the parliament had been beforehand with his majesty, so that when he came to Hull he found the gates shut, and Sir John Hotham, the governor, upon the walls, though with a great deal of seeming humility and protestations of loyalty to his person, yet with a positive denial to admit any of the king's attendants into the town.

If his majesty pleased to enter the town in person, with any reasonable number of his household, he would submit, but would not be prevailed on to receive the king, as he would be received, with his forces, though those forces were then but very few.

The king was exceedingly provoked at this repulse, and indeed it was a great surprise to us all, for certainly never prince began a war against the whole strength of his kingdom under the circumstances that he was in. He had not a garrison, or a company of soldiers, in his pay; not a stand of arms, or a barrel of powder, a musket, cannon, or mortar; not a ship of all the fleet, or money in his treasury to procure them; whereas the parliament had all his navy, ordnance, stores, magazines, arms, ammunition, and revenue in their keeping.

And this I take to be another defect of the king's counsel, and a sad instance of the destruction of his affairs, that when he saw how all things were going to wreck, as it was impossible but he should see it, and it is plain he did see it, that he should not, long enough before it came to extremities, secure the navy, magazines, and stores of war in the hands of his trusty servants, that would have been sure to have preserved them for his use at a time when he wanted them.

It cannot be supposed but the gentry of England, who generally preserved their loyalty for their royal master, and at last heartily showed it, were exceedingly discouraged at first, when they saw the parliament had all the means of making war in their own hands, and the king was naked and destitute both of arms and ammunition, and money to procure them.

Not but that the king, by extraordinary application, recovered the disorder the want of these things had thrown him into, and supplied himself with all things needful.

But my observation was this—had his majesty had the magazines, navy, and forts, in his own hand, the gentry, who wanted but the prospect of something to encourage them, had come in at first, and the parliament, being unprovided, would have been presently reduced to reason.

But this was it that balked the gentry of Yorkshire, who went home again, giving the king good promises, but never appeared for him till, by raising a good army in Shropshire and Wales, he marched towards London, and they saw there was a prospect of being supported.

In this condition the king erected his standard at Nottingham, August 22nd, 1642; and I confess I had very melancholy apprehensions of the king's affairs, for the appearance of the royal standard was but small. The affront the king had met with at Hull had dispirited the northern gentry, and the king's affairs looked with a very dismal aspect.

We had expresses from London of the prodigious success of the parliament's levies, how their men came in faster than they could entertain them, and that arms were delivered out to whole companies listed together; and all this while the king had not got together a thousand foot, and had no arms for them neither.

When the king saw this, he immediately dispatched five several messengers, whereof one went to the Marquis of Worcester into Wales;

one to the queen, then at Windsor; one to the Duke of Newcastle, then Earl of Newcastle, into the north; one into Scotland, and one into France where the queen soon after arrived to raise money and buy arms, and to get what assistance she could among her own friends.

Nor was her majesty idle, for she sent over several ships laden with arms and ammunition with a fine train of artillery, and a great many very good officers; and though one of the first fell into the hands of the parliament, with three hundred barrels of powder and some arms, and one hundred and fifty gentlemen, yet most of them found means to get to us, and most of the ships the queen freighted arrived; and at last her majesty came herself, and brought an extraordinary supply of men, money, and arms, with which she joined the king's forces, under the Earl of Newcastle, in the north.

Finding his majesty active to muster his friends together, I asked him if he thought it might not be for his majesty's service to let me go among my friends and his loyal subjects about Shrewsbury?

"Yes," says the king, smiling, "I intend you shall, and I design to go with you myself."

I did not understand what the king meant then, and did not think it good manners to inquire; but the next day I found all things disposed for a march, and the king on horseback by eight in the morning; when, calling me to him, he told me I should go before, and let my father and all my friends know he would be at Shrewsbury the Saturday following.

I left my equipages, and, taking post with only one servant, was at my father's the next morning by break of day. My father was not surprised at the news of the king's coming; for it seems he, together with the loyal gentry of those parts, had sent particularly to give the king an invitation to move that way, which I was not made privy to, with an account of what encouragement they had there in the endeavours made for his interest.

In short, the whole country was entirely for the king; and such was the universal joy the people showed when the news of his majesty's coming down was positively known, that all manner of business was laid aside, and the whole body of the people seemed to be resolved upon the war.

As this gave a new face to the king's affairs, so I must own it filled me with joy; for I was astonished before, when I considered what the king and his friends were like to be exposed to. The news of the proceedings of the parliament, and their powerful preparations, were now no more terrible. The king came at the time appointed, and having lain at my father's house one night, entered Shrewsbury in the morning.

The acclamations of the people, the concourse of the nobility and gentry about his person, and the crowds which now came every day in to his standard, were incredible.

The loyalty of the English gentry was not only worthy notice, but their power also was extraordinarily visible; for the king, in about six weeks, which was the most of his stay at Shrewsbury, was supplied with money, arms, ammunition, and

a train of artillery, and had enlisted an army of upwards of twenty thousand men.

His majesty, seeing the general alacrity of his people, immediately issued out commissions, and formed regiments of horse and foot; and having some experienced officers about him, together with about sixteen who came from France with a ship loaded with arms and some field-pieces, which came very seasonably into the Severn, the men were exercised, regularly disciplined and quartered, and now we began to look like soldiers.

My father had raised a regiment of horse at his own charge, and the king gave out arms to them from the supplies which I mentioned came from abroad. Another party of horse, all brave stout fellows, and well mounted, came in from Lancashire, and the Earl of Derby at the head of them.

The Welshmen came in by droves; and so great was the concourse of people, that the king began to think of marching, and gave the command, as well as the trust of regulating the army, to the brave Earl of Lindsey, as general of the foot. (*Note 14.*)

The parliament-general being the Earl of Essex, two braver men, or two better officers, were not in the kingdom: they had both been old soldiers, and had served together as volunteers, in the Low-country wars, under Prince Maurice. They had been comrades and companions abroad, and now came to face one another as enemies in the field. (*Note 15.*)

Such was the expedition used by the king and his friends in the levies of this first army, that, notwithstanding the wonderful expedition the parliament made, the king was in the field before them; and now the gentry in other parts of the nation bestirred themselves, and seized upon and garrisoned several considerable places for the king.

In the north, the Earl of Newcastle not only garrisoned the most considerable places, but even the general possession of the north was for the king, excepting Hull, and some few places which the old Lord Fairfax had taken up for the Parliament. On the other hand, Cornwall entire and most of the western counties were the king's. The parliament had their chief interest in the south and eastern parts of England, as Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckinghamshire, and the other midland counties.

These were called, or some of them at least, the associated counties, and felt little of the war, other than the charges; but the main support of the parliament was the city of London. The king made the seat of his court at Oxford, which he caused to be regularly fortified. The Lord Say had been here, and had possession of the city for the enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no resolution, which was a very great oversight in them, the situation of the place, and the importance of it, on many accounts, to the city of London, considered; they would have retrieved this error afterwards, but then it was too late, for the king made it the head-quarters, and received great supplies and assistance from the wealth of the colleges and the plenty of the neighbouring country.

Abingdon, Wallingford, Basingstoke, and Reading were all garrisoned and fortified as outworks to defend this as the centre; and thus all England became the theatre of blood, and war was spread into every corner of the country, though as yet there was not a stroke struck.

I had no command in this army: my father led his own regiment, and, old as he was, would not leave his royal master; and my elder brother staid at home to support the family. As for me, I rode a volunteer in the royal troop of guards, which may very well deserve that title, being composed of young gentlemen, sons of the nobility and prime gentry of the nation, and I think not a person of so mean a birth or fortune as myself.

We reckoned in this troop two-and-thirty lords, or who came afterwards to be such, and eight-and-thirty younger sons of the nobility, five French noblemen, and the rest gentlemen of very good families and estates.

And that I may give the due to their personal valour, many of this troop lived to have regiments and troops under their command in the service of the king; many of them lost their lives for him, and most of them their estates: nor did they behave unworthy of themselves in their first showing their faces to the enemy, as shall be mentioned in its place.

While the king remained at Shrewsbury his loyal friends bestirred themselves in several parts of the kingdom. Goring had secured Portsmouth; but being young in matters of war, and not in time relieved, though the Marquis of Hertford was marching to relieve him, yet he was obliged to quit the place, and shipped himself for Holland, from whence he returned with relief for the king, and afterwards did very good service upon all occasions, and very effectually cleared himself of the scandal the hasty surrender of Portsmouth had brought upon him.

The chief power of the king's forces lay in three places—in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and at Shrewsbury. In Cornwall, Sir Ralph Hopton, afterwards Lord Hopton, Sir Bevil Granvil, and Sir Nicholas Slamming, secured all the country, and afterwards spread themselves over Devonshire and Somersetshire, took Exeter from the parliament, fortified Bridgewater and Barnstaple, and beat Sir William Waller at the battle of Roundway Down, as I shall mention more particularly when I come to recite the part of my own travels that way.

In the north, the Marquis of Newcastle secured all the country, garrisoned York, Scarborough, Carlisle, Newcastle, Pontefract, Leeds, and all the considerable places, and took the field with a very good army, though afterwards he proved more unsuccessful than the rest, having the whole power of a kingdom at his back, the Scots coming in with an army to the assistance of the parliament, which indeed was the general turn of the scale of the war; for, had it not been for this Scotch army, the king had most certainly reduced the Parliament, at least to good terms of peace, in two years' time.

The king's force at Shrewsbury I have related already: the alacrity of the gentry filled him with hopes, and all his army with vigour, and the 8th of October, 1642, his majesty gave orders to

march. The Earl of Essex had spent above a month after his leaving London (for he went thence the 9th of September) in modelling and drawing together his forces: his rendezvous was at St Alban's, from whence he marched to Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick, and leaving garrisons in them, he comes on to Worcester.

Being thus advanced, he possesses Oxford, as I noted before, Banbury, Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, out of all which places, except Gloucester, we drove him back to London in a very little while.

Sir John Biron had raised a very good party of five hundred horse, mostly gentlemen, for the king, and had possessed Oxford; but on the approach of the Lord Say quitted it, being now but an open town, and retreated to Worcester; from whence, on the approach of Essex's army, he retreated to the king.

And now all things grew ripe for action, both parties having secured their posts, and settled their schemes of the war, taking their posts and places as their measures and opportunities directed. The field was next in their eye, and the soldiers began to inquire when they should fight, for as yet there had been little or no blood drawn, but it was not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the historians in Europe to tell me of any war in the world where, in the space of four years, there were so many pitched battles, sieges, fights, and skirmishes, as in this war.

We never encamped or intrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers and defiles. Here were no leaguers in the field, as at the story of Nuremberg; neither had our soldiers any tents, or what they call heavy baggage. It was the general maxim of this war, Where is the enemy? Let us go and fight them: or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, What was to be done? Why, what should be done? Draw out into the field and fight them.

I cannot say it was the prudence of the parties, and had the king fought less he had gained more; and I shall remark several times when the eagerness of fighting was the worst counsel, and proved our loss. This benefit, however, happened in general to the country, that it made a quick, though a bloody, end of the war, which otherwise had lasted till it might have ruined the whole nation.

On the 10th of October the king's army was in full march; his majesty, generalissimo; the Earl of Lindsey, general of the foot; Prince Rupert, general of the horse; and the first action in the field was by Prince Rupert and Sir John Biron. Sir John had brought his body of five hundred horse, as I have said, from Oxford to Worcester; the Lord Say, with a strong party, being in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and expected in the town, Colonel Sandys, a hot man, who had more courage than judgment, advanced with about fifteen hundred horse and dragoons, with design to beat Sir John Biron out of Worcester, and take post there for the parliament.

The king had notice that the Earl of Essex was designed for Worcester, and Prince Rupert was ordered to advance with a body of horse and dragoons to face the enemy, and bring off Sir John Biron. This his majesty did to amuse the

Earl of Essex, that he might expect him that way; whereas the king's design was to get between the Earl of Essex's army and the city of London, and his majesty's end was doubly answered, for he not only drew Essex on to Worcester, where he spent more time than he needed, but he beat the party into the bargain.

I went volunteer in this party, and rode in my father's regiment; for though we really expected not to see the enemy, yet I was tired with lying still. We came to Worcester just as notice was brought to Sir John Biron that a party of the enemy was on their march for Worcester, upon which the prince, immediately consulting what was to be done, resolves to march the next morning and fight them.

The enemy, who lay at Pershore, about eight miles from Worcester, and, as I believe, had no notice of our march, came on very confidently in the morning, and found us ready drawn up to receive them. I must confess this was the bluntest, downright way of making war that ever was seen.

The enemy, who, in all the little knowledge I had of war, ought to have discovered our numbers, and guessed by our posture what our design was, might easily have informed themselves that we intended to attack them, and so might have secured the advantage of a bridge in their front; but, without any regard to these methods of policy, they came on at all hazards.

Upon this notice my father proposed to the prince to halt for them, and suffer ourselves to be attacked, since we found them willing to give us the advantage. The prince approved of the advice, so we halted within view of a bridge, leaving space enough on our front for about half the number of their force to pass and draw up; and at the bridge was posted about fifty dragoons, with orders to retire as soon as the enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid.

On the right of the road was a ditch, and a very high bank behind, where we had placed three hundred dragoons, with orders to lie flat on their faces till the enemy had passed the bridge, and to let fly among them as soon as our trumpets sounded a charge.

Nobody but Colonel Sandys would have been caught in such a snare, for he might easily have seen that when he was over the bridge there was not room enough for him to fight; but the Lord of Hosts was so much in their mouths (for that was the word for that day) that they took little heed how to conduct the host of the Lord to their own advantage.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our dragoons from the bridge, and passed it. We stood firm in one line, with a reserve, and expected a charge; but Colonel Sandys showing a great deal more judgment than we thought he was master of, extended himself to the left, finding the ground too straight, and began to form his men with a great deal of readiness and skill, for by this time he saw our number was greater than he expected.

The prince perceiving it, and foreseeing that the stratagem of the dragoons would be frustrated by this, immediately charges with the horse, and the dragoons at the same time, standing upon their feet, poured in their shot upon those that were passing the bridge. This surprise put them

into such disorder, that we had but little work with them; for though Colonel Sandys, with the troops next him, sustained the shock extremely well, and behaved themselves gallantly, yet the confusion beginning in their rear, those that had not yet passed the bridge were kept back by the fire of the dragoons, and the rest were easily cut to pieces.

Colonel Sandys was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and the crowd was so great to get back, that many pushed into the water, and were rather smothered than drowned. Some of them, who never came into the fight, were so frightened, that they never looked behind them until they came to Pershore; and, as we were afterwards informed, the life-guards of the general, who had quartered in the town, left it in great disorder, expecting us at the heels of their men.

If our business had been to keep the parliament army from coming to Worcester, we had a very good opportunity to have secured the bridge at Pershore; but our design lay another way, as I have said, and the king was for drawing Essex on to the Severn, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Essex, spurred by this affront in the infancy of their affairs, advanced the next day, and came to Pershore time enough to be at the funeral of some of his men, and from thence he advanced to Worcester.

We marched back to Worcester extremely pleased with the good success of our first attack, and our men were so flushed with this little victory, that it put vigour into the whole army. The enemy lost about three thousand men, and we carried away near one hundred and fifty prisoners, with five hundred horses, some standards and arms; and among the prisoners their colonel, but he died a little after of his wounds.

Upon the approach of the enemy Worcester was quitted, and the forces marched back to join the king's army, which lay then at Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and thereabout. As the king expected, it fell out. Essex found so much work at Worcester to settle parliament-quarters, and secure Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, that it gave the king a full day's march of him; so the king having the start of him, moved towards London; and Essex, nettled to be both beaten in fight and outdone in conduct, decamped, and followed the king.

The parliament, and the Londoners too, were in a strange consternation at this mistake of their general; and had the king, whose great misfortune was always to follow precipitant advices, but pushed on his first design, which he had formed with very good reason, and for which he had been dodging with Essex eight or ten days, viz. of marching directly to London, where he had a very great interest, and where his friends were not yet oppressed and impoverished, as they were afterwards, he had turned the scale of his affairs, and every man expected it, for the members began to shift for themselves; expresses were sent on the heels of one another to the Earl of Essex to hasten after the king, and, if possible, to bring him to battle. Some of these letters fell into our hands, and we might easily discover that the parliament were in the last confusion at the

thoughts of our coming to London. Besides this, the city was in a worse fright than the house, and the great moving men began to go out of town. In short, they expected us, and we expected to come; but Providence, for our ruin, had otherwise determined it.

Essex, upon news of the king's march, and upon receipt of the parliament's letters, made long marches after us, and on the 23rd of October reached the town of Keynton, in Warwickshire.

The king was almost as far as Banbury, and there called a council of war. Some of the old officers that foresaw the advantage the king had, the concern the city was in, and the vast addition both to the reputation of his forces and the increase of his interest it would be, if the king could gain that point, urged the king to march on to London.

Prince Rupert and the fresh colonels pressed for fighting, told the king it dispirited their men to march with the enemy at their heels; that the parliament army was inferior to him by six thousand men, and fatigued with hasty marching; that their orders being to fight, he had nothing to do but to post himself to advantage, and receive them to their destruction; that the action near Worcester had let him know how easy it was to deal with a rash enemy; and that it was a dishonour for him, whose forces were so much superior, to be pursued by his subjects in rebellion.

These and the like arguments prevailed with the king to alter his wiser measures, and resolve to fight. Nor was this all: when a resolution of fighting was taken, that part of the advice which they who were for fighting gave as a reason for their opinion, was forgot, and, instead of halting, and posting ourselves to advantage till the enemy came up, we were ordered to march back and meet them.

Nay, so eager was the prince for fighting, that when, from the top of Edgehill, the enemy's army was descried in the bottom between them and the town of Keynton, and that the enemy had bid us defiance, by discharging three cannons, we accepted the challenge, and answering with two shot from our army, we must needs forsake the advantages of the hills, which they must have mounted under the command of our cannon, and march down to them into the plain.

I confess I thought here was a great deal more gallantry than discretion, for it was plainly taking an advantage out of our own hands, and putting it into the hands of the enemy; for an enemy that must fight may always be fought with to advantage.

My old hero, the glorious Gustavus Adolphus, was as forward to fight as any man of true valour mixed with any policy need to be, or ought to be; but he used to say, "An enemy, reduced to a necessity of fighting, is half beaten."

It is true, we were all but young in the war: the soldiers hot and forward, and eagerly desired to come to hands with the enemy. But I take the more notice of it here, because the king in this acted against his own measures, for it was the king himself had laid the design of getting the start of Essex, and marching to London.

His friends had invited him thither, and expected him, and suffered deeply for the omission.

and yet he gave way to these hasty counsels, and suffered his judgment to be overruled by a majority of voices—an error, I say, the King of Sweden was never guilty of; for if all the officers at a council of war were of different opinion, yet, unless their reasons mastered his judgment, their votes never altered his measures; but this was the error of our good but unfortunate master three times in this war, and particularly in two of the greatest battles, this of Edgehill, and that of Naseby.

The resolution for fighting being published in the army, gave a universal joy to the soldiers, who expressed an extraordinary ardour for fighting.

I remember my father, talking with me about it, asked me what I thought of the approaching battle.

I told him I thought the king had done very well; for at that time I did not consult the extent of the design, and had a mighty mind, like other rash people, to see it brought to a day, which made me answer my father, "Sir, I doubt there will be but indifferent doings on both sides between two armies, both made up of fresh men that have never seen any service."

My father minded little what I spoke of that; but when I seemed pleased that the king had resolved to fight, he looked angrily at me, and said he was sorry I could see no further into things.

"I tell you," added he hastily, "if the king should kill and take prisoners this whole army, general and all, the parliament will have the victory; for we have lost more by slipping this opportunity of getting into London than we shall ever get by ten battles."

I saw enough of this afterwards to convince me of the weight of what my father said, and so did the king too; but it was then too late—advantages slip in war are never recovered.

We were now in full march to fight the Earl of Essex. It was on Sunday morning, the 24th of October, 1642, fair weather over head, but the ground very heavy and dirty.

As soon as we came to the top of Edgehill we discovered their whole army. They were not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning, but they were very busy forming their lines, and posting their regiments as they came up. Some of their horse were exceedingly fatigued, having marched forty-eight hours together; and had they been suffered to follow us three or four days' march further, several of their regiments of horse would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unserviceable for the present. But we had no patience.

As soon as our whole army was come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle. The king's army made a very fine appearance, and indeed they were a body of as gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furnished at all points; the horse exceedingly well accoutred, being most of them gentlemen and volunteers, some whole regiments serving without pay; their horses very good, and as fit for service as could be desired.

The whole army were not above eighteen thousand men, and the enemy not one thousand

over or under, though we had been told they were not above twelve thousand; but they had been reinforced with four thousand men from Northampton.

The king was with the general, the Earl of Lindsey, in the main battle; Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and the Marquis of Hertford, the Lord Willoughby, and several other very good officers, the left.

The signal of battle being given with two cannon shot, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines with bodies of reserve. The enemy advanced to meet us much in the same form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on the right, and the king had placed ours in the centre, before, or rather between, two great brigades of foot.

Their cannon began with us first, and did some mischief among the dragoons of our left wing; but our officers perceiving the shot took the men and missed the horses, ordered all to alight, and every man leading his horse, to advance in the same order; and this saved our men, for most of the enemy's shot flew over their heads.

Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confusion, till the general obliged them to halt, and changed the posture of his front, marching round a small rising ground, by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the king having given the signal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince Rupert, who commanded that wing, fell on with such fury, and pushed the left wing of the parliament army so effectually, that in a moment he filled all with terror and confusion. Commissary-general Ramsey, a Scotchman, an experienced officer, commanded their left wing, and though he did all that an expert soldier and a brave commander could do, yet it was to no purpose; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice.

Two regiments of foot, whether as part of the left wing, or on the left of the main body, I know not, were disordered by their own horse, and rather trampled to death by the horses than beaten by our men; but they were so entirely broken, that I do not remember that ever they made one volley upon our men, for their own horse running away, and falling foul on these foot, were so vigorously followed by us, that the foot never had a moment to rally or look behind them.

The point of the left wing of horse were not so soon broken as the rest, and three regiments of them stood firm for some time; the dexterous officers of the other regiments taking the opportunity, rallied a great many of their scattered men behind them, and pieced in some troops with those regiments; but after two or three charges which a brigade of our second line, following the prince, made upon them, they also were broken with the rest.

I remember that, at the great battle of Leipsic, the right wing of the Imperialists having fallen in upon the Saxons with like fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the Saxons quite out of the field, upon which the soldiers cried, "Victoria!—Let us follow."

"No, no," said old General Tilly, "let them go, and let us beat the Swedes, too, then all is our own."

Had Prince Rupert taken this method, and, instead of following the fugitives, who were dispersed so effectually that two regiments would have secured them from rallying—I say, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horse, or returned to the assistance of the left wing of our horse, we had gained the most absolute and complete victory that could be, nor had a thousand men of the enemy's army got off.

But this prince, who was full of fire, and pleased to see the rout of the enemy, pursued them quite to the town of Keynton, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and some time also was lost in plundering the baggage; but in the mean time the glory and advantage of the day was lost to the king, for the right wing of the parliament horse could not be so broken.

Sir William Balfour made a desperate charge upon the point of the king's left, and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons, who were planted in the reserve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the first line, and staggered the second, who advanced to their assistance, but was so warmly received by those dragoons, who came seasonably in, and gave their first fire on horseback, that his fury was checked, and having lost a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the king had but three regiments of horse at hand to have charged him, Balfour had been routed.

The rest of this wing kept their ground, and received the first fury of the enemy with great firmness; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once masters of the Earl of Essex's cannon.

And here we lost another advantage; for if any foot had been at hand to support these horse, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main body of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwise engaged. The horse on this side fought with great obstinacy and variety of success a great while.

Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the guards of the Earl of Essex, being engaged with a party of our Shrewsbury cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir Philip's horse in their way, and, facing to the left, so furiously charged him with their pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great disorder, and with the loss of a great many men and horses.

All this while the foot on both sides were desperately engaged, and, coming close up to the teeth of one another with the clubbed musket and push of pike, fought with great resolution, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus till, as if they were tired and out of wind, each party seemed willing enough to leave off and take breath.

Those which suffered most were that brigade which had charged Sir Philip Stapylton's horse, who, being bravely engaged in the front with the enemy's foot, were, on the sudden, charged again

in front and flank by Sir William Balfour's horse and disordered, after a very desperate defence.

Here the king's standard was taken, the standard-bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being killed; but it was rescued again by Captain Smith, and brought to the captain the same evening, for which the king knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at last if any horse had been at hand to support them. The field began to be now clear: both armies stood, as it were, gazing at one another; only the king, having rallied his foot, seemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, most of their cannon being nailed while they were in our possession, and all the cannoniers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir William Balfour's troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the prince, I saw little of the fight but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could desire, but spent too much time in it: we killed about two thousand men in that part of the action, and having totally dispersed them, and plundered their baggage, began to think of our friends when it was too late to help them.

We returned, however, victorious to the king just as the battle was over; and the king asked Prince Rupert, "What news?"—He told him he could give his majesty a good account of the enemy's horse—"Ay, by G—d!" said a gentleman that stood by me, "and of their carts too."

Those words were spoken with such a sense of the misfortune, and made such an impression in the whole army, that it occasioned some ill blood afterwards among us, and but that the king took up the business, it had been of ill consequence; for some person who had heard the gentleman speak it, informed the prince who it was, and the prince, resenting it, spoke something about it in the hearing of the party when the king was present.

The gentleman, with a manly freedom, told his highness openly he had said the words, and though he owned he had no disrespect for his highness, yet he was still of opinion the enemy's army might have been better beaten.

The prince replied something very disobliging; the gentleman came up to the king, and, kneeling, humbly besought his majesty to accept of his commission, and to give him leave to tell the prince, that whenever his highness pleased, he was ready to give him satisfaction.

The king was so concerned at this misunderstanding between them, that he seemingly was very much out of humour with the prince about it. However, his majesty soon ended the dispute, by laying his commands on them both to speak no more of it for that day; and refusing the commission from the colonel, for he was no less, sent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our story.—We came back to the king time enough to put the Earl of Essex's men out of all humour of renewing the fight; and, as I observed before, both parties stood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing

upon them, obliged Sir William Balfour's horse to wheel off in some disorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards understood, was, as I said before, for want of both powder and gunners; for the cannoniers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight when our horse had possession of their artillery; and as they had spiked up some of the cannon, so they had carried away fifteen carriages of powder.

Night coming on, ended all discourse of more fighting, and the king drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had, than their lying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reason than that, having lost their baggage and provisions, they had nowhere to go, and which we did not, because we had good quarters at hand.

The number of prisoners and of the slain were not very equal: the enemy lost more men, we most of quality. Six thousand men, on both sides, were killed on the spot, whereof, when our rolls were examined, we missed two thousand five hundred. We lost our brave general, the old Earl of Lindsey, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, Colonel Lundsford, prisoners; and Sir Edward Varney, and a great many gentlemen of quality slain. (*Note 16.*)

On the other hand, we carried off Colonel Essex, Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord St. John, who also died of his wounds. We took five ammunition waggons, full of powder, and brought off about five hundred horse in the defeat of the left wing, with eighteen standards and colours, and lost seventeen.

The slaughter of the left wing was so great, and the flight so effectual, that several of the officers rode clear away, coasting round, and got to London, where they reported that the parliament army was entirely defeated, all lost, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the news.

This filled them with consternation for awhile; but when other messengers followed, all was restored to quiet again, and the parliament cried up their victory, and sufficiently mocked God and their general with their public thanks for it. Truly, as the fight was a deliverance to them, they were in the right to give thanks for it; but as to its being a victory, neither side had much to boast of, and they less a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this battle; and indeed we of the right wing had but little fighting: I think I discharged my pistols but once, and my carbine twice, for we had more fatigue than fight. The enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow and kill those we could overtake.

I spoiled a good horse, but got a better from the enemy in his room, and came home weary enough. My father lost his horse, and in the fall was bruised in his thigh by another horse treading on him, which disabled him for some time, and, at his request, by his majesty's consent, I commanded the regiment in his absence.

The enemy received a recruit of four thousand men the next morning: if they had not, I believe they would have gone back to Worcester; but,

encouraged by that reinforcement, they called a council of war, and had a long debate whether they could attack us again: but, notwithstanding their great victory, they durst not attempt it, though this addition of strength made them superior to us by three thousand men.

The king, indeed, expected that when these troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a village called Aino, where the head-quarters continued three or four days; and had they really esteemed the first day's work a victory, as they called it, they would have done it: but they thought not proper to venture, but marched away to Warwick, and from thence to Coventry.

The king, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a second battle, sat down before Banbury, and took both town and castle, and two entire regiments of foot, and one troop of horse quitted the parliament service, and took up their arms for the king. This was done almost before their faces, which was a better proof of a victory on our side than any they could pretend to.

From Banbury we marched to Oxford; and now all men saw the parliament had made a great mistake (for they were not always in the right any more than we) to leave Oxford without a garrison. The king caused new regular works to be drawn round it, and seven royal bastions with ravelins and outworks, a double ditch, counterscarp, and covered way; all which, added to the advantage of its situation, made it a formidable place, and from this time it became our place of arms, and the centre of affairs on the king's side.

If the parliament had the honour of the field, the king reaped the fruits of the victory; for all this part of the country submitted to him. Essex's army made the best of their way to London, and were but in an ill condition when they came there, especially their horse.

The parliament, sensible of this, and receiving daily accounts of the progress we made, began to cool a little in their temper, abated of their first rage, and voted an address for peace; and sent to the king to let him know they were desirous to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to bring things to an accommodation, or, as they called it, "a right understanding."

I was now, by the king's particular favour, summoned to the councils of war, my father continuing absent and ill; and now I began to think of the real grounds, and, which was more, of the fatal issue of the war.

I say I now began; for I cannot say that I ever rightly stated matters in my own mind before, though I had been enough used to blood, and to see the destruction of people, sacking of towns, and plundering the country, yet it was in Germany, and among strangers; but I found an unaccountable sadness upon my spirits to see this acting in my own native country.

It grieved me to the heart, even in the rout of our enemies, to see the slaughter of them; and even in the fight, to hear a man cry for quarter in English, moved me to a compassion which I had never been used to; nay, sometimes it looked to me as if some of my own men had been beaten: and when I heard a soldier cry, "O

God! I am shot," I looked behind me to see which of my own troop was fallen. Here I saw myself at the cutting of the throats of my friends, and indeed some of my near relations. My old comrades and fellow-soldiers in Germany were some with us, some against us, as their opinions happened to differ in religion.

For my part, I confess I had not much religion in me at that time; but I thought religion rightly practised on both sides would have made us all better friends; and, therefore, sometimes I began to think that both the bishops of our side, and the preachers on theirs, made religion rather the pretence than the cause of the war: and from those thoughts I vigorously argued it at the council of war against marching to Brentford while the address for a treaty of peace from the parliament was in hand; for I was for taking the parliament by the handle which they had given us, and entering into a negotiation with the advantage of its being at their own request.

I thought the king had now in his hands an opportunity to make an honourable peace; for this battle at Edgehill, as much as they boasted of the victory to hearten up their friends, had sorely weakened their army, and discouraged their party too. The horse were particularly in an ill case, and the foot greatly diminished, and the remainder very sickly: but, besides this, the parliament were greatly alarmed at the progress we made afterward, and still fearing the king's surprising them, had sent for the Earl of Essex to London to defend them, by which the country was, as it were, deserted and abandoned, and left to be plundered—our parties overrun all places at pleasure.

All this while I considered, that whatever the soldiers of fortune meant by the war, our desires were to suppress the exorbitant power of a party, to establish our king in his just and legal rights, but not with a design to destroy the constitution of government, and the being of parliament; and therefore I thought now was the time for peace, and there were a great many worthy gentlemen in the army of my opinion: and, had our master had ears to hear us, the war might have had an end here.

This address for peace was received by the king at Maidenhead, whither this army was now advanced, and his majesty returned an answer by Sir Peter Killigrew, that he desired nothing more, and would not be wanting on his part.

Upon this the parliament name commissioners, and his majesty excepting against Sir John Evelyn, they left him out, and sent others; and desired the king to appoint his residence near London, where the commissioners might wait upon him.

Accordingly the king appointed Windsor for the place of treaty, and desired it might be hastened. Thus all things looked with a favourable aspect, when one unlucky action knocked it all on the head, and filled both parties with more implacable animosity than they had before, and all hopes of peace vanished.

During this progress of the king's armies, we were always abroad with the horse ravaging the country, and plundering the Roundheads. Prince Rupert, a most active, vigilant party-man, and, I must own, fitter for such than for a general, was

never lying still, and I seldom stayed behind; for, our regiment being very well mounted, he would always send for us if he had any extraordinary design in hand.

One time, in particular, he had a design upon Aylesbury, the capital of Buckinghamshire; indeed our view at first was rather to beat the enemy out of the town, and demolish their works, and perhaps raise some contributions on the rich country round it, than to garrison the place and keep it, for we wanted no more garrisons, being masters of the field.

The prince had two thousand five hundred horse with him in this expedition, but no foot: the town had some foot raised in the country by Mr Hambden, and two regiments of the country militia, whom we made light of, but we found they stood to their tackle better than well enough. We came very early to the town, and thought they had no notice of us; but some false brother had given the alarm, and we found them all in arms; the hedges without the town lined with musketeers, on that side in particular where they expected us, and the two regiments of foot drawn up in view to support them, with some horse in the rear of all.

The prince, willing, however, to do something, caused some of his horse to alight, and serve as dragoons; and having broken a way into the enclosures, the horse beat the foot from behind the hedges, while the rest who were alighted charged them in the lane which leads to the town. Here they had cast up some works, and fired from their lines very regularly, considering them as militia only, the governor encouraging them by his example; so that finding, without some foot, there would be no good to be done, we gave it over, and drew off, and so Aylesbury escaped a scouring for that time.

I cannot deny but these flying parties of horse committed great spoil among the country people, and sometimes the prince gave a liberty to some cruelties which were not at all for the king's interest; because it being still upon our own country, and the king's own subjects, whom, in all his declarations, he protested to be careful of, it seemed to contradict all those protestations and declarations, and served to aggravate and exasperate the common people; and the king's enemies made all the advantages of it that were possible, by crying out of twice as many extravagancies as were committed.

It is true the king, who naturally abhorred such things, could not restrain his men, nor his generals, so absolutely as he would have done. The war on his side was voluntarily; many gentlemen served him at their own charge, and some paid whole regiments themselves.

Sometimes also the king's affairs were straighter than ordinary, and his men were not very well paid, and this obliged him to wink at their excursions upon the country, though he did not approve of them; and yet I must own, that in those parts of England where the war was hottest there never was seen that ruin and depopulation, murders, ravishments, and barbarities, which I have seen even among protestant armies abroad in Germany, and other foreign parts of the world: and if the parliament had seen

those things abroad as I had, they would not have complained.

The most I have seen was plundering the towns for provisions, drinking their beer, and turning our horses into their fields or stacks of corn, and sometimes the soldiers would be a little rude with the wenches; but, alas! what was this to Count Tilly's ravages in Saxony? or what was our taking of Leicester by storm, where they cried out of our barbarities, to the sacking of New Brandenburg, or the taking of Magdeburg?

In Leicester, of seven or eight thousand people in the town, three hundred were killed: in Magdeburg, of twenty-five thousand, scarce two thousand seven hundred were left, and the whole town burnt to ashes. I myself have seen sixteen or eighteen villages on fire in a day, and the people driven away from their dwellings like herds of cattle, the men murdered, the women stripped, and seven or eight thousand of them together, after they had suffered all the indignities and abuses of the soldiers, driven stark naked in the winter through the great towns to seek shelter and relief from the charity of their enemies.

I do not instance these greater barbarities to justify lesser actions, which are nevertheless irregular; but I do say, that, circumstances considered, this war was managed with as much humanity on both sides as could be expected, especially considering the animosity of parties.

But to return to the prince—he had not always the same success in these enterprises, for sometimes we came short home: and I cannot omit one pleasant adventure which happened to a party of ours in one of these excursions into Buckinghamshire.

The major of our regiment was soundly beaten by a party which, as I may say, was led by a woman, and if I had not rescued him, I know not but he had been taken prisoner by that woman. It seems our men had besieged some fortified house about Oxfordshire, towards Thame, and the house being defended by the lady in her husband's absence, she had yielded the house upon a capitulation; one of the articles of which was, to march out with all her servants, soldiers, and goods, and to be conveyed to Thame.

Whether she thought to have gone no further, or that she reckoned herself safe there, I know not: but my major, with two troops of horse, met with this lady and her party, about five miles from Thame, as we were coming back from our defeated attack of Aylesbury.

We reckoned ourselves in an enemy's country, and had lived a little at large, or at discretion, as it is called abroad; and these two troops, with the major, were returning to our detachment from a little village, where, at a farmer's house, they had met with some liquor; and truly some of his men were so drunk they could but just sit upon their horses. The major himself was not much better, and the whole body were but in a sorry condition to fight.

Upon the road they met this party. The lady, having no design of fighting, and being, as she thought, under the protection of the articles, sounded a parley, and desired to speak with the officer.

The major, as drunk as he was, could tell her, that, by the articles, she was to be assured no further than Thame; and being now five miles beyond it, she was a fair enemy, and therefore demanded to surrender themselves prisoners.

The lady seemed surprised; but, being sensible she was in the wrong, offered to compound for her goods, and would have given him three hundred pounds, and, I think, seven or eight horses. The major would certainly have taken it, if he had not been drunk; but he refused it, and gave threatening words to her (blustering in language which he thought certainly would frighten a woman,) that he would cut them all to pieces, and give no quarter.

The lady, who had been more used to the smell of powder than he imagined, called some of her servants to her, and, consulting with them what to do, they all unanimously encouraged her to let them fight; told her that it was plain that the commander was drunk, and all that were with him were rather worse than him, and hardly able to sit their horses; and that therefore one bold charge would put them all into confusion.

The lady consented, and, as she was a woman, they desired her to secure herself among the waggons; but she refused, and told them bravely she would take her fate with them.

In short, she boldly bade the major defiance, and that he might do his worst, since she had offered him fair, and he had refused it: her mind was altered now, and she would give him nothing, and bade him be gone.

Upon this she gave him leave to go back to his men; but before he could tell his tale to them, she was at his heels with all her men, and gave him such a home charge as put his men into disorder; and being too drunk to rally, they were knocked down before they knew what to do with themselves, and in a few minutes more they took to a plain flight.

But what was still worse, the men, being some of them very drunk, when they came to run for their lives, fell over one another, and tumbled over their horses, and made such work that a troop of women might have beaten them all.

In this pickle, with the enemy at his heels, I came in with him, hearing the noise; when I appeared the pursuers retreated, and seeing what a condition my people were in, and not knowing the strength of the enemy, I contented myself with bringing them off, without pursuing the other; nor could I ever hear positively who this female captain was.

We lost seventeen or eighteen of our men, and about thirty horses; but when the particulars of the story were told us, our major was so laughed at by the whole army, and everywhere, that he was ashamed to show himself for a week or a fortnight after.

But to return to the king: his majesty, as I observed, was at Maidenhead, addressed by the parliament for peace; and Windsor being appointed for the place of treaty, the van of his army lay at Colnbrook.

In the meantime, whether it were true or only a pretence, but it was reported the parliament general had sent a body of his troops, with a train of artillery, to Hammersmith, in order to fall

upon some part of our army, or to take some advanced post, which was to the prejudice of our men; whereupon the king ordered the army to march, and, by the favour of a thick mist, came within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered.

There were two regiments of foot and about six hundred horse in the town of the enemy's best troops: these, taking the alarm, posted themselves on the bridge at the west end of the town. The king attacked them with a select detachment of his best infantry, and they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy.

I must own I never saw raw men (for they could not have been in arms above four months) act like them in my life. In short, there was no forcing these men; for though two whole brigades of our foot, backed by our horse, made five several attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we lost a great many brave men in that action. At last, seeing their obstinacy, a party of horse was ordered to go round from Osterly; and entering the town on the north side, where, though the horse made some resistance, it was not considerable, the town was presently taken.

I led my regiment through an enclosure, and came into the town nearer to the bridge than the rest, by which means I arrived first; but I had this loss by my expedition, that the foot charged me before the body was come up, and pouring in their shot very furiously, my men were but in an ill case, and would not have stood much longer if the rest of the horse, coming up the lane, had not found them other employment.

When the horse were thus entered, they immediately dispersed the enemy's horse, who fled away towards London, and falling in, sword in hand, upon the rear of the foot who were engaged at the bridge, they were all cut in pieces, except about two hundred, who, scorning to ask quarter, desperately threw themselves into the river Thames, where they were most of them drowned.

The parliament and their party made a great outcry at this attempt; that it was base and treacherous while in a treaty of peace; and that the king, having amused them with hearkening to a treaty, designed to have seized upon their train of artillery first, and after that to have surprised both the city of London and the parliament. And I have observed since, that our historians note this action as contrary to the laws of honour and treaties, though, as there was no cessation of arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the laws of war than to suggest it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the king and whole nation, as it broke off the hopes of peace, and was the occasion of bringing the Scotch army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was anything dishonourable in it I cannot allow: for though the parliament had addressed to the king for peace, and such steps were taken in it as before, yet, as I have said, there were no proposals made on either side for a cessation of arms; and all the world must allow that, in such cases, the war goes on in the field while the peace goes on in the cabinet. And if war goes on, admitting the king had designed to the surprise the city or parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the custom of war allows,

and what they would have done by him if they could.

The treaty of Westphalia, or peace of Munster, which ended the bloody wars of Germany, was a precedent for this. That treaty was actually negotiating seven years, and yet the war went on with all the vigour and rancour imaginable, even to the last; nay, the very time after the conclusion of it, but before the news could be brought to the army, did he that was afterwards King of Sweden, Carolus Gustavus, take the city of Prague by surprise, and therein an inestimable booty.

Besides, all the wars of Europe are full of examples of this kind; and therefore I cannot see any reason to blame the king for this action, as to the fairness of it. Indeed, as to the policy of it, I can say little; but the case was this:—the king had a gallant army, flushed with success, and things hitherto had gone on very prosperously both with his own army and elsewhere: he had above thirty-five thousand men in his own army, including his garrisons left at Banbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and places adjacent.

On the other hand, the parliament army came back to London in but a very sorry condition; * for what with their loss in their victory, as they called it, at Edgehill, their sickness, and a hasty march to London, they were very much diminished, though at London they soon recruited them again. And this prosperity of the king's affairs might encourage him to strike this blow, thinking to bring the parliament to better terms by the apprehensions of the superior strength of the king's forces.

But, however it was, the success did not equally answer the king's expectation: the vigorous defence made by the troops posted at Brentford gave the Earl of Essex opportunity, with extraordinary application, to draw his forces out to Turnham Green; and the exceeding alacrity of the enemy was such, that their whole army appeared with them, making together an army of twenty-four thousand men, drawn up in view of our forces, by eight o'clock the next morning.

The city regiments were placed between the regular troops, and altogether offered us battle, but we were not in a condition to accept it. The king, indeed, was sometimes of the mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered parties to advance to begin to skirmish, but, upon better advice, altered his mind; and indeed it was the wisest counsel to defer the fighting at that time.

The parliament generals were as unfixed in their resolutions on the other side as the king: sometimes they sent out parties, and then called them back again. One strong party, of near three thousand men, marched off towards Acton, with orders to amuse us on that side, but were countermanded.

Indeed I was of the opinion we might have ventured the battle; for though the parliament's army were more numerous, yet the city trained bands, which made up four thousand of their foot,

* General Ludlow, in his 'Memoirs,' vol. i, page 52, says,—"Their men returned from Warwick to London, not like men who had obtained a victory, but like men that had been beaten."

were not much esteemed, and the king was a great deal stronger in horse than they; but the main reason that hindered the engagement was want of ammunition, which the king having duly weighed, he caused the carriages and cannon to draw off first, and then the foot, the horse continuing to face the enemy till all was clear again, and then we drew off too, and marched to Kingston, and the next day to Reading.

Now the king saw his mistake in not continuing his march for London, instead of facing about to fight the enemy at Edgehill; and all the honour we had gained in so many successful enterprises lay buried in this shameful retreat from an army of citizens' wives; for truly their appearance at Turnham green was gay, but not great.

There were as many lookers-on as actors; the crowds of ladies, apprentices, and mobility, were so great, that when the parties of our army advanced, and, as they thought to charge, the coachmen, horsemen, and crowd made such a bustle to be out of harm's way, that it looked little better than a rout; and I was persuaded a good home charge from our horse would have sent their whole army after them; but so it was, that this crowd of an army was to triumph over us, and they did it, for all the kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful looks had frightened us away.

Upon our retreat, the parliament resented this attack, which they called treacherous, and voted no accommodation; but they considered of it afterwards, and sent six commissioners to the king with propositions; but the change of the scene of action changed the terms of peace, and now they made terms like conquerors, petition him to desert his army, return to the parliament, and the like.

Had his majesty, at the head of his army, with the full reputation they had before, and in the ebb of their affairs, rested at Windsor, and commenced a treaty, they had certainly made more reasonable proposals; but now the scabbard seemed to be thrown away on both sides.

The rest of the winter was spent in strengthening parties and places, also in fruitless treaties of peace, messages, remonstrances, and paper war on both sides, but no action remarkable happened anywhere that I remember; yet the king gained ground everywhere, and his forces in the north increased under the Earl of Newcastle; also my Lord Goring (then only Colonel Goring) arrived from Holland, bringing three ships laden with arms and ammunition, and notice that the queen was following with more.

Goring brought four thousand barrels of gunpowder and twenty thousand small arms, all which came very seasonably, for the king was in great want of them, especially the powder. Upon this recruit the Earl of Newcastle drew down to York, and being above sixteen thousand strong, made Sir Thomas Fairfax give ground, and retreat to Hull.

Whoever lay still, Prince Rupert was always abroad, and I chose to go out with his highness as often as I had opportunity, for hitherto he was always successful. About this time, the Prince being at Oxford, I gave him intelligence of a party of the enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good soldiers, about Cirencester: the prince,

glad of the news, resolved to attack them; and though it was a wet season, and the roads exceeding bad, being in February, yet we marched all night in the dark, which occasioned the loss of some horses, and men too, in sloughs and holes, which the darkness of the night had occasioned them to fall into.

We were a very strong party of horse, being about three thousand horse and dragoons, and coming to Cirencester very early in the morning, to our great satisfaction the enemy were perfectly surprised, not having the least notice of our march, which answered more ways than one.

However, the Earl of Stamford's regiment made some resistance; but the town having no works to defend it, saving a slight breastwork at the entrance of the road, with a turnpike, our dragoons alighted, and forcing their way over the bellies of Stamford's foot, they beat them from their defence, and followed them closely into the town.

Stamford's regiment was entirely cut in pieces, and several others, to the number of about eight hundred men, and the town entered without any other resistance. We took twelve hundred prisoners, three thousand arms, and the county magazine, which at that time was considerable, for there were about a hundred and twenty barrels of powder, and all things in proportion.

I received the first hurt I got in this war at this action; for having followed the dragoons, and brought my regiment within the barricado which they had gained, a musket-bullet struck my horse just in the head, and that so effectually, that he was dead in an instant. The fall plunged me into a puddle of water; and my man having brought me another horse, and cleaned me a little, I was just getting up, when a bullet struck me on my left hand, which I had just clapped on the horse's mane to lift myself into the saddle. The blow broke one of my fingers, and bruised my hand very much, and it proved a very painful hurt to me.

For the present I did not much concern myself about it, but made my mantle tie it up close in my handkerchief, and led up my men to the marketplace, where we had a very smart brush with some musketeers who were posted in the churchyard; but our dragoons soon beat them out there, and the whole town was then our own. We made no stay here, but marched back with all our booty to Oxford, for we knew the enemy were very strong at Gloucester, and that way.

Much about the same time the Earl of Northampton, with a strong party, set upon Lichfield, and took the town, but could not take the close; but they beat a body of four thousand men, coming to the relief of the town, under Sir John Gell, of Derbyshire, and Sir William Brereton, of Cheshire, and killing six hundred of them, dispersed the rest.

Our second campaign now began to open. The king marched from Oxford to relieve Reading, which was besieged by the parliament forces; but Colonel Fielding, lieutenant-governor, Sir Arthur Ashton being wounded, surrendered to Essex before the king could come up, for which he was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to die, but the king forbore to execute the sentence.

This was the first town we had lost in the war, for still the success of the king's affairs was very encouraging. This bad news, however, was overbalanced by an account brought the king at the same time, by an express from York, that the queen had landed in the north, and had brought over a great magazine of arms and ammunition, besides some men.

Some time after this her majesty, marching southward to meet the king, joined the army near Edgehill, where the first battle was fought. She brought the king three thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred barrels of powder, and twelve thousand small arms.

During this prosperity of the king's affairs, his armies increased mightily in the western counties also. Sir William Waller indeed commanded for the parliament in those parts too, and particularly in Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where he carried on their cause but too fast; further west, Sir Nicholas Flamming, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Bevil Greenvil had extended the king's quarters from Cornwall, through Devonshire, and into Somersetshire, where they took Exeter, Barnstaple, and Bideford; and the first of these they fortified very well, making it a place of arms for the west, and afterwards it was the residence of the queen.

At last the famous Sir William Waller and the king's forces met, and came to a pitched battle, where Sir William lost all his honour again. This was at Roundway-down in Wiltshire. Waller had engaged our Cornish army at Landsdown, and in a very obstinate fight had the better of them, and made them retreat to the Devizes. (Note 17.)

Sir William Hopton, however, having a good body of foot untouched, sent expresses and messengers one at the back of another to the king for some horse; and the king being in great concern for that army, who were composed of the flower of the Cornish men, commanded me to march with all possible secrecy, as well as expedition, with twelve hundred horse and dragoons from Oxford to join them.

We set out in the depth of the night, to avoid, if possible, any intelligence being given of our route, and soon joined with the Cornish army, when it was as soon resolved to give battle to Waller, and, to give him his due, he was as forward to fight as we.

As it is easy to meet when both sides are willing to be found, Sir William Waller met us upon Roundway-down, where we had a fair field on both sides, and room enough to draw up our horse.

In a word, there was little ceremony to the work; the armies joined, and we charged his horse with so much resolution, that they quickly fled, and quitted the field, for we overmatched him in horse, and this was the entire destruction of their army; for their infantry, which outnumbered ours by fifteen hundred, were now at our mercy; some faint resistance they made, just enough to give us occasion to break into their ranks with our horse, where we gave time to our foot to defeat others that stood to their work, upon which they began to disband, and ran every

way they could; but our horse having surrounded them, made a fearful havoc.

We lost not above two hundred men in this action. Waller had above four thousand killed and taken, and as many dispersed that never returned to their colours. Those of the foot that had escaped got into Bristol, and Waller, with the poor remains of his routed regiments, got to London; so that it is plain some ran east, and some west, and every way they could. My going with this detachment prevented my being at the siege of Bristol, which Prince Rupert attacked much about the same time, and it surrendered in three days. The parliament questioned Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, and had him tried as a coward by a court-martial, and condemned to die, but suspended the execution also, as the king did the governor of Reading.

I have often heard Prince Rupert say they did Colonel Fiennes wrong in that affair; and that if the colonel would have summoned him, he would have demanded a passport of the parliament, and have come up and convinced the court that Colonel Fiennes had not misbehaved himself, and that he had not a sufficient garrison to defend a city of that extent, having not above twelve hundred men in the town, excepting some of Waller's runaways, most of whom were unfit for service, and without arms; and that the citizens in general being disaffected to him, and ready on the first occasion to open the gates to the king's forces, it was impossible for him to have kept the city; and "when I had further informed them," said the prince, "of the measures I had taken for a general assault the next day, I am confident I should have convinced them that I could have taken the city by storm if he had not surrendered."

The king's affairs were now in a very good posture, and three armies in the north, west, and in the centre, counted, in the musters, above seventy thousand men, besides small garrisons and parties abroad. Several of the lords, and more of the commons, began to fall off from the parliament, and make their peace with the king, and the affairs of the parliament began to look very ill.

The city of London was their inexhaustible support and magazine, both for men, money, and all things necessary; and whenever their army was out of order, the clergy of their party in a Sunday or two would preach the young citizens out of their shops, the labourers from their masters, into the army, and recruit them on a sudden; and all this was still owing to the omission I first observed, of not marching to London when it might have been so easily effected.

We had now another or a fairer opportunity than before, but an ill use was made of it. The king, as I have observed, was in a very good posture: he had three large armies roving at large over the kingdom. The Cornish army, victorious and numerous, had beaten Waller, secured and fortified Exeter, which the queen had made her residence, and was there delivered of a daughter, the Princess Henrietta Maria, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, and mother of the Duchess Dowager of Savoy, commonly

known, in the French style, by the title of *Madame Royal*.

They had secured Salisbury, Sherborne Castle, Weymouth, Winchester, and Basinghouse, and commanded the whole country, except Bridgewater, Taunton, Plymouth, and Lynn; all which places they held blocked up.

The king was also entirely master of all Wales, Monmouthshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and all the towns, from Windsor up the Thames to Cirencester, except Reading and Henley; and of the whole Severn, excepting Gloucester.

The Earl of Newcastle had garrisons in every strong place in the north, from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Boston in Lincolnshire and Newark-upon-Trent, Hull only excepted, whither the Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, were retreated, their troops being routed and broken, Sir Thomas Fairfax's baggage, with his lady and servants taken prisoners, and himself hardly escaping.

And now a great council of war was held in the king's quarters what enterprise to go upon; and it happened to be the very same day when the parliament were in a serious debate what should become of them, and whose help they should seek, and indeed they had cause for it; and had our councils been as ready and well-grounded as theirs, we had put an end to the war in a month's time.

In this council the king proposed the marching to London, to put an end to the parliament, and encourage his friends and loyal subjects in Kent who were ready to rise for him; and showed us letters from the Earl of Newcastle, wherein he offered to join his majesty with a detachment of four thousand horse and eight thousand foot, if his majesty thought fit to march southward, and yet leave forces sufficient to guard the north from any invasion.

I confess, when I saw the scheme the king had himself drawn for this attempt, I felt an unusual satisfaction in my mind, from the hopes that we might bring this war to some tolerable end; for I professed myself, on all occasions, heartily weary of fighting with friends, brothers, neighbours, and acquaintance; and I made no question but this motion of the king's would effectually bring the parliament to reason.

All men seemed to like the enterprise but the Earl of Worcester, who, on particular views for securing the country behind, as he called it, proposed the taking in the town of Gloucester and Hereford first. He made a long speech of the danger of leaving Massey, governor of Gloucester, an active, resolute man, with a strong party, in the heart of all the king's quarters, ready on all occasions to sally out and surprise the neighbouring garrisons, as he had done Sudley Castle and others, and of the ease and freedom to all those western parts to have them fully cleared of the enemy.

Interest presently backed this advice, and all those gentlemen whose estates lay that way, or whose friends lived about Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, or the borders, and who, as they said, had heard the frequent wishes of the country to have the city of Gloucester reduced, fell in with this advice, alleging the consequence

it was of for the commerce of the country to have the navigation of the Severn free, which was only interrupted by this one town from the sea up to Shrewsbury, &c.

I opposed this, and so did several others—Prince Rupert was vehemently against it; and we both offered, with the troops of the county, to keep Gloucester blocked up during the king's march for London, so that Massey should not be able to stir.

This proposal made the Earl of Worcester's party more eager for the siege than before, for they had no mind to a blockade, which would leave the country to maintain the troops all the summer; and, of all the men, the prince did not please them; for he having no extraordinary character for discipline, his company was not much desired, even by our friends.

Thus, in an ill hour, it was resolved to sit down before Gloucester. The king had a gallant army of twenty-eight thousand men, whereof eleven thousand horse, the finest body of gentlemen that ever I saw together in my life; their horses without comparison, and their equipages the finest and best in the world, and their persons English, which I think is enough to say of them.—(Note 18.)

According to the resolution taken in the council of war, the army marched westward, and sat down before Gloucester the beginning of August. There we spent a month to the least purpose that ever army did: our men received frequent affronts from the desperate sallies of an inconsiderable enemy.

I cannot forbear reflecting on the misfortunes of this siege—our men were strangely dispirited in all the assaults they gave upon the place—there was something looked like disaster and mismanagement, and our men went on with an ill-will, and no resolution. The king despised the place; and to carry it sword in hand, made no regular approaches, but the garrison being desperate, made the greatest slaughter.

In this work our horse, who were so numerous and fine, had no employment. Two thousand horse had been enough for this business; the enemy had no garrison or party within forty miles of us, so that we had nothing to do but look on, with infinite regret, upon the losses of our foot.

The enemy made frequent and desperate sallies, in one of which I had my share. I was posted upon a parade, or place of arms, with part of my regiment, and part of Colonel Goring's regiment of horse, in order to support a body of foot who were ordered to storm the point of a breastwork which the enemy had raised to defend one of the avenues to the town.

The foot were beat off with loss, as they always were; and Massey, not content to have beaten them from his works, sallied out with near four hundred men, and falling in upon the foot, as they were rallying under the cover of our horse, we put ourselves in the best posture we could to receive them.

As Massey did not expect, I suppose, to engage with any horse, he had no pikes with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudely; but, as to desperate men danger is no danger, when he found he must clear his hands of us before he could despatch the foot, he faced up to us,

fired but one volley of his small shot, and fell to battering us with the stocks of their muskets in such a manner that one would have thought they had been madmen.

We at first despised this way of clubbing us, and, charging through them, laid a great many upon the ground, and in repeating our charge trampled more under our horses' feet, and wheeling thus continually beat them off from our foot, who were just upon the point of disbanding.

Upon this they charged us again with their fire, and at one volley killed thirty-three or thirty-four men and horses; and had they had pikes with them, I know not what we should have done; but at last charging through them again, we divided them; one part, being hemmed in between us and our own foot, were cut in pieces; the rest, as I understood afterwards, retreated into the town, having lost three hundred of their men.

In this last charge I received a rude blow from a stout fellow on foot with the butt end of his musket, which stunned me, and fetched me off from my horse; and had not some took care of me, I had been trod to death by our own men: but the fellow being immediately killed, and my friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off at some distance, where I came to myself again after some time, but knew little of what I did or said that night.

This was the reason why I say I afterwards understood the enemy retreated, for I saw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this blow for all the rest of the summer, but had frequent pains in my head, dizzinesses, and swimming, that gave me some fears the blow had injured the skull; but it wore off again, nor did it at all hinder my attending my charge.

This action, I think, was the only one that looked like a defeat given the enemy at this siege: we killed them near three hundred men, as I have said, and lost about sixty of our troopers.

All this time, while the king was harassing and weakening the best army he ever saw together during the whole war, the parliament generals, or rather preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the preachers were better than drummers to raise volunteers, zealously exhorting the London dames to part with their husbands, and the city to send some of their trained bands to join the army for the relief of Gloucester; and now they began to advance towards us.

The king, hearing of the advance of Essex's army, who by this time was come to Aylesbury, had summoned what forces he had within call to join him; and accordingly he received three thousand foot from Somersetshire; and having battered the town for thirty-six hours, and made a fair breach, resolved upon an assault, if possible, to carry the town before the enemy came up. The assault began about seven in the evening, and the men boldly mounted the breach; but, after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, were beaten out again by the besieged with great loss.

Being thus often repulsed, and the Earl of Essex's army approaching, the king called a council of war, and proposed to fight them.

The officers of the horse were for fighting;

and, without doubt, we were superior to him both in number and goodness of our horse, but the foot were not in an equal condition; and the colonels of foot, representing to the king the weakness of their regiments, and that their men had been greatly disheartened at this cursed siege, the graver counsel prevailed, and it was resolved to raise the siege, and retreat towards Bristol, till the army was recruited.

Pursuant to this resolution, the 5th of September, the king having before sent away his heavy cannon and baggage, raised the siege, and marched to Berkeley Castle. The Earl of Essex came the next day to Birdlip Hills; and understanding, by messengers from Colonel Massey, that the siege was raised, sent a recruit of two thousand five hundred men into the city, and followed us himself with a great body of horse.

This body of horse showed themselves to us once in a large field fit to have entertained them in; and our scouts having assured us they were not above four thousand, and had no foot with them, the king ordered a detachment of about the same number to face them.

I desired his majesty to let us have two regiments of dragoons with us, which was then eight hundred men in a regiment, lest there might be some dragoons among the enemy, which the king granted; and accordingly we marched, and drew up in view of them. They stood their ground, having, as they supposed, some advantage of the manner they were posted in, and expected we would charge them.

The king, who did us the honour to command this party, finding they would not stir, called me to him, and ordered me, with the dragoons and my own regiment, to take a circuit round by a village to a certain lane, where, in their retreat, they must have passed, and which opened to a small common on their flank, with orders, if they had engaged, to advance and charge them in the flank.

I marched immediately; but though the country about there was almost all enclosures, yet their scouts were so vigilant that they discovered me, and gave notice to the body; upon which their whole party moved to the left, as if they intended to charge me before the king with his body of horse could come; but the king was too vigilant to be so circumvented, and therefore his majesty, perceiving this, sent away three regiments of horse to second me, and a messenger before them to order me to halt, and expect the enemy, for that he would follow with the whole body.

But before this order reached me I had halted for some time; for finding myself discovered, and not judging it safe to be entirely cut off from the main body, I stopped at the village, and causing my dragoons to alight, and line a thick hedge on my left, I drew up my horse just at the entrance into the village opening to a common. The enemy came up on the trot to charge me, but were saluted with a terrible fire from the dragoons out of the hedge, which killed them near a hundred men.

This being a perfect surprise to them, they halted, and just at that moment they received orders from their main body to retreat; the king, at the same time, appearing upon some

small heights in their rear, which obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general battle, which was not their design.

I had no occasion to follow them, not being in a condition to attack their whole body; but the dragoons, coming out into the common, gave them another volley at a distance, which reached them effectually, for it killed about twenty of them, and wounded more; but they drew off, and never fired a shot at us, fearing to be enclosed between two parties, and so marched away to their general's quarters, leaving ten or twelve more of their fellows killed, and about a hundred and eighty horses. Our men, after the country fashion, gave them a shout at parting, to let them see we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this relieving of Gloucester raised the spirits as well as the reputation of the parliament forces, and was a great defeat to us; and from this time things began to look with a melancholy aspect, for the prosperous condition of the king's affairs began to decline.

The opportunities he had let slip were never to be recovered; and the parliament, in their former extremity, having voted an invitation to the Scots to march to their assistance, we had now new enemies to encounter, and indeed there began the ruin of his majesty's affairs; for the Earl of Newcastle, not able to defend himself against the Scots on his rear, the Earl of Manchester in his front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax on his flank, was everywhere routed and defeated, and his forces obliged to quit the field to the enemy.

About this time it was that we first began to hear of one Oliver Cromwell, who, like a little cloud, rose out of the east, and spread first into the north, till it shed down a flood that overwhelmed the three kingdoms.

He first was a private captain of horse, but now commanded a regiment; and joining with the Earl of Manchester, the first action we heard of him, which emblazoned his fame, was at Grantham, where, with only his own regiment, he defeated twenty-four troops of horse and dragoons of the king's forces.

Then at Gainsborough, with two regiments of his own horse, and one of dragoons, he defeated near three thousand of the Earl of Newcastle's men, killed Lieutenant-General Cavendish, brother to the Earl of Devonshire, who commanded them, and relieved Gainsborough; and, though the whole army came in to the rescue, he made good his retreat to Lincoln, with little loss.

The next week he defeated Sir John Henderson at Winsby, near Horncastle, with sixteen regiments of horse and dragoons, himself having not half that number, killed the Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and several gentlemen of quality.

Thus this firebrand of war began to blaze, and he soon grew a terror to the north; for victory attended him like a page of honour, and he was scarce ever known to be beaten during the whole war.

Now we began to reflect again on the misfortune of our master's counsels: had we marched to London, instead of besieging Gloucester, we had finished the war with a stroke.

The parliament's army was in a most despic-

able condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a month's time, which we lingered away fatally at this town of Gloucester; but it was too late to reflect—we were a disheartened army, though not beaten yet, nor broken—we had a large country to recruit in, and we lost no time, but raised men apace.

In the meantime his majesty, after a short stay at Bristol, made back again towards Oxford with a part of the foot and all the horse.

At Cirencester we had a skirmish again with the Earl of Essex: that town owed us a shrewd turn for having handled them so coarsely before, when Prince Rupert seized the county magazine. I happened to be in the town that night with Sir Nicholas Crisp, whose regiment of horse was quartered there with Colonel Spencer, and some foot; my own regiment being gone before to Oxford.

About ten at night a party of Essex's men beat up our quarters by surprise, just as we had served them before: they fell in with us just as we were going to bed; and having beaten the out-guards, were got into the middle of the town before our men could get on horseback.

Sir Nicholas Crisp, hearing the alarm, got up, and, with some of his clothes on and some off, came into my chamber—"We are all undone," said he: "the Roundheads are upon us." We had but little time to consult; but being in one of the principal inns in the town, we instantly ordered the gates of the inn to be shut, and sent to the other inns, where our men were quartered, to do the like, with orders, if they had any back doors or ways to get out, to come to us.

By this means, however, we got so much time as to get on horseback, and so many of our men came to us by back ways, that we had near three hundred horse in the yards and places behind the house; and now we began to think of breaking out by a lane which led from the back side of the inn; but a new accident determined us another, though a worse way.

The enemy being entered, and our men cooped up in the yards of the inns, Colonel Spencer, the other colonel, whose regiment of horse lay also in the town, had got on horseback before us, and engaged with the enemy; but, being overpowered, retreated fighting, and sent to Sir Nicholas Crisp for help.

Sir Nicholas, moved to see the distress of his friend, turning to me, said, "What can we do for him?"

I replied, I thought it was time to help him, if possible; upon which, opening the inn-gates, we sallied out in very good order, about three hundred horse; and several of the troops from other parts of the town joining us, we recovered Colonel Spencer, and, charging home, beat back the enemy to their main body; but finding their foot drawn up in the churchyard, and several detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good order as we could.

They did not think fit to pursue us, but took all the carriages which were under the convoy of this party, laden with provisions and ammunition, &c., and above five hundred of our horse. The foot shifted away as well as they could. Thus we made off in a shattered condition to-

wards Farringdon, and so to Oxford; and I was very glad my regiment was not there. (*Note 19.*)

We had little rest at Oxford, or indeed anywhere else, for the king had marched from thence, and we followed him. I was rather uneasy at being absent from my regiment, and did not know how the king might resent it, which caused me to ride after them with all expedition. The armies were engaged that very day at Newbury, but I came in too late.

I had not behaved myself so as to be suspected of a wilful shunning the action; but a colonel of a regiment ought to avoid absence from his regiment in time of fight, be the excuse ever so just, as carefully as he would a surprise in his quarters.

The truth is, it was an error of my own, and owing to two days' stay I made at the Bath, where I met with some ladies who were my relations; but this is far from being an excuse, for if King Charles had been a Gustavus Adolphus, I had certainly received a check for it.

This fight was very obstinate; and could our horse have come to action as freely as the foot, the parliament army had suffered much more, for we had here a much better body of horse than they, and we never failed beating them where the weight of the work lay upon the horse.

Here the city trained bands, of which there were two regiments, and whom we used to despise, fought very well; they lost one of their colonels and several officers in the action, and I heard our men say they behaved themselves as well as any forces the parliament had.

The parliament cried victory here too, as they always did, and indeed where the foot were concerned they had the advantage, but our horse defeated them evidently. The king drew up his army in battalia, and faced them all the next day, inviting them to renew the fight, but they had no inclination to come on again.

It was a kind of hedge fight, for neither army was drawn out in the field, if it had, it would never have held from six in the morning to ten at night; but they fought for advantages—sometimes one side had the better, sometimes the other; they fought twice through the town, in at one end and out at the other, and in the hedges and lanes, with exceeding fury.

The king lost the most men, his foot having suffered for want of succour from the horse, which, on two several occasions, could not come at them; but the parliament foot suffered also, and two regiments were entirely cut in pieces, and the king kept the field.

Essex, the parliament general, had the pillage of the dead, and left us to bury them; for while we stood all day to our arms, having given them a fair field to fight us in, their camp rabble stripped the dead bodies, and they, not daring to venture a second engagement, marched away towards London.

The king lost in this action the Earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, the Lord Falkland, a French marquis, some very gallant officers, and about twelve hundred men. The Earl of Carnarvon was brought into an inn in Newbury, where the king came to see him. He had just life enough to speak to his majesty, and died in his presence.

The king was exceedingly concerned for him, and was observed to shed tears. We were indeed all of us troubled for the loss of so brave a gentleman, but the concern our royal master discovered moved us exceedingly. Everybody endeavoured to have the king out of the room, but he would not stir from the bed-side till one of the surgeons acquainted his majesty that all hopes of life were gone.

The indefatigable industry of the king, his servants and friends, continually to supply and recruit his forces, and to harass and fatigue the enemy, was such that we should still have given a good account of the war had the Scots stood neuter, but bad news came every day from the north. As for other places, parties were always in action; Sir William Waller and Sir Ralph Hopton beat one another by turns; and Sir Ralph had extended the king's quarters from Launceston in Cornwall to Farnham in Surrey, where he gave Sir William a rub, and drove him into the castle.

But in the north the storm grew thick, the Scots advanced to the borders, and entered England, in confederacy with the parliament, against their king, for which the parliament requited them afterwards as they deserved.

Had it not been for the Scotch army, the parliament had easily been reduced to terms of peace, but after this they never made any proposals fit for the king to receive. Want of success before had made them differ among themselves; Essex and Waller were ever at variance; the Earl of Manchester and Lord Willoughby differed to the highest degree, and the king's affairs went never the worse for it.

But this storm in the north ruined us all, for the Scots prevailed in Yorkshire, and being joined by Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell, carried all before them, so that the king was obliged to send Prince Rupert, with a body of four thousand horse, to the assistance of the Earl of Newcastle, where that prince finished the destruction of the king's interest by a rash and unaccountable action, of which I shall speak in its place.

Another action on the part of the king gave great offence, which was the calling the Scots into the nation, for even the king's own friends disliked it, and was carefully improved by his enemies, to the disadvantage of the king and of his cause.

The rebels in Ireland had, ever since the bloody massacre of the protestants, maintained a war against the English, and the Earl of Ormond was general and governor for the king. The king, finding his affairs pinch him at home, sent orders to the Earl of Ormond to agree to a cessation of arms with the rebels, and to ship over certain of his regiments hither to his majesty's assistance.

It is true the Irish had deserved to be very ill treated by the English; but while the parliament pressed the king with a cruel and unnatural war at home, and called in an army out of Scotland to support their quarrel with their king, I could never be convinced that it was such a dishonourable action for the king to suspend the correction of his Irish rebels till he was in a capacity to do it with safety to himself, or to delay any further

assistance to preserve himself here; and the troops he recalled being his own, it was no breach of his honour to make use of them, since he now wanted them for his own security against those who fought against him at home.

But the king was persuaded to take one step further, and that, I confess, was displeasing to us all, and some of his best and most faithful servants took the freedom to speak plainly to him of it, and that was, bringing some regiments of the Irish themselves over. This cast, as we thought, an odium upon our whole nation, being some of those very wretches who had dipped their hands in the innocent blood of the protestants, and with unheard-of butcheries had massacred so many thousands of English in cool blood.

Abundance of gentlemen forsook the king upon this account; and, seeing they could not brook the fighting in conjunction with this wicked generation, came into the declaration of the parliament, and, making composition for their estates, lived retired all the rest of the war, or went abroad.

But as exigencies and necessities oblige us to do things which at other times we would not do, and is, as to man, some excuse for the doing such things, so I cannot but think the guilt and dishonour of such an action must lie, very much of it at least, at their doors who drove the king to these necessities and distresses by calling in an army of his own subjects whom he had not injured, but had complied with them in everything, to make war upon him without any provocation.

As to the quarrel between the king and his parliament, there may be something said on both sides; and the king saw cause himself to disown and dislike some things he had done, which the parliament objected against, such as levying money without consent of parliament, infractions on their privileges, and the like. Here, I say, was some room for an argument at least, and concessions on both sides were needful to come to a peace; but for the Scots, all their demands had been answered, all their grievances had been redressed: they had made articles with their sovereign, and he had performed those articles; their capital enemy, episcopacy, was abolished; they had not one thing to demand of the king which he had not granted, and therefore they had no more cause to take up arms against their sovereign than they had against the Grand Seigneur. But it must for ever lie against them as a brand of infamy, and as a reproach on their whole nation, that, purchased by the parliament's money, they sold their honesty, and rebelled against their king for hire; and it was not many years before, as I have said already, they were fully paid the wages of their unrighteousness, and chastised for their treachery by the very same people whom they thus basely assisted; then they would have retrieved it, if it had not been too late.

But I could not but accuse this age of injustice and partiality, who, while they reproached the king for his cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and not prosecuting them with the utmost severity, though he was constrained by the necessity of the war to do it, could yet, at the same time, justify the Scots taking up arms in a quarrel they had no concern in, and against their own

king, with whom they had artiled and capitulated, and who had so punctually complied with all their demands, that they had no claim upon him, no grievances to be redressed, no oppression to cry out of him, nor could ask any thing of him which he had not granted.

But as no action in the world is so vile but the actors can cover with some specious pretence, so the Scots, now passing into England, published a declaration to justify their assisting the parliament; to which I shall only say, in my opinion, it was no justification at all; for, admitting the parliament's quarrel had been ever so just, it could not be just in them to aid them, because it was against their own king, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or at least crowned, and thereby had recognized his authority.

For, if mal-administration be, according to Pryn's doctrine, or according to their own Buchanan, a sufficient reason for subjects to take up arms against their prince, the breach of his coronation-oath being supposed to dissolve the oath of allegiance; yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that because a king of England may, by mal-administration, discharge the subjects of England from their allegiance, that therefore the subjects of Scotland may take up arms against the King of Scotland, he having not infringed the compact of government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themselves.

Thus I thought their own arguments were against them, and Heaven seemed to concur with it; for although they did carry the cause for the English rebels, yet the most of them left their bones here in the quarrel.

But what signifies reason to the drum and the trumpet? The parliament had the supreme argument with those men—the money; and having accordingly advanced a good round sum, upon payment of this (for the Scots would not stir a foot without it), they entered England on the 15th of January, 1643, with an army of twelve thousand men, under the command of General Lesley, now Earl of Leven, an old soldier of great experience, having been bred to arms from his youth in the service of the Prince of Orange. (Note 20.)

The Scots were no sooner entered England but they were joined by all the friends to the parliament party in the north; and first, Colonel Grey, brother to Lord Grey, joined them with a regiment of horse, and several out of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and they advanced to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender.

The Earl of Newcastle, who rather saw than was able to prevent the storm, was in Newcastle, and did his best to defend it; but the Scots, increased by this time to about twenty thousand, laid close siege to the place, which was but meanly fortified, and having repulsed the garrison upon several sallies, and pressing the place very close, after a siege of twelve days they entered the town sword in hand.

The Earl of Newcastle got away, and afterwards gathered what forces together he could; but not strong enough to hinder the Scots from advancing to Durham, which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the conjunction of the Scots with the forces of Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell.

Whereupon the earl, seeing all things thus going to wreck, he sent his horse away, and retreated with his foot into York, making all necessary preparations for a vigorous defence there, in case he should be attacked, which he was pretty sure of, as indeed afterwards happened. York was in a very good posture of defence: the fortifications very regular, and exceeding strong; well furnished with provisions, and had now a garrison of twelve thousand men in it. The governor, under the Earl of Newcastle, was Sir Thomas Glemham, a good soldier, and a gentleman of great courage.

The Scots, as I have said, having taken Durham, Tynemouth Castle, and Sunderland, and being joined by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had taken Selby, resolved, with their united strength, to besiege York; but when they came to view the city, and saw a plan of the works, and had intelligence of the strength of the garrison, they sent expresses to Manchester and Cromwell for help, who came on and joined them with nine thousand, making together about thirty thousand men.

The Earl of Newcastle's repeated messengers had now convinced the king that it was absolutely necessary to send some forces to his assistance, or else all would be lost in the north. Whereupon Prince Rupert was detached with orders, first to go into Lancashire, and relieve Latham House, defended by the brave Countess of Derby; and then, taking all the forces he could collect in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, to march to relieve York.

The prince marched from Oxford with but three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, making in all about two thousand eight hundred men. The colonels of horse were Goring, Biron, and myself; the dragoons were commanded by Colonel Smith.

In our march we were joined by a regiment of horse from Banbury, one of dragoons from Bristol, and three regiments of horse from Chester, who, having been at the siege of Nantwich, were obliged to raise the siege by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and the foot having yielded, the horse made good their retreat to Chester, being about two thousand, of whom three regiments now joined us.

We received also two thousand foot from West-Chester, and two thousand more out of Wales, and with this strength we entered Lancashire. We had not much time to spend, and a great deal of work to do.

Bolton and Liverpool felt the first fury of the prince: at Bolton, indeed, he had some provocation, for here we were like to be beaten off. When first the prince came to Bolton, he sent a summons to demand the town for the king, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril.

They had raised some works about the town; and having by their intelligence learned that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, so they called us, they contemned the summons, and showed themselves upon their ramparts ready for us. The prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and took up his quarters close to the town.

In the evening he ordered me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse to bring

them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as possibly I could to the lines, yet so as not to be discovered; and at the same time having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he drew up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there, and on a signal I was to begin the real assault on my side with my dragoons.

I had got so near the town with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the prince, believing one regiment would be too few, sent me word that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm.

Upon this I sent to the prince to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but the prince was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came up to us. The foot, marching out of the way, missed us, and fell in with a road that leads to another part of the town, and not being able to find us, made an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants, being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great loss.

I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it; but as I had learned under the King of Sweden punctually to adhere to the execution of orders, and my orders being to lie still till the foot came up with me, I would not have stirred if I had been sure to have done ever so much service; but, however, to satisfy myself, I sent to the prince to let him know that I continued in the same place, expecting the foot, and none being yet come up, I desired further orders.

The prince was greatly amazed at this, and, finding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men, which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

The prince ordered me to come off so privately as not to be discovered, if possible, which I effectually did; and so we were disappointed for that night. The next day the prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loss, and the like a third time.

At last the prince, resolving to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing, in the first heat of the action, all that came in their way; some of the foot, at the same time, letting in the horse; and so the town was entirely won. There were about six hundred of the enemy killed, and we lost four hundred in all, which was owing to the foolish mistakes we made. Our men got some plunder here which the parliament made a great noise about; but it was their due, and they bought it dear enough.

Liverpool did not cost us so much, nor did we get so much by it, the people having sent their women and children, and best goods, on board

the ships in the road, and as we had no boats to board them with, we could not get at them. Here, as at Bolton, the town and fort were taken by storm, and the garrison were many of them cut in pieces, which, by the way, was their own faults.

Our next stop was at Latham house, which the Countess of Derby had gallantly defended above eighteen weeks against the parliament forces; and this lady not only encouraged her men by her cheerful and noble maintenance of them, but by examples of her own undaunted spirit, exposing herself upon the walls in the midst of the enemy's shot, would be with her men in the greatest dangers; and she well deserved our care of her person, for the enemy were prepared to use her very rudely if she had fallen into their hands. (*Note 21.*)

Upon our approach the enemy drew off; and the prince not only effectually relieved this vigorous lady, but left a good quantity of all sorts of ammunition, three great guns, five hundred arms, and two hundred men, commanded by a major, as her extraordinary guard.

Here the way being now opened, and our success answering our expectations, several bodies of foot came into us from Westmoreland and from Cumberland; and here it was that the prince found means to surprise the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was recovered for the king by the management of the mayor of the town, and some loyal gentlemen of the county, and a garrison placed there again for the king.

But our main design being the relief of York, the prince advanced that way apace, his army still increasing; and being joined by the Lord Goring from Rutlandshire with four thousand horse, which were the same the Earl of Newcastle had sent away when he threw himself into York with the infantry, we were now eighteen thousand effective men, of which ten thousand were horse and dragoons; so the prince, full of hopes, and his men in good heart, boldly marched directly for York.

The Scots, as much surprised at the taking of Newcastle as at the coming of their enemy, began to inquire which way they should get home, if they should be beaten; and calling a council of war, they all agreed to raise the siege. The prince, who drew with him a great train of carriages, charged with provision and ammunition for the relief of the city, like a wary general, kept at a distance from the enemy, and fetching a great compass about, brought all safe into the city, and entered York with all his army.

No action of the whole war would have gained the prince so much honour, or the king's affairs so much advantage, had the prince but restrained his courage after this, and checked his fatal eagerness for fighting. Here was a siege raised, the reputation of the enemy justly slurred, a city relieved, and furnished with all things necessary, in the face of an army superior in number by near ten thousand men, and commanded by a triumvirate of those veteran generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester.

Had the prince but remembered the proceeding of the great Duke of Parma at the relief of Paris, he would have seen the relieving the city

was his business; it was the enemy's business to fight; it was his to avoid it, if possible; for, having delivered the city, and put the disgrace of raising the siege upon the enemy, he had nothing further to do but to have waited till he had seen what course the enemy would take, and taken his further measures from their motion.

But the prince, a continual friend to precipitant councils, would hear no advice. I entreated him not to put it to the hazard: I told him that he ought to consider, if he lost the day, he lost the kingdom, and took the crown from off the king's head. I put him in mind that it was impossible those three generals should continue long together; and that if they did, they would not agree long in their councils, which would be as well for us as their separating.

It was plain Manchester and Cromwell must return to the associated counties, who would not suffer them to stay, for fear the king should attempt them; that he could subsist well enough, having York city and river at his back. But the Scots would eat up the country, make themselves odious, and dwindle away to nothing, if he would but hold them at bay a little. Other general officers were of the same opinion; but all I could say, or they either, to a man deaf to anything but his own courage, signified little. He would draw out and fight; there was no persuading him to the contrary, unless a man would run the risk of being upbraided with being a coward, and afraid of the work.

The enemy's army lay on a large common, called Marston Moor, doubtful what to do: some were for fighting the prince; the Scots were against it, being uneasy at having the garrison of Newcastle at their backs; but the prince brought their councils of war to a result, for he let them know they must fight him whether they would or not; for the prince being, as before, eighteen thousand men strong, and the Earl of Newcastle having joined him with eight thousand foot out of the city, were marched in quest of the enemy, had entered the moor in view of their army, and began to draw up in order of battle; but night coming on, the armies only viewed each other at a distance for that time.

We lay all night upon our arms, and with the first of the day were in order of battle: the enemy was getting ready; but part of Manchester's men were not in the field, but lay about three miles off, and made a hasty march to come up. (*Note 22.*)

Prince Rupert's army was exceedingly well managed: he himself commanded the left, the Earl of Newcastle the right wing; and Lord Goring, as general of the foot, assisted by Major-General Porter and Sir Charles Lucas, led the main battle.

I had prevailed with the prince, according to the method of the King of Sweden, to place some small bodies of musketeers in the intervals of his horse in the left wing, but could not prevail upon the Earl of Newcastle to do it in the right, which he afterwards repented.

In this posture we stood facing the enemy, expecting they would advance to us, which at last they did; and the prince began the day by saluting them with his artillery, which, being well placed, galled them terribly for a quarter of an

hour; they could not shift their front, so they advanced hastily to get within our great guns, and consequently out of their danger, which brought the fire the sooner on.

The enemy's army was ordered thus:—Sir Thomas Fairfax had the right wing, in which was the Scotch horse, and the horse of his own and his father's army; Cromwell led the left wing with his own and the Earl of Manchester's horse; and the three generals, Lesley, old Fairfax, and Manchester, led the main battle.

The prince, with our left wing, fell on first, and, with his usual fury, broke, like a clap of thunder, into the right wing of the Scotch horse, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and, as nothing could stand in his way, he broke through and through, and entirely routed them, pursuing them quite out of the field.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a regiment of lancers, and about five hundred of his own horse, made good the ground for some time; but our musketeers, which, as I said, were so placed, were such an unlooked-for sort of an article in a fight among the horse, that those lancers, which otherwise were brave fellows, were mowed down with their shot, and all was put into confusion.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was wounded in the face, his brother killed, and a great slaughter was made of the Scots, to whom, I confess, we showed no favour.

While this was doing on our left, Lord Goring, with the main battle, charged the enemy's foot, and particularly one brigade, commanded by Major-General Porter, being mostly pikemen, charged with that fury in a close body of pikes, that they overturned all that came in their way, and, breaking into the middle of the enemy's foot, filled all with terror and confusion, insomuch that the three generals, thinking all had been lost, fled, and quitted the field.

But matters went not so well with that always unfortunate gentleman, the Earl of Newcastle, and our right wing of horse, for Cromwell charged him with a powerful body of horse; and though the earl and those about him did what men could do, and behaved themselves with all possible gallantry, yet there was no withstanding Cromwell's horse; but, like Prince Rupert, they bore down all before them: and now the victory was wrung out of our hands by our own gross miscarriage; for the prince, as it was his custom, too eager in the chase of the enemy, was gone, and could not be heard of.

The foot in the centre, the right wing of the horse being routed by Cromwell, was left, and without the guard of his horse; Cromwell having routed the Earl of Newcastle, and beaten him quite out of the field, and Sir Thomas Fairfax rallying his dispersed troops, they fell all together upon the foot.

General Lord Goring, like himself, fought like a lion; but, forsaken by his horse, was hemmed in on all sides, and overthrown; and an hour after this, the prince returning too late to recover his friends, was obliged, with the rest, to quit the field to conquerers.

This was a fatal day to the king's affairs, and the risk too much for any man in his senses to run. We lost four thousand men on the spot, three thousand prisoners, amongst whom was Sir

Charles Lucas, Major-General Porter, Major-General Telier, and about one hundred and seventy gentlemen of quality. We lost all our baggage, twenty-five pieces of cannon, three hundred carriages, one hundred and fifty barrels of powder, and ten thousand arms.

The prince got into York with the Earl of Newcastle and a great many gentlemen, and seven or eight thousand of the men, as well horse as foot.

I had but very coarse treatment in this battle, for, returning with the prince from the pursuit of the right wing, and finding all lost, I halted with some other officers to consider what to do. At first we were for making our retreat in a body, and might have done so well enough, if we had known what had happened, before we saw ourselves in the middle of the enemy, for Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had got together his scattered troops, and joined by some of the left wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great fury.

It was not a time to think of anything but getting away, or dying upon the spot. The prince kept on in the front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, by this charge, cut off about three regiments of us from our body; but, bending his main strength at the prince, left us, as it were, behind him in the middle of the field of battle. We took this for the only opportunity we could have to get off, and, joining together, we made across the place of battle in as good order as we could, with our carbines presented.

In this posture we passed by several bodies of the enemy's foot, who stood with their pikes charged to keep us off; but they had no occasion, for we had no design to meddle with them, but to get from them. Thus we made a swift march, and thought ourselves pretty secure; but our work was not done yet, for on a sudden we saw ourselves under a necessity of fighting our way through a great body of Manchester's horse, who came galloping upon us over the moor. They had, as we suppose, been pursuing some of our broken troops which were fled before, and, seeing us, they gave us a home charge.

We received them as well as we could, but pushed to get through them, which at last we did with a considerable loss even to them. However, we had so many men either killed or separated from us, for all could not follow the same way, that of our three regiments we could not be above four hundred horse together when we got quite clear, and these were mixed men, some of one troop and regiment, some of another.

Not that I believe many of us were killed in the last attack, for we had plainly the better of the enemy, but our design being to get off, some shifted for themselves one way, and some another, in the best manner they could, and as their several fortunes guided them. Four hundred more of this body, as I afterwards understood, having broke through the enemy's body another way, kept together and got into Pontefract Castle, and three hundred more made northward and to Skippon, where the prince afterwards fetched them off.

Those few of us that were left together with whom I was, being now pretty clear of pursuit, halted and began to inquire who we were, and what we should do; and, on a short debate, I

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proposed we should make to the first garrison of the king's that we could recover, and that we should keep together, lest the country people should insult us upon the roads. With this resolution we pushed on westward for Lancashire; but our misfortunes were not yet at an end—we travelled very hard, and got to a village upon the river Wharf, near Wetherby.

At Wetherby there was a bridge—but we understood that a party from Leeds had secured the town and the post, in order to stop the flying cavaliers, and that it would be very hard to get through there, though, as we understood afterwards, there were no soldiers there, but a guard of the townsmen. In this dilemma we consulted what course to take—to stay where we were till morning, we all concluded would not be safe; some advised to take the stream with our horses, but the river being deep, and the current strong, seemed to bid us have a care what we did of that kind, especially in the night.

Here we intended to refresh ourselves and our horses, but were terribly disappointed, therefore we resolved to go on till we should come to a ford or bridge, where we might get over. Some guides we had, but they either were foolish or false, for after we had ridden eight or nine miles they plunged us into a river at a place they called a ford, but it was a very bad one; and though our horses swam, yet seven or eight were lost, but, however, we saved the men, and we all got over.

We made bold with our first convenience to trespass upon the country for a few horses, where we could find them, to remount our men whose horses were drowned, and continued our march; but being obliged to refresh ourselves at a small village on the edge of Branham Moor, we found the country alarmed by our taking some horses, and we were no sooner mounted in the morning, and entering on the moor, but we understood we were pursued by a troop of horse.

There was no remedy but we must pass this moor; and though our horses were exceedingly tired, yet we pressed on upon a round trot, and recovered an enclosed country on the other side, where we halted.

And here, necessity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more horses, for several of our men were dismounted, and others had their horses disabled by carrying double, those who had lost their horses by getting up behind them; but we were supplied by our enemies against their will.

The enemy followed us over the moor, and we having a woody enclosed country about us, where we were, I observed by their moving they had lost sight of us, upon which I proposed concealing ourselves till we might judge of their numbers. We did so, and lying close in a wood, they passed hastily by us, without skirting or searching the wood, which was what, on another occasion, they would not have done.

I found they were not above one hundred and fifty horse, and considering that to let them go before us would be to alarm the country and stop our design, I thought, since we might be able to deal with them, we should not meet with a better place for it, and told the rest of our officers my mind, which all our party presently, for we had not time for a long debate, agreed to.

Immediately upon this I caused two men to fire their pistols in the wood, at two different places, as far asunder as I could. This I did to give them an alarm, and amuse them, for, being in the lane, they would otherwise have got through before we had been ready, and I resolved to engage them there as soon as it was possible.

After this alarm we rushed out of the wood with about one hundred horse, and charged them on the flank in a broad lane, the wood being on their right. Our passage into the lane being narrow, gave us some difficulty in our getting out; but the surprise of the charge did our work; for the enemy, thinking we had been a mile or two before, had not the least thought of this onset till they heard us in the wood, and then they who were before could not come back.

We broke into the lane just in the middle of them, and by that means divided them; and, facing to the left, charged the rear. First our dismounted men, which were near fifty, lined the edge of the wood, and fired with their carbines upon those which were before, so warmly, that they put them into great disorder.

Meanwhile fifty more of our horse from the further part of the wood showed themselves in the lane upon their front; this put the foremost party into a great perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the rear; but their facing about in a lane where there was no room to wheel, as one who understands the manner of wheeling a troop of horse must imagine, put them into great disorder.

Our party in the head of the lane, taking the advantage of this mistake of the enemy, charged in upon them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the enclosures on the other side of the lane, and got away. About thirty were killed, and about twenty-five made prisoners, and forty very good horses were taken; all this while not a man of ours was lost, and not above seven or eight wounded.

Those in the rear behaved themselves better: for they stood our charge with a great deal of resolution, and all we could do could not break them; but at last our men who had fired on foot through the hedges at the other party, coming to do the like here, there was no standing it any longer. The rear of them faced about, retreated out of the lane, and drew up in the open field to receive and rally their fellows.

We killed about seventeen of them, and followed them to the end of the lane, but had no mind to have any more fighting than needs must; our condition at that time not making it proper, the towns round us being all in the enemy's hands, and the country but indifferently pleased with us; however, we stood facing them till they thought fit to march away.

Thus we were supplied with horses enough to remount our men, and pursued our first design of getting into Lancashire. As for our prisoners, we let them go off on foot.

The country being by this time alarmed, and the rout of our army everywhere known, we foresaw abundance of difficulties before us; we were not strong enough to venture into any great towns, and we were too many to be concealed in small ones. Upon this we resolved to halt in a great wood, about three miles beyond

the place where we had the last skirmish, and sent out scouts to discover the country, and to learn what they could, either of the enemy or of our friends.

Anybody may suppose we had but indifferent quarters here, either for ourselves or for our horses; but, however, we made shift to lie here two days and one night.

In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to Leeds to learn some news. We were disguised like country ploughmen; the clothes we got at a farmer's house, which for that odd occasion we plundered. I cannot say no blood was shed in a manner too rash, and which I would not have done at any other time; but our case was desperate, and the people too surly, and shot at us out of their windows, wounded one man and shot a horse, which we counted as great a loss to us as a man, for our safety depended upon our horses.

Here we got clothes of all sorts enough for both sexes, and thus dressing myself up like a peasant, with a white cap on my head, and a fork on my shoulder, and one of my comrades in the farmer's wife's russet gown and petticoat, like a woman; the other with an old crutch like a lame man, and all mounted on such horses as we had taken the day before from the country, away we went for Leeds, by three several ways, and agreed to meet upon the bridge.

My pretended countrywoman, who was to pass for my wife, seemed easy in her dress, as did also the cripple, though they were both gentlemen of good quality of the Earl of Worcester's family; but I thought myself very awkward in mine, which made me very shy, especially among the soldiers. We passed their sentinels and guards at Leeds undiscovered, and put up our horses at several houses in the town, from whence we went up and down to make our remarks.

My cripple was the fittest to go among the soldiers, because there was less danger of his being pressed: there he informed himself of the matters of war, particularly that the enemy sat down again to the siege of York: that flying parties were in pursuit of the cavaliers; and there he heard that five hundred horse of Lord Manchester's had followed a party of cavaliers over Branham moor; and that, entering a lane, the cavaliers, who were a thousand strong, fell upon them, and killed them all but about fifty.

This, though it was an untruth, was very pleasant to us to hear, knowing it was our party, because of the other part of the story, which was thus; that the cavaliers had taken possession of such a wood, where they rallied all the troops of their flying army; that they had plundered the country as they came, taking all the horses they could get; that they had plundered goodman Thompson's house, which was the farmer I mentioned, and killed man, woman, and child; and that they were about two thousand strong.

My other friend in woman's clothes got among the good wives at the inn where she set up her horse, and there she heard the same sad and dreadful tidings; and that this party was so strong, none of the neighbouring garrisons durst stir out; but that they had sent expresses to

York for a party of horse to come to their assistance,

I walked up and down the town, but fancied myself so ill disguised, and so easy to be known, that I cared not to talk with anybody. We met at the bridge exactly at our time, and compared our intelligence, found it answered our end of coming, and that we had nothing to do but to get back to our men; but my cripple told me he would not stir till he bought some victuals; so away he hopped with his crutch, and bought four or five great pieces of bacon, as many of hung beef, and two or three loaves; and borrowing a sack at the inn, which he never returned, he loaded his horse, and, getting a large leather bottle, he filled it with aqua-vitæ instead of small beer, as did my woman comrade the same.

I was uneasy in my mind, and took no care but to get out of the town; however, we all came off well enough; but 'twas well that I had no provisions with me, as you will presently hear.

We came, as I said, into the town by several ways, and so we went out; but about three miles from the town we met again exactly where we had agreed: I being about a quarter of a mile from the rest, met three country fellows on horseback; one had a long pole on his shoulder, another a fork, the third no weapon at all that I saw. I gave them the road very orderly, being habited like one of their brethren; but one of them stopping short and looking earnestly at me, called out in a broad north-country tone, "Hark thee, friend, whar hast thou thilk horse?"

I confess I was in some confusion, neither being able to answer the question nor to speak in his tone; so I behaved as if I had not heard him, and went on.

Upon this the clown immediately came up to me, and taking hold of my horse's bridle, said, "Na, but ye's not gang soa;" at which, vexed that I could not talk to the fellow in his own dialect, I reached him a knock on the pate with my fork, which brought him from his horse, and then began to mend my pace; the other clowns, though they knew not what the fellow wanted, pursued me, and finding they had better heels than I, I saw there was no remedy but to make use of my hands and faced about.

The first that came up with me was he that had no weapon, so I thought I might parley with him, and speaking as country-like as I could, I asked him what he wanted.

"Thou'st knaw that soon, and Ise but come at thee."

I immediately replied, "Then keep awa, mon, or Ise brain thee."

By this time the third man came up, and the parley ended; for he gave me no words, but laid at me with his long pole, and that with such fury that I began to be doubtful of him.

Though I had pistols under my grey frock, I was loath to shoot the fellow, as well for that the noise of a pistol might bring more people in, the village being in our rear; and also because I could not imagine what the fellow meant, or would have; but at last finding he would be too many for me with that long wea-

pon, I threw myself off my horse, and running in with him, stabbed my fork into his horse's belly. The horse being wounded, staggered a while, and then fell, and the booby had not the sense to get down in time, but fell with him; upon which, giving him a knock or two with my fork, I secured him.

The other, by this time, had furnished himself with a great stick out of a hedge; and, before I was disengaged from the last fellow, gave me two such blows, that if they had been upon my head, instead of my shoulder, I had ended the fight and my life together.

It was time to look about me now, for this was a madman; I defended myself with my fork, but it would not do; at last, in short, I was forced to pistol him, and getting on horseback again, with all the speed I could make, got away to the wood to our men.

If my two fellow spies had not been behind, I had never known what was the meaning of this quarrel of the three countrymen, but my cripple had all the particulars; for he being behind us, as I have already observed, when he came up to the first fellow who began the fray, he found him beginning to come to himself; so he got off, and pretending to help him, he put him up upon his breech, and being a very facetious fellow, said, "Well, and what's the matter now?"

"Ah, wae's me," replied the clown, "I is killed."

"Not quite, mon," said Cripple, smiling.

"Oh that's a fau thief," meaning me, and thus they parleyed.

Cripple then got him upon his feet, and gave him a dram of his aqua-vitæ bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the occasion of the quarrel. Our disguised woman seemingly pitied the fellow too, and they set him up again upon his horse, and then told him that fellow, still meaning me, was got upon one of his brother's horses, who lived at Wetherby.

They, to humour him, said the cavaliers stole him; but it was like such rogues; and thus they jogged on until they came to the place where the other two lay.

The first fellow they assisted as they had done the other, and gave him a dram out of the leather bottle; but the last fellow was past their care; so they came away: for when they understood that it was my horse they claimed, they began to be afraid that their own horses might be known too, and then they had been in a worse condition than myself, and must have been forced to have done them some mischief to have got away.

I had sent out two troopers to fetch them off, if there was any occasion; but their stay was not long, for the troopers seeing them at a little distance coming towards us, they presently returned.

I had enough of going for a spy, and my companions had enough of staying in the wood; for other intelligences agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going. However, this use we made of it, that while the country thought us so strong, we were in the less danger of being attacked, though in the more of being observed; but all this while we heard nothing of our friends till the next day; when we

heard Prince Rupert, with about a thousand horse, was at Skipton, and from thence marched away to Westmoreland.

We concluded now we had two or three days good; for since messengers were sent to York for a party to suppress us, we must have at least two days' march of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the best of our way: early in the morning, therefore, we decamped from those dull quarters; and as we marched through a village, we found the people very civil to us, and the women cried out, "God bless them, it is a pity that the Roundheads should make such work with brave men," and the like. Finding we were among our friends, we resolved to halt a little, and refresh ourselves; and, indeed, the people were very kind to us, gave us victuals and drink, and took care of our horses.

It happened to be my lot to stop at a house where the good woman took a great deal of pains to provide for us; but I observed her husband walked about with a cap upon his head, and very much out of order. I took no great notice of it, being very sleepy, and having asked my landlady to let me have a bed, I laid down and slept. When I awaked I found my landlord on another bed in the same room, groaning very heavily.

When I came down stairs, I found Cripple talking with the landlady; he was now out of his disguise, but we called him Cripple still; and the other, who put on the woman's clothes, we called Goody Thompson. As soon as Cripple saw me, he called me out.

"Do you know the man of the house you are quartered in?"

"No, not I; pray, why do you ask?"

"No, so I believe; nor they you; if they did, his wife would not have made you a posset, and got you a white loaf."

"I do not understand you. What do you mean?"

"Have you seen the man?"

"Seen him? yes, and heard him too; the man's sick, and groaned so heavily that I could not lay upon the bed any longer for him."

"Why, he's the man that you knocked down yesterday with your fork, and I have had all the story out yonder at the next door."

I confess it grieved me to have been forced to treat a person so roughly who was one of our friends, but to make some amends, we contrived to give the poor man his brother's horse; and my Cripple told him a formal story, that he believed the horse was taken away from the fellow by some of our men; and, if he knew him again, if it was his friend's horse, he should have him.

The man came down upon the news, and I caused six or seven horses which were taken at the same time to be shown him; he immediately chose the right; so I gave him the horse, and we pretended a great deal of sorrow for the man's hurt, and that we had knocked the fellow on the head as well as taken away the horse.

The man was so overjoyed at the revenge he thought was taken on the fellow, that we heard him groan no more.

We ventured to stay all day at this town, and the next night, and got guides to lead us to

Blackstone Edge, a ridge of mountains which part this side of Yorkshire from Lancashire.

Early in the morning we marched, and kept our scouts very carefully out every way, who brought us no news for this day; we kept on all night, and made our horses do penance for the little rest they had; and the next morning we passed the hills, and got into Lancashire, to a town called Littlebury; and from thence to Rochdale, a little market town.

And now we thought ourselves safe as to the pursuit of the enemies from the side of York; our design was to get to Bolton; but all the county was full of the enemy in flying parties, and how to get there we knew not.

At length we resolved to send a messenger to Bolton; but he came back and told us he had, with lurking and hiding, tried all the ways that he thought possible, but to no purpose, for he could not get into the town. We sent another, and he never returned; and, some time after, we understood he was taken by the enemy. At last one got into the town, who brought us word they were tired out with constant alarms, had been straitly blocked up, and every day expected a siege; and therefore advised us either to go northward, where Prince Rupert and Lord Goring ranged at liberty; or to get over Warrington bridge, and so secure our retreat to Chester.

This double direction divided our opinions; I was for getting into Chester to recruit myself with horses and with money, both which I wanted, and to get refreshment, which we all stood in need of; but the major part of our men were for the north. First, they said, there was their general; and it was their duty to the cause, and the king's interest obliged us to go where we could do best service; and there were their friends, and every man might hear some news of his own regiment, for we belonged to several; besides, all the towns to the left of us were possessed by Sir William Brereton; Warrington, in Lancashire, and Northwich, in Cheshire, garrisoned by the enemy, and a strong party at Manchester; so that it was very likely we should be beaten and dispersed before we could get to Chester.

These reasons, and especially the last, determined us for the north, and we had resolved to march the next morning, when other intelligence brought us to more speedy resolutions. We kept our scouts continually abroad to bring us intelligence of the enemy, whom we expected on our backs, and also to keep an eye upon the country; for, as we lived upon them something at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill turn that lay in their power.

The first messenger that arrived was from our friends at Bolton, with information that they were preparing at Manchester to attack us: one of our parties had been as far as Stockport, on the edge of Cheshire, and was pursued by a party of the enemy, but got off by the help of the night.

Thus, all things looking black to the south, we had resolved to march northward in the morning, when one of our scouts, from the side of Manchester, assured us, Sir Thomas Middleton, with some of the parliament forces and the country troops, making above twelve hundred men,

were on their march to attack us, and would certainly beat up our quarters that night.

Upon this advice we resolved to be gone; and getting all things in readiness, we began to march about two hours before night; and having got a trusty fellow for our guide, a fellow that we found was a friend to our side, he put a project into my head, which saved us all for that time; and that was, to give out in the village that we were marched back to Yorkshire, resolving to get into Pontefract Castle.

Accordingly he conducted us out of the town the same way we came in; and taking a boy with him, he sent the boy back just at night, and bade him say he saw us go up the hills at Blackstone Edge; and it happened very well, for this party were so sure of us that they had placed four hundred men on the road to the northward to intercept our retreat, and had left no way for us, as they thought, to escape, but back again.

About ten o'clock at night they assaulted our quarters, but finding we were gone, and being informed which way, they followed upon the spur; and travelling all night, being moon-light, they found themselves the next morning about fifteen miles east just out of their way; for we had, by the help of our guide, turned short at the foot of the hills; and, through blind, untrodden paths, and, with difficulty enough, by noon the next day, had reached almost twenty-five miles north near a town called Clithero.

Here we halted in the open field, and sent out people to see how things were in the country. This part of the country, almost impassable, and surrounded with hills, was indifferently quiet, and we got some refreshment for ourselves, but very little horse-meat, and so went on; but we had not marched far before we found ourselves discovered; and the four hundred horse sent to lie in wait for us as before, having understood which way we went, followed us hard; and by letters to some of their friends at Preston, we found we were beset again.

Our guide began now to be out of his knowledge, and our scouts brought us word the enemy's horse was posted before us, and we knew they were in our rear.

In this exigence we resolved to divide our small body, and so amusing them, at least one might get off if the other miscarried. I took about eighty horse with me, among which were all that I had of our own regiment, amounting to about thirty-two, and took the hills towards Yorkshire.

Here we met with such impassable hills, vast moors, rocks, and stony ways, as lamed all our horses and tired all our men; and sometimes I thought we should never be able to get over them, for our horses failing, and jack boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be starved before we should find any road or towns, for guide we had none, but a boy, who knew but little, and would cry when we asked him any questions.

I believe neither men nor horses ever passed in some places where we went; and for twenty hours we saw not a town nor a house, excepting sometimes from the top of the mountains at a vast distance.

I am persuaded we might have encamped here

if we had had provisions, till the war had been over, and have met with no disturbance; and I have often wondered since how we got into such horrible places as much as how we got out of them.

That which was worse to us than all the rest was, that we knew not where we were going, nor what part of the country we should come into when we came out of those desolate crags.

At last, after a terrible fatigue, we began to see the western parts of Yorkshire, some few villages, and the country at a distance looked a little like England; for I thought before, it looked like Old Brennus Hill, which the Grisons called the Grandfather of the Alps. We got some relief in the villages, which, indeed, many of us had so much need of, that they were hardly able to sit their horses, and others were forced to help them off, they were so faint.

I never felt so much of the power of hunger in my life; for having not eaten in thirty hours, I was as ravenous as a hound; and if I had had a piece of horse flesh, I believe I should not have had patience to have stayed dressing it, but have fallen upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a Tartar.

However, I ate very cautiously, having often seen the danger of men's eating heartily after long fasting. Our next care was to inquire our way. Halifax, they told us, was on our right, there we durst not think of going; General Skippon was before us, and there we knew not how it was; for a body of three thousand horse, sent out by the enemy in pursuit of Prince Rupert, had been there but two days before, and the country people could not tell us whether they were gone or not; and Manchester's horse, which were sent out after our party, were then at Halifax in quest of us, and afterwards marched into Cheshire.

In this distress we would have hired a guide, but none of the country people would go with us; for the Roundheads would hang them, they said, when they came there. Upon this I called a fellow to me. "Harke, friend, dost thee know the way so as to bring us into Westmoreland, and not keep the great road from York?"

"Ay, merry, I ken the ways weel enou."

"And you would go and guide us, but that you are afraid the Roundheads will hang you."

"Indeed would I, measter, with all my heart."

"Why, then, thou hadst as well be hanged by a Roundhead as a Cavalier; for if thou wilt not go, I'll hang thee instantly."

"Na, and ye serve me soa, Ise ene gan with ye; for I care not for hanging; and ye'll get me a horse, Ise gang and be one of you, for I'll nere come heame more."

This pleased us still better, and we mounted the fellow; for three of our men died that night with the extreme fatigue of the last service.

Next morning, when our new trooper was mounted and clothed, we hardly knew him; and this fellow led us by such ways, such wildernesses, and yet with such prudence, keeping the hills to the left, that we might have the villages to refresh ourselves, that, without him, we had certainly either perished in those mountains, or fallen into the enemy's hands.

We passed the great road from York so criti-

cally as to time, that from one of the hills he showed us a part of the enemy's horse who were then marching into Westmoreland.

We lay still that day, finding we were not discovered by them; and our guide proved the best scout that we could have had; for he would go out ten miles at a time, and bring us in all the news of the country: here he brought us word that York was surrendered upon articles, and that Newcastle, which had been surprised by the king's party, was besieged by another army of Scots advanced to help their brethren.

Along the edges of those vast mountains we passed, with the help of our guide, till we came into the forest of Swale; and finding ourselves perfectly concealed, for no soldier had ever been here all the war, nor perhaps would not, if it had lasted seven years; we thought we wanted a few days' rest, at least for our horses; so we resolved to halt, and while we did so, we made some disguises, and sent out some spies into the country; but as here were no great towns, nor no post roads, we got very little intelligence.

We rested four days, and then marched again; and indeed having no great stock of money about us, and not very free of that we had, four days was enough for those poor places to be able to maintain us.

We thought ourselves pretty secure now; but our chief care was how to get over those terrible mountains; for having passed the great road that leads from York to Lancaster, the crags, the further northward we looked, appeared still the worse, and our business was all on the other side.

Our guide told us he would bring us out; if we would have patience, which we were obliged to, and kept on this slow march till he brought us to Stanhope, in the county of Durham; where some of Lord Goring's horse, and two regiments of foot, had their quarters: this was nineteen days from the battle of Marstonmoor.

Prince Rupert, who was then at Kendal in Westmoreland, and who had given me over as lost, when he had news of our arrival, sent an express to me to meet him at Appleby. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an account of our journey; and there I heard the short history of the other part of our men, whom we parted from in Lancashire.

They made the best of their way north; they had two resolute gentlemen who commanded; and being so closely pursued by the enemy, that, finding themselves under the necessity of fighting, they halted, and faced about, expecting the charge.

The boldness of the action made the officer who led the enemy's horse, which it seems were the county horse only, afraid of them; which they perceiving, taking the advantage of his fears, bravely advanced, and charged them; and though they were above two hundred horse, they routed them, killed about thirty or forty, got some horses and some money, and pushed on their march night and day; but coming near Lancaster, they were so waylaid and pursued, that they agreed to separate, and shift every man for himself.

Many of them fell into the enemy's hands; some were killed attempting to pass through the

river Lune; some went back again, six or seven got to Bolton, and about eighteen got safe to Prince Rupert.

The prince was in a better condition here than I expected; he and Lord Goring, with the help of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the gentlemen of Cumberland, had a body of four thousand horse and about six thousand foot.

They had retaken Newcastle, Tynemouth, Durham, Stockton, and several towns of consequence, from the Scots, and might have cut them out work enough still, if that base people, resolved to engage their whole interest to ruin their sovereign, had not sent a second army of ten thousand men, under the Earl of Calender, to help their first.

These came and laid siege to Newcastle, but found more vigorous resistance now than they had done before.

There were in the town Sir John Morley, the Lord Crawford, Lord Rea, and Maxwell, Scots, and old soldiers, who were resolved their countrymen should buy the town very dear if they had it; and had it not been for our disaster at Marstonmoor, they had never had it; for Calender, finding he was not able to carry the town, sent to General Leven to come from the siege of York to help him.

Meantime the prince formed a very good army, and the Lord Goring, with ten thousand men, showed himself on the borders of Scotland, to try if that might not cause the Scots to recall their forces; and I am persuaded had he entered Scotland, the parliament of Scotland would have recalled the Earl of Calender, for they had but five thousand men left in arms to send against him; but he was loath to venture.

However, this effect it had, that it called the Scots northward again, and found them work there for the rest of the summer, to reduce the several towns in the bishopric of Durham.

I found with the prince the poor remains of my regiment, which, when joined with those that had been with me, could not all make up three troops, and but two captains, three lieutenants, and one cornet; the rest were dispersed, killed, or taken prisoners.

However, with those, which we still called a regiment, I joined the prince, and after having done all we could on that side, the Scots being returned from York, the prince returned through Lancashire to Chester.

The enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our parties, and killed us about a hundred men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, so we came to Bolton, beat the troops of the enemy near Warrington, where I got a cut with a halberd in my face, and arrived at Chester the beginning of August.

The parliament, upon their great success in the north, thinking the king's forces quite broken, had sent General Essex into the west, where the king's army was commanded by Prince Maurice, Prince Rupert's elder brother, but not very strong; and the king being, as they supposed, by the absence of Prince Rupert, weakened so much that he might be checked by Sir William Waller, who, with four thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand five hundred horse, was at that time

about Winchester, having lately beaten Sir Ralph Hopton. Upon all these considerations, the Earl of Essex marched westward.

The forces in the west being too weak to oppose him, everything gave way to him, and all people expected he would besiege Exeter, where the queen was newly lying-in, and sent a trumpet to desire he would forbear the city until she could be removed; which he did, and passed on westward, took Tiverton, Bideford, Barnstaple, Launceston, relieved Plymouth, drove Sir Richard Grenvill up into Cornwall, and followed him thither, but left Prince Maurice behind him with four thousand men about Barnstaple and Exeter.

The king, in the meantime, marched from Oxford to Worcester, with Waller at his heels. At Edgehill his majesty turned upon Waller, and gave him a brush to put him in mind of the place; the king went on to Worcester, sent three hundred horse to relieve Durley Castle, besieged by the Earl of Denbigh, and sending part of his forces to Bristol, returned to Oxford.

His majesty had now firmly resolved to march into the west, not having yet any account of our misfortunes in the north. Waller and Middleton waylaid the king at Cropedy bridge; the king attacked Middleton at the bridge; Waller's men were posted with some cannon to guard a pass; Middleton put a regiment of the king's foot to the rout, and pursued them: Waller's men, willing to come in for the plunder, a thing their general had often used them to, quitted their post at the pass, and their great guns, to have part in the victory.

The king, coming in seasonably to the relief of his men, routed Middleton, and at the same time sent a party round, who clapt in between Sir William Waller's men and their great guns, and secured the pass and the cannon too.

The king took three colonels, besides other officers, and about three hundred men, prisoners, with eight great guns, nineteen carriages of ammunition, and killed about two hundred men.

Waller lost his reputation in this fight, and was exceedingly slighted ever after, even by his own party; but especially by such as were of Essex's party, between whom and Waller there had been jealousies and misunderstandings for some time.

The king, about eight thousand strong, marched on to Bristol, where Sir William Hopton joined him; and from thence he followed Essex into Cornwall; Essex still following Grenvill, the king came to Exeter, and joining with Prince Maurice, resolved to pursue Essex; and now the Earl of Essex began to see his mistake, being cooped up between two seas, the king's army in his rear, the country his enemy, and Sir Richard Grenvill in his van.

The king, who always took the best measures when left to his own counsel, wisely refused to engage, though superior in number, and much stronger in horse. Essex often drew out to fight; but the king, fortified, took the passes and bridges, planted cannon, and secured the country to keep off provisions, and continually straitened their quarters, but would not fight.

Now Essex sends away to the parliament for help, and they write to Waller, Middleton, and Manchester, to follow and come up with the king in his rear; but some were too far off, and could

not, as Manchester and Fairfax ; others made no haste, as having no mind to it, as Waller and Middleton ; and if they had, it had been too late.

At last the Earl of Essex, finding nothing to be done, und unwilling to fall into the king's hands, took shipping, and left his army to shift for themselves. The horse, under Sir William Balfour, the best horse officer, and, without comparison, the bravest in all the parliament army, advanced in small parties, as if to skirmish, but following in with the whole body, being three thousand five hundred horse, broke through, and got off.

Though this was a loss to the king's victory, yet the foot were now in a condition so much the worse. Brave old Skipton proposed to fight through with the foot, and die, as he called it, like Englishmen, with sword in hand ; but the rest of the officers shook their heads at it ; for, being well paid, they had, at present, no inclination for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the king granted them conditions, upon laying down their arms, to march off free. This was too much : had his majesty but obliged them upon oath not to serve again for a certain time, he had done his business ; but this was not thought of ; so they passed free, only disarmed, the soldiers not being allowed so much as their swords.

The king gained by this treaty forty pieces of cannon, all of brass, three hundred barrels of gunpowder, nine thousand arms, eight thousand swords, match and bullet in proportion, two hundred waggons, one hundred and fifty colours and standards, all the bag and baggage, and about a thousand of the men listed in his army. This was a complete victory without bloodshed ; and had the king but secured the men from serving only for six months, it had most effectually answered the battle of Marston Moor.

As it was, it infused new life into all his majesty's forces and friends, and retrieved his affairs very much ; but especially it encouraged us in the north, who were more sensible of the blow received at Marston Moor, and of the destruction the Scots were bringing upon us all.

While I was at Chester, we had some small skirmishes with Sir William Brereton. One morning in particular Sir William drew up, and faced us, and one of our colonels of horse observing the enemy to be not, as he thought, above two hundred, desired leave of Prince Rupert to attack them with the like number, and accordingly he sallied out with two hundred horse.

I stood drawn up without the city with eight hundred more, ready to bring him off, if he should be put to the worst, which happened accordingly ; for, not having discovered neither the country nor the enemy as he ought, Sir William Brereton drew him into an ambuscade ; so that before he came up with Sir William's forces near enough to charge, he found about three hundred horse in his rear : though he was surprised at this, yet, being a man of ready courage, he boldly faced about with one hundred and fifty of his men, leaving the other fifty to face Sir William.

With this small party he desperately charged the three hundred horse in his rear, and putting them into disorder, broke through them, and had there been no greater force, he had cut them all to pieces.

Flushed with this success, and eager to assist the fifty men I had left behind, he faced about, and charged through them again, and with these two charges entirely routed them.

Sir William Brereton finding himself disappointed, advanced and fell upon the fifty men just as the colonel came up to them ; they fought him with a great deal of bravery ; but the colonel being unfortunately killed in the first charge, the men gave way, and came flying all in confusion, with the enemy at their heels.

As soon as I saw this, I advanced, according to my orders, and the enemy, as soon as we appeared, gave over the pursuit. This gentleman, I remember, was Colonel Morrough ; we fetched off his body, and retreated into Chester.

The next morning the prince drew out of the city with about one thousand two hundred horse and two thousand foot, and attacked Sir William Brereton in his quarters. The fight was very sharp for the time, and near seven hundred men on both sides were killed ; but Sir William would not put it to a general engagement, so the prince drew off, contenting himself to have insulted him in his quarters.

We now had received orders from the king to join him ; but I representing to the prince the condition of my regiment, which was now reduced to a hundred men, and that being within twenty-five miles of my father's house, I might soon recruit it, my father having got some men together already, I desired leave to lay at Shrewsbury for a month, to make up my men.

Accordingly, having obtained his leave, I marched to Wrexham, where, in two days, I got twenty men, and so on to Shrewsbury. I had not been here above ten days, but I received an express to come away with what recruits I had got together, Prince Rupert having positive orders to meet the king by a certain day.

I had not mounted one hundred men, though I had listed above two hundred, when these orders came ; but leaving my father to complete them for me, I marched with those I had, and went to Oxford.

The king, after the rout of the parliament forces in the west, had marched back, took Barnstaple, Plympton, Launceston, Tiverton, and several other places, and left Plymouth besieged by Sir Richard Grenvill ; met with Sir William Waller at Shaftesbury, and again at Andover ; had a skirmish with him at both places, and marched for Newbury.

Here the king sent for Prince Rupert to meet him, who, with three thousand horse, made long marches to join him ; but the parliament having joined their three armies together, Manchester from the north, Waller and Essex, the men being clothed and armed from the west, had attacked the king, and obliged him to fight, the day before the prince came up.

The king had so posted himself as that he could not be obliged to fight but with advantage ; the parliament's forces being superior in number, and therefore, when they attacked him, he galled them with his cannon, and, declining to come to a general battle, stood upon the defensive, expecting Prince Rupert with the horse.

The parliament's forces had some advantage over our foot, and took the Earl of Cleveland pri-

soner; but the king, whose foot were not above one or two, drew his men under the cannon of Dennington Castle, and, having secured his artillery and baggage, made a retreat with his foot in very good order, having not lost in all the fight above three hundred men, and the parliament as many. We lost five pieces of cannon and took two, having repulsed the Earl of Manchester's men on the north side of the town, with considerable loss.

The king, having lodged his train of artillery and baggage in Dennington Castle, marched the next day for Oxford; there we joined him with three thousand horse and two thousand foot. Encouraged with this reinforcement, the king appeared upon the hills on the north-west of Newbury, and faced the parliament army. The parliament having too many generals as well as soldiers, the former could not agree whether they should fight or not.

This was no great token of the victory they boasted of; for they were now twice our number in the whole, and their foot three for one. The king stood in battalia all day, and finding the parliament forces had no mind to engage him, he drew away his cannon and baggage out of Dennington Castle, in view of their whole army, and marched to Oxford.

This was such a false step of the parliament generals, that the people cried shame of them, and the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into it.

Cromwell accused Manchester, and Manchester accused Waller, and so they laid the fault upon each other.

Waller would have been glad to have charged it upon Essex; but, as it happened, he was not in the army, having been taken ill some days before; but, as it generally is when a mistake is made, the actors fall out among themselves, so it was here.

No doubt it was as false a step as that at Cornwall, to let the king draw away his baggage and cannon, in the face of three armies, and never fire a shot at them.

The king had not above eight thousand foot in his army, and they above twenty-five thousand. It is true, the king had eight thousand horse, a fine body, and much superior to theirs; but the foot might, with the greatest ease in the world, have prevented the removing of the cannon, and in three days have taken the castle, with all that was in it.

Those differences produced their self-denying ordinance, and the putting by most of their old generals, as Essex, Waller, Manchester, &c.; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a terrible man in the field, though the mildest of men out of it, was voted to have the command of all their forces, and Lambert to take the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the north, old Skipton being major-general.

This winter was spent on the enemy's side in modelling, as they called it, their army; and, on our side in recruiting ours, and some petty excursions.

Amongst the many addresses, I observed one from Sussex or Surry, complaining of the rudeness of our soldiers, and particularly of the ravishing of women and the murdering of men; from which I only observed that there were dis-

orders among them as well as among us, only with this difference, that they, for reasons I mentioned before, were under circumstances to prevent it better than the king.

But I must do the king's memory that justice, that he used all possible methods, by punishment of soldiers, charging, and sometimes entreating, the gentlemen not to suffer such disorders and such violences in their men; but it was to no purpose for his majesty to attempt it, while his officers, generals, and great men winked at it; for the licentiousness of the soldier is supposed to be approved by the officer when it is not corrected.

The rudeness of the parliament soldiers began from the division among their officers; for in many places the soldiers grew so out of all discipline, and so insufferably rude, that they in particular refused to march when Sir William Waller went to Weymouth. This had turned to good account for us had these cursed Scots been out of our way; but they were the staff of the party; and now they were daily solicited to march southward, which was a very great affliction to the king and all his friends.

One booty the king got at this time which was a very seasonable assistance to his affairs.

A great merchant ship, richly laden at London, and bound to the East Indies, was, by the seamen, brought into Bristol, and delivered up to the king.

Some merchants in Bristol offered the king forty thousand pounds for her, which his majesty ordered should be accepted, reserving only thirty great guns for his own use.

The treaty at Uxbridge now was begun, and we, that had been well beaten in the war, heartily wished the king would come to a peace; but we all foresaw the clergy would ruin it all. The commons were for presbytery, and would never agree the bishops should be restored; the king was more willing to comply with anything than this, and we foresaw it would be so; from whence we used to say among ourselves, that the clergy was resolved, if there was no bishop, there should be no king.

This treaty at Uxbridge was a perfect war between the men of the gown; ours was between those of the sword; and I cannot but take notice how the lawyers, statesmen, and the clergy of every side bestirred themselves rather to hinder than promote the peace.

There had been a treaty at Oxford some time before, where the parliament, insisting that the king should pass a bill to abolish episcopacy, quit the militia, abandon several of his faithful servants to be exempted from pardon, and making several other most extravagant demands; nothing was done, but the treaty broke off, both parties being rather further exasperated than inclined to hearken to conditions.

However, soon after the success in the west, his majesty, to let them see that the victory had not elated him so as to make him reject the peace, sent a messenger to the parliament to put them in mind of messages of like nature which they had slighted, and to let them know that, notwithstanding he had beaten their forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reasonable proposal for putting an end to the war.

The parliament pretended the king in his message did not treat with them as a legal parliament, and so made hesitations; but after long debates and delays they agreed to draw up propositions for peace to be sent to the king.

As this message was sent to the houses about August, I think they made it the middle of November before they brought propositions for a peace; and when they brought them they had no power to enter either upon a treaty, or so much as preliminaries for a treaty, only to deliver the letter and receive an answer.

However, such were the circumstances of affairs at this time, that the king was uneasy to see himself thus treated, and take no notice of it. The king returned an answer to the propositions, and proposed a treaty by commissioners, which the parliament appointed.

Three months more were lost in naming commissioners. There was much time spent in this treaty, but little done; the commissioners debated chiefly the article of religion and of the militia; in the latter they were very likely to agree; in the former both sides seemed too positive. The king would by no means abandon episcopacy, nor the parliament presbytery; for both, in their opinion, were of divine appointment.

The commissioners, finding this point hardest to adjust, went from it to that of the militia; but the time spinning out, the king's commissioners demanded longer time for the treaty; the other sent up for instructions, but the house refused to lengthen out the time.

This was thought an insolence upon the king, and gave all good people a detestation of such haughty behaviour; and thus the hopes of peace vanished; both sides prepared for war with as much eagerness as before.

The parliament was now employed in what they called modelling their army; that is to say, the independent party began to prevail; and as they outdid all the others in their resolution of carrying on the war to all extremities, so they were both the more vigorous and more politic party in carrying it on.

Indeed the war was after this carried on with greater animosity than ever, and the generals pushed forward with a vigour, that, as it had something in it unusual, told us plainly from this time, whatever they did before, they now pushed at the ruin even of monarchy itself.

All this while also the war went on, and though the parliament had no settled army, yet their regiments and troops were always in action, and the sword was at work in every part of the kingdom.

Among an infinite number of party skirmishes and fights this winter, one happened which nearly concerned me. Colonel Mitton, with about twelve hundred horse and foot, having intelligence from some of the inhabitants of Shrewsbury, on a Sunday morning early broke into the town and took it castle and all.

The loss for the quality, more than the number, was very great to the king's affairs. They took there fifteen pieces of cannon, Prince Maurice's magazine of arms and ammunition, Prince Rupert's baggage, and above fifty persons of quality and officers. There were not

above eight or ten men killed on both sides; for the town was surprised, not stormed.

I had a particular loss in this action; for all the men and horses my father had got together for the recruiting my regiment were here lost and dispersed; and which was the worse, my father, happening to be then in the town, was taken prisoner, and carried to Beeston Castle, in Cheshire.

I was quartered all this winter at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and went little abroad; nor had we any action till the latter end of February, when I was ordered to march to Leicester with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order, as we thought, to raise a body of men in that county, and Staffordshire, to join the king.

We lay at Daventry one night, and continued our march to pass the river above Northampton; that town being possessed by the enemy, we understood a party of Northampton forces were abroad, and intended to attack us.

Accordingly, in the afternoon, our scouts brought us word the enemy were quartered in some villages on the road to Coventry; our commander, thinking it much better to set upon them in their quarters than to wait for them in the field, resolved to attack them early in the morning before they were aware of it.

We refreshed ourselves in the field for that day, and getting into a great wood near the enemy, we stayed there all night, till almost break of day, without being discovered.

In the morning very early we heard the enemy's trumpets sound to horse; this roused us to look abroad; and sending out a scout, he brought us word a party of the enemy was at hand. We were vexed to be so disappointed; but finding their party small enough to be dealt with, Sir Marmaduke ordered me to charge them with three hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, while he at the same time entered the town.

Accordingly I lay still till they came to the very skirt of the wood where I was posted, when I saluted them with a volley from my dragoons out of the wood, and immediately showed myself with my horse on their front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be surprised, and received our charge with great resolution; and being above four hundred men, they pushed me vigorously in their turn, putting my men into some disorder.

In this extremity I sent to order the dragoons to charge them in the flank, which they did with great bravery, and the other still maintained the fight with desperate resolution. There was no want of courage on either side; but our dragoons had the advantage, and at last routed them, and drove them back to the village.

Here Sir Marmaduke Langdale had his hands full too; for my firing had alarmed the places adjacent, that when he came into the town, he found them all in arms, and, contrary to his expectation, two regiments of foot, with about five hundred horse more. As Sir Marmaduke had no foot, only horse and dragoons, this was a surprise to him; but he caused his dragoons to enter the town, and charge the foot, while his horse secured the avenues of the town.

The dragoons bravely attacked the foot, and

Sir Marmaduke falling in with his horse, the fight was obstinate and bloody, when the horse that I had routed came flying into the street of the village, and my men at their heels.

Immediately I left the pursuit, and fell in with all my force to the assistance of my friends; and, after an obstinate resistance, we routed the whole party. We killed about seven hundred men, took three hundred and fifty, twenty-seven officers, one hundred arms, all their baggage, and two hundred horses, and continued our march to Harborough, where we halted to refresh ourselves.

Between Harborough and Leicester, we met with a party of eight hundred dragoons of the Parliament forces. They found themselves too few to attack; and therefore, to avoid us, they got into a small wood; but perceiving themselves discovered, they came boldly out, and placed themselves at the entrance into a lane, lining both sides of the hedges with their shot.

We immediately attacked them, beat them from the hedges, from thence into the wood, and out of the wood again, and forced them at last to a downright runaway on foot among the enclosures, where it was difficult to follow; killed about a hundred of them, and took two hundred and fifty prisoners, with all their horses, and came that night to Leicester. When we came there, and had taken up our quarters, Sir Marmaduke Langdale sent for me to sup with him, and told me that he had a secret commission in his pocket, which his majesty had commanded him not to open until he came to Leicester; that now he had sent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to consider how to do it.

Then pulling out his sealed orders, we found we were to get what force we could together, and a certain number of carriages with ammunition, which the governor of Leicester was to deliver us, and a certain quantity of provisions, especially corn and salt, and to relieve Newark.

This town had long been besieged; the fortifications, together with its situation, had rendered it the strongest place in England; and as it was the greatest pass in the kingdom, so it was of vast consequence to the king's affairs.

There was in it a garrison of brave old rugged boys, fellows that, like Count Tilly's Germans, had iron faces, and they had defended themselves with extraordinary bravery a great while, but now were exceedingly reduced for the want of food.

Accordingly we received the ammunition and provision, and away we went for Newark. About Melton Mowbray, Colonel Rositer set upon us with above three thousand men; we were about the same number, having two thousand five hundred horse, and eight hundred dragoons. We had some foot, but they were still at Harborough, and were ordered to come after us.

Rositer, like a brave officer, charged us with great fury, and rather outdid us in number, while we defended ourselves with all the eagerness we could, and gave him to understand we were not so soon to be beaten as he expected.

While the fight continued doubtful, especially on our side, our people, who had charge of the carriages and provisions, began to enclose our

flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without orders, had two very good effects, and which did us extraordinary service.

First, it secured us from being charged in the flank, which Rositer had twice attempted; and, secondly, it secured our carriages from being plundered, which had spoiled our expedition. Being thus enclosed, we fought with great security; and though Rositer made three desperate charges upon us, he could never break us.

Our men received him with so much courage, and kept their orders so well, that the enemy, finding it impossible to force us, gave over, and left us to pursue our orders. We did not offer to chase them, but contented enough to have repulsed and beaten them off, and our business being to relieve Newark, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the enemy's usual method, we got the victory because we kept the field, and had the pillage of their dead; but otherwise neither side had any great cause to boast.

We lost about 150 men, and near as many hurt; they left 170 on the spot, and carried off some. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got about seventy or eighty horses, which helped to remount some of our men that had lost theirs in the fight.

We had, however, this disadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this service; the enemy only to retire to their quarters, about a mile. This was an injury to our wounded men, who we were afterwards obliged to leave at Belvoir Castle, and from thence we advanced to Newark.

Our business at Newark was to relieve the place, and this we resolved to do, whatever it cost, though, at the same time, we resolved not to fight unless we were forced to it.

The town was rather blocked up than besieged; the garrison were strong, but ill provided: we had sent them word of our coming, and our orders to relieve them, and they proposed some measures for our doing it.

The chief strength of the enemy lay on the other side of the river; but they, having also some notice of our design, had sent over forces to strengthen their leaguer on this side. The garrison had often surprised them by sallies, and indeed had chiefly subsisted for some time by what they brought in on this manner.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was our commander for the expedition, was for a general attempt to raise the siege; but I had persuaded him from it; first, because, if we should be beaten, as might be probable, we then lost the town.

Sir Marmaduke briskly replied, "A soldier ought never to suppose he shall be beaten."

"But, sir," said I, "you will get more honour by relieving the town than by beating them: one will be a credit to your conduct, as the other will be to your courage; and, if you think you can beat them, you may do it afterwards; and then if you are mistaken the town is nevertheless secured, and half your victory gained."

He was prevailed with to adhere to this advice, and accordingly we appeared before the

town about two hours before night. The horse drew up before the enemy's works; the enemy drew up within their works, and, seeing no foot, expected our dragoons would dismount and attack them.

They were in the right to let us attack them, because of the advantage of their batteries and works, if that had been our design; but, as we intended only to amuse them, this caution of theirs effected our purpose; for, while we thus faced them with our horse, two regiments of foot which came up to us but the night before, and was all the infantry we had, with the waggons of provisions, and five hundred dragoons, taking a compass clean round the town, posted themselves on the lower side of the town by the river.

Upon a signal the garrison agreed on before, they sallied out at this very juncture with all the men they could spare, and dividing themselves in two parties, while one party moved to the left to meet our relief, the other party fell on upon part of that body which faced us.

We kept in motion, and upon this signal advanced to their works, and our dragoons fired upon them: and the horse wheeling and counter-marching often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked.

By this means the enemy were kept employed, and our foot, with the waggons, appearing on that quarter where they were least expected, easily defeated the advanced guards and forced that post; where, entering the leaguer, the other part of the garrison who had sallied that way came up to them, received the waggons, and the dragoons entered with them into the town.

That party which we faced on the other side of the works, knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the garrison retreated in good order, and we drew off, having finished what we came for with little fighting.

Thus we plentifully stored the town with all things wanting, and with an addition of 500 dragoons to their garrison; after which we marched away.

Our next orders were to relieve Pontefract Castle, another garrison of the king's which had been besieged ever since the fight at Marston Moor, by Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and other generals in their turn.

By the way we were joined with 800 horse out of Derbyshire, and some foot, so many as made us in all about 4,500 men.

Colonel Forbes, a Scotchman, commanded at the siege, in the absence of Lord Fairfax; the colonel had sent to my lord for more troops, and his lordship was gathering his forces to come up to him; but he was pleased to come too late.

We came up with the enemy's leaguer about break of day, and having been discovered by their scouts, they, with more courage than discretion, drew out to meet us.

We saw no reason to avoid them, being stronger in horse than they; and though we had but few foot, we had 1,000 dragoons. We had placed our horse and foot throughout in one line, with two reserves of horse, and between every division of horse a division of foot, only that on the extremes of our wings there were

two parties of horse on each point by themselves, and the dragoons in the centre, on foot.

Their foot charged us home, and stood with push of pike a great while; but their horse charging our horse and musketeers, and being closed on the flanks with those two extended troops on our wings, they were presently disordered, and fled out of the field.

The foot, thus deserted, were charged on every side and broken. They retreated, still fighting and in good order, for awhile; but the garrison sallying upon them at the same time, and being followed close by our horse, they were scattered, entirely routed, and most of them killed.

Lord Fairfax was come with his horse as far as Ferrybridge, but the fight was over; and all he could do was to rally those that fled, and save some of their carriages, which else had fallen into our hands.

We drew up our little army in order of battle the next day, expecting Lord Fairfax would have charged us; but his lordship was so far from any such thoughts, that he placed a party of dragoons with orders to fortify the pass at Ferrybridge, to prevent our falling upon him in his retreat, which he needed not to have done; for, having raised the siege of Pontefract, our business was over: we had nothing to say to him, unless we had been strong enough to stay.

We lost not above thirty men in this action, and the enemy three hundred, with about one hundred and fifty prisoners, one piece of cannon, all their ammunition, one thousand arms, and most of their baggage, and Colonel Lambert was once taken prisoner, being wounded, but got off again. (*Note 23.*)

We brought no relief for the garrison, but the opportunity to furnish themselves out of the country, which they did very plentifully. The ammunition taken from the enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their due; for they had seized it in the sally they made, before the enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking notice, on all occasions, how exceedingly serviceable this method was of posting musketeers in the intervals, among the horse, in all this war.

I persuaded our generals to it as much as possible, and I never knew a body of horse beaten that did so; yet I had great difficulty to prevail upon our people to believe it, though it was taught me by Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest general in the world. Prince Rupert did it at the battle of Marston Moor; and had the Earl of Newcastle not been obstinate against it in his right wing, as I observed before, the day had not been lost.

In discoursing this with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, I had related several examples of the serviceableness of these small bodies of firemen, and, with great difficulty, brought him to agree, telling him I would be answerable for the success; after the fight, he told me plainly he saw the advantage of it, and would never fight otherwise again, if he had any foot to place.

Having relieved these two places, we hastened, by long marches, through Derbyshire, to join Prince Rupert on the edge of Shropshire and Cheshire. We found Colonel Rositer had fol-

lowed us at a distance ever since the business at Melton Mowbray, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did the like still. Our general would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too shy.

Once we laid a trap for him at Dovebridge, between Derby and Burton-upon-Trent, the body being marched two days before; three hundred dragoons were left to guard the bridge, as if we were afraid he should fall upon us.

Upon this we marched on to Burton, and the next day, fetching a compass round, came to a village near Titbury Castle, whose name I have forgot, where we lay still, expecting our dragoons would be attacked.

Accordingly Rositer, strengthened with some troops of horse from Yorkshire, came up to the bridge, and, finding some dragoons posted, advanced to charge them; the dragoons immediately mounted their horses and fled, as they were ordered; but the old lad was not to be caught so; for he halted immediately at the bridge, and would not come over till he had sent three or four flying parties abroad to discover the country.

One of these parties fell into our hands, and received but coarse entertainment. Finding the plot would not take, we appeared and drew up in view of the bridge, but he would not stir; so we continued our march into Cheshire, where we joined Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, making together a fine body, being above eight thousand horse and dragoons.

This was the best and most successful expedition I was in during this war. It was well concerted, and executed with as much expedition and conduct as could be desired. and the success was answerable to it.

Indeed, considering the season of the year, for we set out from Oxford the latter end of February, the ways bad, and the season wet, it was a terrible march of above two hundred miles, in continual action, and incessantly dodged and observed by a vigilant enemy, and at a time when the north was overrun by their armies, and the Scots wanting employment for their forces; yet, in less than twenty-three days, we marched two hundred miles, fought the enemy in open field four times, relieved one garrison besieged, raised the siege of another, and joined our friends at last in safety.

The enemy was in great pain for Sir William Brereton and his forces, and expresses rode night and day to the Scots in the north, and to the parties in Lancashire, to come to his help. The prince, who used to be rather too forward to fight than otherwise, could not be persuaded to make use of this opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to say so, till the Scots, with a brigade of horse and two thousand foot, had joined him; and then it was not thought proper to engage them.

I took this opportunity to go to Shrewsbury to visit my father, who was a prisoner of war there, getting a pass from the enemy's governor. He allowed him the liberty of the town, and sometimes to go to his own house, upon his parole; so that his confinement was not very much to his personal injury: but this, together with the charges he had been at in raising the regi-

ment, and above twenty thousand pounds in money and plate, which at several times he had lent, or rather given to the king, had reduced our family to very ill circumstances; and now they talked of cutting down his woods.

I had a great deal of discourse with my father on this affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the king, and desire his leave to go to London, and treat about his composition, or to render myself a prisoner in his stead, while he went up himself.

In this difficulty I treated with the governor of the town, who very civilly offered me his pass to go for London, which I accepted; and waiting on Prince Rupert, who was then at Worcester, I acquainted him with my design.

The prince was unwilling I should go to London; but told me he had some prisoners of the parliament's friends in Cumberland, and he would get an exchange for my father.

I replied, if he would give me his word for it, I knew I might depend upon it, otherwise there were so many of the king's party in their hands, that his majesty was tired with solicitations for exchanges; for we never had a prisoner but there were ten offers of exchanges for him. The prince said I might depend upon him, and he was as good as his word quickly after.

While the prince lay at Worcester he made an excursion into Herefordshire, and having made some of the gentlemen prisoners, brought them to Worcester; and though it was an action which had not been usual, they being persons not in arms, yet the like being my father's case, who was really not in commission, nor in any military service, having resigned his regiment three years before to me, the prince insisted on exchanging them for such as the parliament had in custody in similar circumstances.

The gentlemen, seeing no remedy, solicited their own case at the parliament, and got it passed in their behalf, and by this means my father got his liberty; and, by the assistance of the Earl of Denbigh, got leave to come to London to make a composition, as a delinquent, for his estate.

This they charged at seven thousand pounds; but, by the assistance of the same noble person, he got off for four thousand pounds: some members of the committee moved very kindly that my father should oblige me to quit the king's service; but that, as a thing which might be out of his power, was not insisted on.

The modelling the parliament army took them up all this winter, and we were in great hopes the divisions which appeared amongst them might have weakened their party; but when they voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, I confess I was convinced the king's affairs were desperate, and lost.

Sir Thomas, abating the zeal of his party, and the mistaken opinion of his cause, was the fittest man amongst them to undertake the charge: he was a complete general, strict in his discipline, wary in conduct, fearless in action, unwearied in the fatigue of the war, and, withal, of a modest, noble, generous disposition.

We all apprehended danger from him, and heartily wished him of our own side; and the

king was so sensible of it, that when an account was brought him of the choice they had made, he replied, "I am sorry for it; I had rather it had been anybody than he."

The first attempts of this new general and new army were at Oxford, which, by the neighbourhood of a numerous garrison in Abingdon, began to be very much straitened for provisions; and the new forces under Cromwell and Skippon, one lieutenant-general, the other major-general, to Fairfax, approaching with a design to block it up, the king left the place, supposing his absence would draw them away, as it soon did.

The king, resolving to leave Oxford, marched from thence with all his forces, the garrison expected, with design to have gone to Bristol; but hearing the plague was in that city, altered the measures, and changed the course of the king's designs, so he marched for Worcester the beginning of May, 1645. The foot, with a train of forty pieces of cannon, marching into Worcester, the horse stayed behind some time in Gloucestershire.

The first action our army did was to raise the siege of Chester; Sir William Brereton had besieged it, or rather blocked it up; and when his majesty came to Worcester he sent Prince Rupert, with four thousand horse and dragoons, with orders to join some foot out of Wales, to raise the siege; but Sir William thought fit to withdraw and not stay for them, and the town was freed without fighting. The governor took care in this interval to furnish himself with all things necessary for another siege; and, as for ammunition and other necessaries, he was in no want.

I was sent with a party into Staffordshire, with design to intercept a convoy of stores coming from London for the use of Sir William Brereton; but they having some notice of the design, stopped, and went out of the road to Burton-upon-Trent, and so I missed them; but that we might not come back quite empty, we attacked Hawkesly House, and took it, where we got good booty, and brought eighty prisoners back to Worcester. From Worcester the king advanced into Shropshire, and took his head-quarters at Bridgenorth.

This was a very happy march of the king's, and had his majesty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the north once more of his enemies, for the country was generally for him. At his advancing so far as Bridgenorth, Sir William Brereton fled up into Lancashire; the Scots brigades who were with him retreated into the north, while yet the king was about forty miles from them, and all things lay open for conquest.

The new generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, lay about Oxford preparing as if they would besiege it, and gave the king's army so much leisure, that his majesty might have been at Newcastle before they could be half way to him. But Heaven, when the ruin of a person or party is determined, always so infatuates their councils as to make them instrumental to it themselves.

The king let slip this great opportunity, as some thought, intending to break into the associated counties of Northampton, Cambridge, and Norfolk, where he had some interests forming. What the design was we knew not; but the

king turned eastward and marched into Leicestershire, and having treated the country but very indifferently, as having deserved no better of us, laid siege to Leicester. (*Note 24.*)

This was but a short siege; for the king, resolving not to lose time, fell on with his great guns, and having beaten down their works, our foot entered, after a vigorous resistance, and took the town by storm.

There was some blood shed here, the town being carried by assault; but it was their own faults; for, after the town was taken, the soldiers and townsmen obstinately fought us in the market-place: insomuch that the horse was called to enter the town to clear the streets. But this was not all; I was commanded to advance with these horse, being three regiments, and to enter the town; the foot, who were engaged in the streets, crying out, "Horse! horse!"

Immediately I advanced to the gate, for we were drawn up about musket-shot from the works, to have supported our foot in case of a sally. Having seized the gate, I placed a guard of horse there, with orders to let nobody pass in or out, and, dividing my troops, rode up by two ways towards the market place.

The garrison, defending themselves in the market place and in the churchyard with great obstinacy, killed us a great many men; but, as soon as our horse appeared, they demanded quarter, which our foot refused them in the first heat, as is frequent in all nations in like cases, until at last they threw down their arms, and yielded at discretion; and then I can testify to the world that fair quarter was given them.

I am the more particular in this relation, having been an eye-witness of the action, because the king was reproached in all the public libels, with which those times abounded, for having put a great many to death, and hanged the committee of the parliament, and some Scots, in cold blood, which was a notorious forgery; and as I am sure there was no such thing done, so I must acknowledge I never saw any inclination in his majesty to cruelty, or to act anything which was not practised by the general laws of war, and by men of honour in all nations.

But the matter of fact, in respect to the garrison, was as I have related; and if they had thrown down their arms sooner, they had had mercy sooner; but it was not for a conquering army, entering a town by storm, to offer conditions or quarter in the streets.

Another circumstance was, that a great many of the inhabitants, both men and women, were killed, which is most true; and the case was thus:—The inhabitants, to show their over-forward zeal to defend the town, fought in the breach; nay, the very women, to the honour of the Leicester ladies, if they liked it, officiously did their parts; and after the town was taken, and when, if they had had any discretion with their zeal, they would have kept their houses, and been quiet; but they fired upon our men out of their windows, and from the tops of their houses, and threw tiles upon their heads; and I had several of my men wounded so, and seven or eight killed.

This exasperated us to the last degree; and finding one house better manned than ordinary,

and many shot fired at us out of the windows, I caused my men to attack it, resolving to make them an example for the rest; which they did, and breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there without distinction; and I appeal to the world if they were to blame.

If the parliament committee, or the Scotch deputies, were here, they ought to have been quiet, since the town was taken; but they began with us, and, I think, brought it upon themselves. This is the whole case, so far as came within my knowledge, for which his majesty was so much abused.

We took here Colonel Gray and Captain Hacker, with about three hundred prisoners, and about three hundred more were killed. This was the last day of May, 1645.

His majesty, having given over Oxford for lost, continued here some days, viewed the town, ordered the fortifications to be augmented, and prepared to make it the seat of war.

But the parliament, roused at this appearance of the king's army, ordered their general to raise the siege of Oxford, where the garrison had, in a sally, ruined some of their works, and killed them a hundred and fifty men, taking several prisoners, and carrying them into the city; and ordered him to march towards Leicester to observe the king.

The king had now a small, but gallant army, all brave tried soldiers, and seemed eager to engage the new-modelled army; and his majesty, hearing that Sir Thomas Fairfax, having raised the siege of Oxford, advanced towards him, fairly saved him the trouble of a long march, and met him half way.

The army lay at Daventry, and Fairfax at Towcester, about eight miles off. Here the king sent away six hundred horse, with three thousand head of cattle, to relieve his people in Oxford; the cattle he might have spared better than the men.

The king having thus victualled Oxford, changed his resolution of fighting Fairfax, to whom Cromwell was now joined with four thousand men, or was within a day's march, and marched northward.

This was unhappy counsel, because late given; had we marched northward at first, we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a triumphing enemy at our heels, and at Naseby their advanced parties attacked our rear.

The king, upon this, altered his resolution again, and resolved to fight, and at midnight called us up at Harborough to come to a council of war.

Fate and the king's opinion determined the council, and it was resolved to fight. Accordingly the van, in which was Prince Rupert's brigade of horse, of which my regiment was a part, countermarched early in the morning.

By five o'clock the whole army, in order of battle, began to discover the enemy from the rising grounds, about a mile from Naseby, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on a little ascent in a large common fallow field, in a line extended from one side of the field to the other, the field something more than a mile over; our army in the same order, in a line, with the reserves.

Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horse, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king the main body. Of the enemy, Fairfax and Skippon led the body, Cromwell and Rossiter the right, and Ireton the left. The numbers of both armies so equal as not to differ five hundred men, save that the king had most horse by about one thousand, and Fairfax most foot by about five hundred. The number was in each army about eighteen thousand men.

The armies coming close up, the wings engaged first. The prince with his right wing charged with his wonted fury, and drove all the parliament's wing of horse, one division excepted, clear out of the field. Ireton, who commanded this wing, to give him his due, rallied often, and fought like a lion; but our wing bore down all before them, and pursued them with a terrible execution.

Ireton, seeing one division of his horse left, repaired to them, and keeping his ground, fell foul of a brigade of our foot, who coming up to the head of the line, he, enraged, charged them with his horse; but they with their pikes made great havock; so that this division was entirely routed. Ireton had his horse killed under him, himself thrust through the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face with a halberd, and was taken prisoner by a captain of foot.

Cromwell, who commanded the parliament's right wing, charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale with extraordinary fury; but he, an old tried soldier, stood firm and received the charge with equal gallantry, exchanging all their shot, carbines, and pistols, and then fell on sword in hand.

Rositer and Whaley had the better on the point of the wing, and routed two divisions of horse, pushing them behind the reserves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at last defeated; the rest of the horse now charged in the flank retreated fighting, and were pushed behind the reserves of foot.

While this was doing, the foot engaged with equal fierceness, and for two hours there was a terrible fire. The king's foot, backed with gallant officers, and full of rage at the rout of their horse, bore down the enemy's brigade, led by Skippon. The old man wounded, retreated bleeding to their reserves.

All the foot, except the general's brigade, were thus driven into the reserves, where their officers rallied them, and brought them on to a fresh charge; and here the horse, having driven our horse about a quarter of a mile from the foot, faced about, and fell in on the rear of the foot.

Had our right wing done thus, the day had been secured; but Prince Rupert, according to his custom, following the flying enemy, never concerned himself with the safety of those behind; and yet he returned sooner than he had done in like cases too.

At our return we found all in confusion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in front, flank, and rear, could not be broken, till Sir Thomas Fairfax himself came up to the charge with fresh men, and then they were rather cut in pieces than beaten; for they stood with their pikes charged every way to the last extremity.

In this condition, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, we saw the king rallying his horse, and preparing to renew the fight; and our wing of horse coming up to him, gave him an opportunity to draw up a large body of horse, so large, that all the enemy's horse facing us stood still and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us, till their foot, who had entirely broken our main battle, were put into order again, and brought up to us.

The officers about the king advised his majesty rather to draw off; for, since our foot were lost, it would be too much odds to expose the horse to the fury of their whole army, and would but be sacrificing his best troops, without any hopes of success.

The king, though with great regret at the loss of his foot, yet seeing there was no other hope, took this advice, and retreated in good order to Harborough, and from thence to Leicester. (*Note 25.*)

This was the occasion of the enemy having so great a number of prisoners; for the horse being thus gone off, the foot had no means to make their retreat, and were obliged to yield themselves. Ireton now made the captain his prisoner, but gave him his liberty for the kindness he before had received from him.

Cromwell and Rositer, with all the enemy's horse, followed us as far as Leicester, and killed all that they could lay hold on. The king, expecting the enemy would come to Leicester, removed to Ashby de la Zouch, where we had some time to recollect ourselves.

This was the most fatal action of the whole war; not so much for the loss of our cannon, ammunition, and baggage, of which the enemy boasted so much, but it was impossible for the king ever to retrieve it: the foot, the best that ever he was master of, could never be supplied; his army in the west was exposed to certain ruin, the north overrun with the Scots; in short, the case grew desperate, and the king was once upon the point of bidding us all disband, and shift for ourselves.

We lost in this fight about two thousand slain, and the parliament near as many, but the prisoners were a greater number; the whole body of foot being, as I have said, dispersed, there were four thousand five hundred prisoners, besides four hundred officers, two thousand horses, twelve pieces of cannon, fifty barrels of powder, all the king's baggage, coaches, most of his servants, and his secretary, with his cabinet of letters, of which the parliament made great improvement, and basely enough caused his private letters between his majesty and the queen, her majesty's letters to the king, and other secret affairs, to be printed.

After this fatal blow, being retreated, as I have said, to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, the king ordered us to divide; his majesty, with a body of horse, about three thousand, went to Lichfield, and through Cheshire into North Wales; and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about two thousand five hundred, went to New-wark.

The king remained in Wales for several months; and though the length of the war had almost drained that country of men, yet the

king raised a great many men there, recruited his horse, and got together six or seven regiments of foot, which seemed to look like the beginning of a new army.

I had frequent discourses with his majesty in this low ebb of his affairs, and he would often wish he had not exposed his army at Naseby.

I took the freedom once to make a proposition to his majesty, which, if it had taken effect, I verily believe would have given a new turn to his affairs; and that was, at once to slight all his garrisons in the kingdom, and give private orders to all the soldiers in every place to join in bodies, and meet at two general rendezvous, which I would have appointed to be at Bristol and at West Chester.

I demonstrated how easily all the forces might reach these two places; for both being strong and very wealthy, and both sea-ports, he would have a free communication by sea with Ireland, and with his friends abroad; and having Wales entirely his own, he might yet have an opportunity to make good terms for himself, or else have another fair field with the enemy.

Upon a calculation of his troops in several garrisons, and small bodies dispersed about, I convinced the king, by his own accounts, that he might have two complete armies, each of twenty-five thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons; that Lord Goring and Lord Hopton might ship all their forces, and come by sea in two tides, and be with him in a shorter time than the enemy could follow.

With two such bodies he might face the enemy, and make a day of it; but now his men were only sacrificed, and eaten up by piece-meal in a party war, and spent their lives and estates to do him no service: that if the parliament garrisoned the towns and castles he should quit, they would lessen their army, and not dare to seek him in the field; and if they did not, but left them open, then it would be no loss to him, but he might possess them as often as he pleased.

This advice I pressed with such arguments, that the king was once going to dispatch orders for the doing it; but to be irresolute in counsel is always the companion of a declining fortune: the king was doubtful, and could not resolve till it was too late.

And yet, though the king's forces were very low, his majesty was resolved to make one adventure more, and it was a strange one; for, with but a handful of men, he made a desperate march almost two hundred and fifty miles in the middle of the whole kingdom, compassed about with armies and parties innumerable, traversed the heart of his enemy's country, entered their associated counties, where no army had ever yet come; and, in spite of all their victorious troops facing and following him, alarmed even London itself, and returned safe to Oxford.

His majesty continued in Wales from the battle at Naseby till the 5th or 6th of August, and till he had an account from all parts of the progress of his enemies, and the posture of his own affairs.

Here he found that the enemy being hard pressed in Somersetshire by Lord Goring and Lord Hopton's forces, who had taken Bridgewater and distressed Taunton, which was now at

the point of surrender, they had ordered Fairfax and Cromwell, and the whole army, to march westward to relieve the town; which they did, and Goring's troops were worsted, and himself wounded at the fight at Langport.

The Scots, who were always the dead weight upon the king's affairs, having no more work to do in the north, were, at the parliament's desire, advanced southward, and then ordered away towards South Wales, and were set down to the siege of Hereford.

Here this famous Scotch army spent several months in a fruitless siege, ill-provided of ammunition and worse with money; and having sat near three months before the town, and done little but eaten up the country round them, upon the repeated accounts of the progress of the Marquis of Montrose in that kingdom, and pressing instances of their countrymen, they resolved to raise their siege and go home to relieve their friends.

The king, who was willing to be rid of the Scots upon good terms, and therefore to hasten them, and lest they should pretend to push on the siege to take the town first, gave it out that he was resolved with all his forces to go into Scotland and join Montrose; and so, having secured Scotland, to renew the war from thence.

And accordingly his majesty marched northwards with a body of four thousand horse; and, had the king really done this, and with that body of horse marched away, for he had the start of all his enemies by above a fortnight's march, he had then had the fairest opportunity for a general turn of all his affairs that he ever had in all the latter part of this war.

For Montrose, a gallant, daring soldier, who, from the least shadow of force in the furthest corner of his country, had, rolling like a snow-ball, spread all over Scotland, was come into the south parts, and had summoned Edinburgh, frightened away their statesmen, beaten their soldiers at Dundee and other places; and letters and messengers on the heels of one another repeated their cries to their brethren in England, to lay before them the sad condition of the country, and to hasten the army to their relief. The Scotch lords of the enemy's party fled to Berwick, and the Chancellor of Scotland went himself to General Lesly to press him for help.

In this extremity of affairs Scotland lay when we marched out of Wales. The Scots, at the siege of Hereford, hearing the king was gone northward with his horse, concluded he was gone directly for Scotland, and immediately sent Lesly with four thousand horse and foot to follow, but did not yet raise the siege.

But the king, still irresolute, turned away to the eastward, and went to Lichfield, where he showed his resentment at Colonel Hastings for his easy surrender of Leicester.

In this march the enemy took heart; we had troops of horse on every side upon us, like hounds started at a fresh stag. Lesly, with the Scots and a strong body, followed in our rear; Major-General Poyntz, Sir John Gell, Colonel Rositer, and others, in our way; they pretended to be ten thousand horse, and yet never dared to face us. The Scots made one attempt upon a

troop which stayed a little behind, and took some prisoners; but when a regiment of our horse faced them they retired.

At a village near Lichfield another party of about a thousand horse attacked my regiment; we were on the left of the army, and at a little too far a distance. I happened to be with the king at that time, and my lieutenant-colonel with me, so that the major had charge of the regiment; he made a very handsome defence, but sent messengers for speedy relief; we were on a march, and therefore all ready, and the king ordered me a regiment of dragoons and three hundred horse, and the body halted to bring us off, not knowing how strong the enemy might be.

When I came to the place I found my major hard laid to, but fighting like a lion; the enemy had broke in upon him in two places, and had routed one troop, cutting them off from the body, and had made them all prisoners.

Upon this I fell in with the 300 horse, and cleared my major from a party who charged him in the flank; the dragoons immediately alighting, one party of them came upon my wing, and saluting the enemy with their muskets, put them to a stand; the other party of dragoons wheeling to the left, endeavoured to get behind them.

The enemy perceiving that they should be overpowered, retreated in as good order as they could, but left us most of our prisoners, and about thirty of their own. We lost fifteen of our men and the enemy about forty, chiefly by the fire of our dragoons in their retreat.

In this posture we continued our march; and though the king halted at Lichfield, which was a dangerous article, having so many of the enemy's troops upon his hands, and this time gave them opportunity to get into a body; yet the Scots, with their general, Lesly, resolving for the north, the rest of the troops were not able to face us, till having ravaged the enemy's country through Staffordshire, Warwick, Leicester, and Nottinghamshire, we came to the leaguer before Newark.

The king was once more on the mind to have gone into Scotland, and called a council of war for that purpose; but then it was resolved by all hands that it would be too late to attempt it; for the Scots and Major-general Poyntz were before us, and several strong bodies of horse in our rear; and there was no venturing now, unless any advantage presented to rout one of those parties which attended us.

Upon these and like considerations we resolved for Newark; on our approach the forces which blocked up that town drew off, being too weak to oppose us; for the king had now about 5,000 horse and dragoons, besides 300 horse and dragoons he took with him from Newark.

We halted at Newark to assist the garrison, or give them time rather to furnish themselves from the country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for in two days they filled a large island which lies under the town, between the two branches of the Trent, with sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, an incredible number; and our affairs being now something desperate, we were not very nice in our usage

of the country; for really if it was not with a resolution both to punish the enemy and enrich ourselves, no man can give any rational account why this desperate journey was undertaken.

It is certain the Newarkers, in the respite they gained by our coming, got about 50,000*l.* from the country round them, in corn, cattle, money, and other plunder.

From hence we broke into Lincolnshire, and the king lay at Belvoir Castle, and from thence to Stamford. The swiftness of our march was a terrible surprise to the enemy; for our van being at a village on the great road called Stilton, the country people fled into the isle of Ely, and every way, as if all were lost. Indeed our dragoons treated the country very coarsely, and all our men in general made themselves rich.

Between Stilton and Huntingdon we had a small bustle with some of the association troops of horse, but they were soon routed, and fled to Huntingdon, where they gave such an account of us to their fellows, that they did not think fit to stay for us, but left their foot to defend themselves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the van, a party from Burleigh house, near Stamford, the seat of the Earl of Exeter, pursued four troops of our horse, who, straggling towards Peterborough, and committing some disorders there, were surprised before they could get into a posture of fighting; and encumbered, as I suppose, with their plunder, they were entirely routed, lost most of their horses, and were forced to come away on foot; but finding themselves in this condition, they got into a body in the enclosures, and in that posture turning dragoons, they lined the hedges, and fired upon the enemy with their carbines.

This way of fighting, though not very pleasant to troopers, put the enemy's horse to some stand, and encouraged our men to venture into a village where the enemy had secured forty of their horse; and boldly charging the guard, they beat them off and recovered those horses; the rest made their retreat good to Wandsford bridge; but we lost near a hundred horses, and twelve of our men taken prisoners.

The next day the king took Huntingdon; the foot which were left in the town, as I observed by their horse, had posted themselves at the foot of the bridge, and fortified the pass with such things as the haste and shortness of the time would allow, and in this posture they seemed resolute to defend themselves.

I confess, had they in time planted a good force here, they might have put a full stop to our little army; for the river is large and deep, the country on the left marshy, full of drains and ditches, and unfit for horse, and we must have either turned back, or took the right hand into Bedfordshire; but there not being above four hundred foot, and they forsaken of their horse, the resistance they made was to no other purpose than to give us occasion to knock them on the head, and plunder the town.

However, they defended the bridge, as I have said, and opposed our passage. I was this day in the van, and our forlorn hope having entered Huntingdon without any great resistance till they came to the bridge, finding it barricaded, they sent me word. I caused the troops to halt,

and rode up to the forlorn to view the countenance of the enemy, and found, by the posture they had put themselves in, that they resolved to sell us the passage as dear as they could.

I sent to the king for some dragoons, and gave him an account of what I observed of the enemy, and that I judged them to be a thousand men, for I could not particularly see their numbers.

Accordingly the king ordered five hundred dragoons to attack the bridge, commanded by a major; the enemy had two hundred musketeers placed on the bridge, their barricade served them for a breast-work on the front, and the low walls on the bridge served to secure their flanks; two bodies of their foot were placed on the opposite banks of the river, and a reserve stood in the highway on the rear.

The number of their men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not courage answerable to the conduct of the party. They were commanded by one Bennet, a resolute officer, who stood in the front of his men on the bridge, with a pike in his hand.

Before we began to fall on, the king ordered to view the river, to see if it was nowhere passable, or any boat to be had; but the river being not fordable, and the boats all secured on the other side, the attack was resolved on, and the dragoons fell on with extraordinary bravery.

The foot defended themselves obstinately, and beat off our dragoons twice; and though Bennet was killed upon the spot, and, after him, his lieutenant, yet their officers relieving them with fresh men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturesome fellow, one of our dragoons, thrown himself into the river, swam over, and, in the midst of a shower of musket-bullets, cut the rope which tied a great flat-bottom boat, and brought her safe over.

With the help of this boat I got over a hundred troopers first, and then their horses; and with this party fell in with one of the small bodies of foot that were posted on that side, and having routed them, and, after them, the reserve which stood in the road, I made up to the other party; they stood their ground, and having rallied the runaways of both the other parties, charged me with their pikes, and brought me to a retreat; but by this time the king had sent over three hundred men more, and they coming up to me, the foot retreated.

Those on the bridge, finding how it was, and having no supplies sent them, fainted, and fled; and the dragoons rushing forward, most of them were killed; about one hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed, of which all the officers at the bridge; the rest ran away.

The town suffered for it; for our men left them little of anything they could carry. Here we halted, and raised contributions, took money of the country, and of the open towns, to exempt them from plunder.

Twice we faced the town of Cambridge, and several of our officers advised his majesty to storm it; but having no foot, and but one thousand two hundred dragoons, wiser heads diverted him from it; and leaving Cambridge on the left, we marched to Woburn, in Bedfordshire, and our parties raised money all over the country, quite into Hertfordshire, within five miles of St Alban's.

The swiftness of our march, and uncertainty which way we intended, prevented all possible preparation to oppose us, and we met with no party able to make head against us.

From Woburn the king went through Buckingham to Oxford; some of our men straggling in the villages for plunder, were often picked up by the enemy; but in all this long march we did not lose two hundred men, got an incredible booty, and brought six waggons laden with money, besides two thousand horses, and three thousand head of cattle, into Oxford.

From Oxford his majesty moved again into Gloucestershire, having left about fifteen hundred of his horse at Oxford, to scour the country and raise contributions, which they did as far as Reading.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was returned from taking Bridgewater, and was sat down before Bristol, in which Prince Rupert commanded with a strong garrison of twenty-five thousand foot and a thousand horse. We had not force enough to attempt anything there; but the Scots, who still lay before Hereford, were afraid of us, having before parted with all their horse under Lieut.-General Lesly, and but ill stored with provisions; and if we came on their backs, were in a fair way to be starved, or made to buy their provisions at the price of their blood.

His majesty was sensible of this, and had we had but ten regiments of foot, would certainly have fought the Scots; but we had no foot, or so few as not worth while to march them. However, the king marched to Worcester, and the Scots apprehending they should be blocked up, immediately raised the siege, pretending it was to go to help their brethren in Scotland, and away they marched northwards.

We picked up some of their stragglers, but they were so poor, had been so ill paid, and so harassed at the siege, that they had neither money nor clothes; and the poor soldiers fed upon apples and roots, and ate the very green corn as it grew in the fields, which reduced them to a very sorry condition of health, for they died like people infected with the plague.

It was now debated whether we should yet march for Scotland, but two things prevented:—

1. The plague was broke out there, and multitudes died of it, which made the king decline it.

2. The Marquis of Montrose having routed a whole brigade of Lesly's best horse, and carried all before him, wrote to his majesty that he did not now want assistance, but was in hopes in a few days to send a body of foot into England, to his majesty's succour.

This over-confidence of his was his ruin; for, on the contrary, had he earnestly pressed the king to have marched, and fallen in with his horse, the king had done it, and been absolutely master of Scotland in a fortnight's time; but Montrose was too confident, and defied them all, till at last they got their forces together, and Lesly with his horse out of England worsted him in two or three encounters, and then never left him till they drove him out of Scotland.

While his majesty stayed at Worcester several messengers came to him from Chester for relief, being exceedingly straitened by the forces of the parliament; in order to which the king marched,

but Shrewsbury being in the enemy's hands, he was obliged to go round by Ludlow, where he was joined by some foot out of Wales.

I took this opportunity to ask his majesty's leave to go by Shrewsbury to my father's; and taking only two servants, I left the army two days before they marched.

This was the most unsoldier-like action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the army to pay a visit when a time of action was just at hand; and though I protest I had not the least intimation, no, not from my own thoughts, that the army would engage, at least before they came to Chester, before which I intended to meet them; yet it looked so ill, so like an excuse, or a cowardliness or disaffection to the cause and to my master's interest, or something I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the courage to see the king's face after it.

From Ludlow the king marched to relieve Chester: Poyntz, who commanded the parliament's forces, followed the king with design to join with the forces before Chester, under Col. Jones, before the king could come up.

To that end Poyntz passed through Shrewsbury the day that the king marched from Ludlow; yet the king's forces got the start of him, and forced him to engage.

Had the king engaged him but three hours sooner, and consequently further off from Chester, he had ruined him; for Poyntz's men, not able to stand the shock of the king's horse, gave ground, and would in half an hour more have been beaten out of the field; but Colonel Jones, with a strong party from the camp, which was within two miles, came up in the heat of the action, fell on in the king's rear and turned the scale of the day.

The body was, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and a great many gentlemen of quality killed and taken prisoners; the Earl of Lichfield was of the number of the former, and sixty-seven officers of the latter, with a thousand others.

The king with about five hundred horse got into Chester, and from thence into Wales, whither all that could get away made up to him as fast as they could, but in a bad condition.

This was the last stroke they struck; the rest of the war was nothing but taking all his garrisons from him, one by one, till they finished the war with the capturing of his person; and then, for want of other business, fell to fighting among themselves.

I was quite disconsolate at the news of this last action, and the more because I was not there; my regiment was wholly dispersed; my lieutenant-colonel, a gentleman of good family, and a near relation to my mother, was prisoner; my major and three captains killed, and most of the rest taken prisoners.

The king, hopeless of any considerable party in Wales, Bristol being surrendered, sent for Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who came to him. With them, and Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and a great train of gentlemen, his majesty marched to Newark again, left a thousand horse with Sir William Vaughan, to attempt the relief of Chester; in doing which

he was routed the second time by Jones and his men, and entirely dispersed.

The chief strength the king had in these parts was at Newark, and the parliament were very earnest with the Scots to march southward, and lay siege to Newark; and while the parliament pressed them to it, they sat still, and delayed it, several heats began, and some ill blood between them, which afterwards broke out into open war.

The English reproached the Scots with pretending to help them, and really hindering their affairs. The Scots returned, that they came to fight for them, and were left to be starved, and could neither get money nor clothes.

At last they came to this: the Scots will go to the siege if the parliament would send them money, but not before. However, as people sooner agree in doing ill than in doing well, they came to terms, and the Scots came with their whole army to the siege of Newark.

The king, foreseeing the siege, called his friends about him, told them he saw the circumstances were such, that they could help him but little, nor he protect them, and advised them to separate.

Lord Digby, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale and a strong body of horse, attempted to get into Scotland, to join Montrose, who was still in the Highlands though reduced to a low ebb; but these gentlemen were fallen upon on every side and routed, and at last being totally broken and dispersed, they flew to the Earl of Derby's protection in the Isle of Man.

Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Colonel Gerard, and above four hundred gentlemen, all officers of horse, laid their commissions down, and seizing upon Wooton House for a retreat, made proposals to the parliament to leave the kingdom, upon their parole not to return again in arms against the parliament, which was accepted, though afterwards the princes declined it.

I sent my man post to the princes to be included in this treaty, and for leave for all that would accept of like conditions; but they had given in the list of their names and could not alter it.

This was a sad time; the poor remains of the king's fortunes went everywhere to wreck; every garrison of the enemy was full of the cavalier prisoners, and every garrison the king had was beset with enemies either blocked up or besieged.

Goring and Lord Hopton were the only remains of the king's forces which kept in a body, and Fairfax was pushing them with all imaginable vigour, with his whole army about Exeter, and other parts of Devonshire and Cornwall.

In this condition the king left Newark in the night and got to Oxford.

The king had in Oxford eight thousand men, and from the towns of Banbury, Farringdon, Dennington Castle, and such places, there might have been brought together in twenty-four hours fifteen or twenty thousand men, with which, if he had then resolved to have quitted the place, and collected the forces in Worcester, Hereford, Lichfield, Ashby de la Zouch, and all the small castles and garrisons he had there-

abouts, he might have had nearly forty thousand men, might have beaten the Scots from Newark, Colonel Jones from Chester, and all before Fairfax, who was in the west, could be able to come to their relief, and this his majesty's friends in North Wales had concerted; and in order to it, Sir Jacob Ashby gathered what forces he could in our parts, and attempted to join the king at Oxford, and to have proposed it to him; but Sir Jacob was entirely routed at Stow-on-the-Wold, and taken prisoner, and of three thousand men not above six hundred came to Oxford.

All the king's garrisons dropt one by one; Hereford, which had stood out against the whole army of the Scots, was surprised by six men and a lieutenant, dressed up as country labourers, and a constable pressed to work, who cut the guards in pieces and let in a party of the enemy.

Chester was reduced by famine, all the attempts the king made to relieve it being frustrated.

Sir Thomas Fairfax routed Lord Hopton at Torrington, and drove him to such extremities that he was forced up into the furthest corner of Cornwall. Lord Hopton had a gallant body of horse with him of nine brigades, but no foot; Fairfax a great army.

Heartless and tired out with continual ill news and ill success, I had frequent meetings with some gentlemen who had escaped from the rout of Sir William Vaughan, and we agreed upon a meeting at Worcester of all the friends we could get, to see if we could raise a body fit to do any service; or, if not, to consider what was to be done.

At this meeting we had almost as many opinions as people; our strength appeared too weak to make any attempt; the game was too far gone in our parts to be retrieved; all we could make up did not amount to above eight hundred horse.

It was unanimously agreed not to go into the parliament as long as our royal master did not give up the cause; but in all places, and by all possible methods, to do him all the service we could.

Some proposed one thing, some another; at last we proposed getting vessels to carry us to the Isle of Man to the Earl of Derby, as Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Digby, and others had done.

I did not foresee any service it would be to the king's affairs; but I started a proposal, that marching to Pembroke in a body, we should there seize upon all the vessels we could, and embarking ourselves, horses, and what foot we could get, cross the Severn sea, and land in Cornwall, to the assistance of Prince Charles, who was in the army of Lord Hopton, and where only there seemed to be any possibility of a chance for the remaining part of our cause.

This proposal was not without its difficulties, as how to get to the sea-side, and, when there, what assurance of shipping. The enemy, under Major-general Langhorn, had overrun Wales, and it would be next to impossible to effect it.

We could never carry our proposal with the whole assembly; but, however, about two hun-

dred of us resolved to attempt it, and the meeting being broke up without coming to any conclusion, we had a private meeting among ourselves to effect it.

We dispatched private messengers to Swansea and Pembroke, and other places; but they all discouraged us from the attempt that way, advised us to go higher towards North Wales, where the king's interest had more friends, and the parliament had no forces.

Upon this we met, and resolved, and having sent several messengers that way, one of our men provided us two small vessels in a little creek near Harleigh Castle, in Merionethshire. We marched away with what expedition we could, and embarked in the two vessels accordingly.

It was the worst voyage sure that ever men went; for first, we had no manner of accommodation for so many people, hay for our horses we could not get any, or very little, but good store of oats, which served us for our own bread as well as provender for the horses.

In this condition we put off to sea, and had a fair wind all the first night, but early in the morning a sudden storm drove us within two or three leagues of Ireland.

Under this misfortune, sea-sick, our horses rolling about upon one another, and ourselves stifled for want of room, no cabins nor beds, very cold weather, and very indifferent diet, we wished ourselves ashore again a thousand times; and yet we were not willing to go ashore in Ireland, if we could help it; for the rebels having possession of every place, that was just having our throats cut at once.

Having rolled about at the mercy of the winds all day, the storm ceasing in the evening, we had fair weather again, but wind enough; in two days and a night we came upon the coast of Cornwall, and, to our no small comfort, landed the next day at St. Ives in the county of Cornwall.

We rested ourselves here, and sent an express to Lord Hopton, who was then in Devonshire, of our arrival, and desired him to assign us quarters, and send us his further orders. His lordship expressed a very great satisfaction at our arrival, and left it to our own conduct to join him as we saw convenient.

We were marching to join him when news came that Fairfax had given him an entire defeat at Torrington. This was but the old story over again; we had been used to ill news a great while, and it was the less surprise to us.

Upon this news we halted at Bodmin till we should hear further; and it was not long before we saw a confirmation of the news before our eyes, for Lord Hopton, with the remainder of his horse, which he had brought off at Torrington in a very shattered condition, retreated to Launceston, the first town in Cornwall, and hearing that Fairfax pursued him, came on to Bodmin.

Hither he summoned all the troops which he had left, which when he had got together, were a fine body indeed of five thousand horse, but few foot but what were at Pendennis, Barnstaple, and other garrisons; these were commanded by Lord Hopton, Lord Goring had taken shipping for France, to get relief, a few days before.

Here a grand council of war was called, and several things were proposed, but as it always is in distress, people are most irresolute, so it was here; some were for breaking through by force, our number being superior to the enemy's horse.

To fight them with their foot would be desperation and ridiculous, and to retreat would but be to coop up ourselves in a narrow place, where at last we must be forced to fight upon disadvantage, or yield at mercy. Others opposed this as a desperate action, and without probability of success, and all were of different opinions.

I confess, when I saw how things were, I was satisfied the game was lost, and I was for the opinion of breaking through and doing it now, while the country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it must be with more disadvantage; but nothing was resolved on, and so we retreated before the enemy. Some small skirmishes there happened near Bodmin, but none that were very considerable.

It was the 1st of March when we quitted Bodmin, and quartered at large at Columb, St Denis, and Truro, and the enemy took his quarters at Bodmin, posting his horse at the passes from Padstow on the north, to Warbridge, Lestwithiel, and Foy, spreading so from sea to sea, that now breaking through was impossible. There was no more room for counsel, for unless we had ships to carry us off, we had nothing to do but when we were fallen upon, to defend ourselves, and sell victory as dear as we could to the enemy.

Charles, Prince of Wales, seeing the distress we were in, and loath to fall into the enemy's hands, shipped himself on board some vessels at Falmouth, with about four hundred lords and gentlemen; and as I had no command here to oblige my attendance, I was once going to make one, but my comrades, whom I had been the principal occasion of bringing hither, began to take it ill that I would leave them, and so I resolved we would take our fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a soldier's death, a fair field, and a strong enemy, and people began to look one upon another; the soldiers asked how their officers looked, and the officers asked how their soldiers looked, and every day we expected to be our last, when unexpectedly General Lord Fairfax sent a trumpet to Truro to Lord Hopton with a very humane and polite offer.

That since Lord Hopton, our general, could not be ignorant of his present condition, and that the place he was in could not afford him subsistence or defence, and especially, considering that the state of our affairs were such, that if we should escape from thence, we could not remove to our advantage, he had thought good to let us know, that if we would deliver up our horses and arms, he would, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, or the putting any unsoldierly extremities upon us, allow such honourable and safe conditions as were rather better than our present circumstances could demand, and such as should discharge him to all the world as a gentleman, a soldier, and a Christian.

After this followed the conditions he would give us, which were,

1st, That all the soldiery, as well English as foreigners, should have liberty to go beyond the

seas, or to their own dwellings, as they pleased; and to such as should choose to live at home, protection for their liberty, and from all violence, and plundering of soldiers, and to give them bag and baggage, and all their goods, excepting horses and arms.

2nd, That for officers in commission and gentlemen of quality, he would allow them horses for themselves and one servant, or more, suitable to their quality, and such arms as are suitable to gentlemen of such quality travelling in times of peace; and such officers as would go beyond sea, should take with them their full arms and number of horses as are allowed in the army to such officers.

3rd, That all the troopers should receive, on the delivery of their horses, twenty shillings a man to carry them home, and the general's pass and recommendation to any gentleman who desired to go to the parliament to settle the composition for their estates.

Lastly, a very honourable mention of the general, and offer of their mediation to the parliament, to treat him as a man of honour, and one who has been tender of the country, and behaved himself with all the moderation and candour that could be expected from an enemy.

Upon the unexpected receipt of this message a council of war was called, and the letter read; no man offered to speak a word, the general moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At last an old colonel started up, and asked the general what he thought might occasion the writing this letter? The general told him he could not tell; but one thing he was sure of, viz. that it was not for any want of force in their army to oblige us to other terms. Then a doubt was started, whether the king and parliament were not in any treaty, which this agreement might be prejudicial to.

This occasioned a letter to my Lord Fairfax, wherein our general returning the civilities, and neither accepting nor refusing his proposal, put it upon his honour, whether there was not some agreement or concession between his majesty and the parliament, in order to a general peace, which this treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

Lord Fairfax ingenuously declared, "He had heard the king had made some concessions, and he heartily wished he would make such as would settle the kingdom in peace, that Englishmen might not wound and destroy one another; but that he declared he knew of no treaty commenced, nor anything past which could give us the least shadow of hope for any advantage in not accepting his conditions. And added, that though he did not exult over our circumstances, yet if we thought fit, upon any such supposition, to refuse his offers, he was not to seek in his measures."

And it appeared so, for he immediately advanced his forlorn hopes, and dispossessed us of two advanced quarters, and thereby straitened us yet more.

We had now nothing to say but treat, and our general was so sensible of our condition, that he returned the trumpet with a safe conduct for commissioners at twelve o'clock that night; upon which a cessation of arms was agreed on, we quit-

ting Truro to Lord Fairfax, and he left St Alban's to us to keep our head-quarters.

The conditions were soon agreed on, we disbanded nine full brigades of horse, and all the conditions were observed with the utmost honour and care by Lord Fairfax, that ever I knew.

Nor can I omit, in another way, to make honourable mention of this noble enemy, though I did not like his cause.

I never saw a man of such a pleasant, calm, courteous, downright, honest behaviour; and for his courage and personal bravery in the field that we had felt enough of.

No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and softness out of it.

In short, and I cannot do him greater honour than saying he exceedingly came near the character of my foreign hero, Gustavus Adolphus, and, in my account, is, of all the soldiers in Enrope, the fitter to be reckoned in the second place of honour to him.

I had particular occasion to see much of his temper in all this action, being one of the hostages given by our general, Lord Hopton, for the performance of the conditions, in which circumstance Lord Fairfax did me several times the honour to send to me to dine with him; and was exceedingly pleased to discourse with me about the passages of the wars in Germany which I had served in; he having been at the same time in the Low Countries, in the service of Prince Maurice.

Here I cannot help also observing, if at any time my civilities extended to commendations of his own actions, and especially to comparing him to Gustavus Adolphus, he would blush like a woman, and be uneasy, declining the discourse, and in this he was still more like him.

Let no man scruple my honourable mention of this noble enemy, since no man can suspect me of favouring the cause he embarked in, which I served as heartily against as any man in the army; but I cannot conceal extraordinary merit for its being placed in any enemy.

This was the end of our making war; for now we were all under parole never to bear arms against the parliament; and though some did not keep their word, yet I think a soldier's parole ought to be the most sacred in such a case, that a soldier may be the easier trusted at all times upon his honour.

For my part I went home fully contented, since I could do my royal master no better service, that I had come off no worse.

The enemy going now on the full current of success, and the king reduced to the last extremity, and Fairfax, by long marches, being come back within five miles of Oxford; his majesty, loath to be cooped up in a town, which on no account could hold out long, quitted the town in a disguise, leaving Sir Thomas Glemham, governor, and being only attended with Mr Ashburnham and one more, rode away to Newark, and there fatally committed himself to the honour and fidelity of the Scots, under General Lieven.

There had been some little bickering between the parliament and the Scots commissioners, concerning the propositions which the Scots were

for a treaty with the king upon, and the parliament refused it.

The parliament, upon all proposals of peace, had formerly invited the king to come and throw himself upon the honour, fidelity, and affection of his parliament.

And now the king from Oxford offering to come up to London, on the protection of the parliament for the safety of his person, they refused him, and the Scots differed from them in it, and were for a personal treaty.

This, in our opinion, was the reason which prompted the king to throw himself upon the fidelity of the Scots, who really by their infidelity had been the ruin of all his affairs, and now, by their perfidious breach of honour and faith with him, were virtually and mediately the ruin of his person.

The Scots were, as well as all the nation, surprised at the king coming among them; and the parliament sent an order to General Leven to secure the king in Warwick Castle; but old Leven was not in such haste to part with so rich a prize; for as soon as the king came into the Scotch army, the general prevailed upon his majesty to sign an order to Colonel Ballesis, the governor of Newark, to surrender it, which being done, the Scots departed homewards with the king in the camp with them; and marching on, a house was ordered to be provided for the king at Newcastle.

And now the parliament saw their error in refusing his majesty a personal treaty, which, if they had accepted (their army was not yet taught the way of huffing their masters), the kingdom might have been settled in peace.

Before, it was, by an order of parliament, let the king be sent to Warwick Castle; now, it is, to let his majesty come to London to treat with his people.

Yet neither one nor the other would do with the Scots; but we, who knew the Scots best, knew that there was ONE THING would do with them, if the other would not, and that was money; and therefore our hearts trembled for the king.

The Scots, having retreated to Newcastle with the king, there they quartered their whole army at large upon the country; the parliament voted they had no further occasion for the Scots, and desired them to go home about their business.

I do not aver it was in these words, but in whatsoever good words their messages might be expressed, this and nothing less was the English of it.

The Scots replied by setting forth their losses, damages, and dues, the substance of which was, "Pay us our money, and we will be gone, or else we won't stir."

The parliament requested an account of their demands, which the Scots gave in, amounting to a million sterling; but, according to their custom, and especially finding that the army under Fairfax inclined gradually that way, fell down to five hundred thousand pounds, and at last to four hundred thousand; but all the while this is transacting, a separate treaty is carried on at London with the commissioners of Scotland, and afterwards at Edinburgh, by which it is given them to understand, that whereas, upon payment of the

money, the Scotch army is to march out of England, and to give up all the towns and garrisons which they hold in this kingdom; so they are to take it for granted that it is the meaning of the treaty, that they shall leave the king in the hands of the English parliament.

To make this go down the better, the Scotch parliament, upon his majesty's desire to go with their army into Scotland, sent him for answer, that it cannot be for the safety of his majesty or of the state to come into Scotland, not having taken the covenant, and this was carried in their parliament but by two voices.

The Scots having refused his coming into Scotland, as was concerted between the two houses, and their army being to march out of England, the delivering up the king became a consequence of the agreement unavoidable and of necessity.

His majesty, thus deserted of those into whose hands he had thrown himself, took his leave of the Scotch general at Newcastle, telling him in few words this sad truth, that he was bought and sold.

The parliament commissioners received him at Newcastle from the Scots, and brought him to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire; from whence, upon the quarrels and feuds of parties, he was fetched by a party of horse, commanded by Cornet Joyce, from the army, upon their mutinous rendezvous at Triplow Heath; and, after this, suffering many violences, and varieties of circumstances among the army, was carried to Hampton Court, from whence his majesty very readily made his escape; but not having notice enough to provide effectual means for his more safe deliverance, was obliged to deliver himself to Colonel Hammond in the Isle of Wight.

Here, after some indifferent usage, the parliament pursued a further treaty with him, and all points were agreed on but two.

1st, The entire abolishing episcopacy, which the king declared to be against his conscience, and his coronation oath.

2ndly, The sale of the church-lands, which he said, being most of them gifts to God and the church by persons deceased, his majesty thought could not be alienated without the highest sacrilege; and if taken from the uses to which they were appointed by the wills of the donors, ought to be restored back to the heirs and families of the persons who bequeathed them.

These two articles were fixed so steadfastly in the mind of his majesty, that he ventured his fortune and royal family, and even his own life, in defence of them: however, at last the king condescended so far in these, that the parliament voted his majesty's concessions to be sufficient to settle and establish the peace of the nation.

This vote discovered the bottom of all the counsels which then prevailed; for the army, who knew if peace was once settled, they should be undone, took the alarm at this, and clubbing together in committees and councils, at last brought themselves to a degree of hardness above all that ever this nation saw; for, calling into question the proceedings of their masters who employed them, they immediately fell to work upon the parliament, removed Colonel Hammond, who had the charge of the king, and

had used him honourably, placed a new guard upon him, dismissed the commissioners, and put a stop to the treaty; and, following their blow, marched to London, placed regiments of foot at the parliament-house door; and, as the members came up, seized upon all those whom they had down in a list as promoters of the settlement and treaty, and would not suffer them to enter; but the rest, who, being of their own stamp, are permitted to pass, carried on the designs of the army, revived their votes of non-addresses to the king, and then, upon the army's petition, to bring all delinquents to justice, the mask was thrown off, the word *all* is declared to be meant the king, as well as every man else they pleased.

It is too sad a story, and too much a matter of grief to me, and to all good men, to renew the blackness of those days when law and justice were under the feet of power; the army ruled the parliament, the private officers their generals, the common soldiers their officers, and confusion was in every part of the government; in this hurry they sacrificed their king, and shed the blood of the English nobility without mercy.

The history of the times will supply the particulars which I omit, being willing to confine myself to my own accounts and observations; I was now no more an actor, but a melancholy observer of the misfortunes of my royal master and his friends.

I had given my parole not to take up arms against the parliament, and I saw nothing to invite me to engage on their side; I saw a world of confusion in all their councils, and I always expected that in a chain of distractions, as it generally falls out, the last link would be destruction; and though I pretended to no prophecy, yet the progress of affairs has brought it to pass, and I have seen Providence, who suffered, for the correction of this nation, the sword to govern and devour us, has at last brought destruction by the sword upon the head of most of the party who first drew it.

If, together with the brief account of what concern I had in the active part of the war, I leave behind me some of my own remarks and observations, it may be pertinent enough to my design, and not unuseful to posterity.

I observed, by the sequel of things, that it may be some excuse to the first parliament, who began this war, to say that they manifested their designs were not aimed at the monarchy, nor their quarrel at the person of the king; because, when they had him in their power, though against his will, they would have restored both his person and dignity as a king, only loading it with such clogs of the people's power as they at first pretended to; that is to say, the militia, and the power of naming the great officers at court, and the like; which powers, it was never denied, had been stretched too far in the beginning of this king's reign, and several things done illegally, which his majesty had been sensible of and was willing to rectify; but they, having obtained the power by victory, resolved so to secure themselves as that, whenever they laid down their arms, the king should not be able to do the like again.

And thus far they were not to be so much blamed; and we did not, on our own part, blame

them, when they obtained the power, for parting with it on good terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the enemies, I must be very free to state the crimes of this bloody war, by the events of it.

It is manifest there were among them, from the beginning, a party who aimed at the very root of the government, and at the very thing which they brought to pass, viz. the deposing and murdering their sovereign; and as the devil is always master where mischief is the work, this party prevailed, turned the other out of doors, and overturned all that little honesty that might be in the first beginning of this unhappy strife.

The consequence of this was, the presbyterians saw their error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the royal party, to have suppressed this new leaven which had infected the lump; and this is very remarkable, that most of the first champions of this war, who bore the brunt of it, when the king was powerful and prosperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but blows, first or last, were so ill used by this independent powerful party, who tripped up the heels of all their honesty, that they were either forced, by ill treatment, to take up arms on our side, or suppressed and reduced by them.

In this the justice of Providence seemed very conspicuous, that these having pushed all things by violence against the king, and by arms and force brought him to their will, were at once both robbed of the end, their church government, and punished for drawing their swords against their masters, by their own servants drawing the sword against them; and God, in his due time, punished the others too.

And, what was yet further strange, the punishment of this crime of making war against their king, singled out those very men, both in the army and in the parliament, who were the greatest champions of the presbyterian cause in the council and in the field. Some minutes, too, of circumstances I cannot forbear observing, though they are not very material, as to the fatality and revolutions of days and times.

A Roman Catholic gentleman, of Lancashire, a very religious man in his way, who had observed mightily the fatality of times, places, and actions, being at my father's house, was discoursing once upon the just judgment of God in dating his providences, so as to signify to us his displeasure at particular circumstances; and, among the number of collections he had made, the following were some which I took particular notice of.

1. That King Edward VI died the same day of the same month in which he caused the altar to be taken down, and the image of the Blessed Virgin in the cathedral of St Paul's.

2. Archbishop Cranmer was burnt at Oxford the same day and month that he gave King Henry VIII advice to divorce his Queen Catherine.

3. Queen Elizabeth died the same day and month that she resolved, in her privy council, to behead the Queen of Scots.

4. King James died the same day that he published his book against Cardinal Bellarmine.

5. King Charles's long parliament, which ruined him, began the very same day and month which that parliament began, that, at the request of his predecessor, robbed the Roman church of all her revenues, and suppressed abbeys and monasteries.

How just his calculations were, or how true the matter of fact, I cannot tell, but it put me upon the same in several actions and successes of this war. And I found a great many circumstances, as to time and action, which befel both his majesty and his parties first.—Then others which befel the parliament and presbyterian faction which raised the war.—Then the independent tyranny which succeeded and supplanted the first party.—Then the Scots, who acted on both sides.—Lastly,

The restoration and re-establishment of the loyalty and religion of our ancestors.

1. For King Charles the First; 'tis observable that the charge against the Earl of Strafford, (a thing which his majesty blamed himself for all the days of his life, and at the moment of his last suffering,) was first read in the Lords' House on the 30th of January, the same day of the month six years that the king himself was brought to the block.

2. The king was carried away prisoner from Newark, by the Scots, May 10, the same day six years that, against his conscience and promise, he passed the bill of attainder against the loyal and noble Earl of Strafford.

3. The same day seven years that the king entered the House of Commons for the five members, which all his friends blamed him for, the same day the rump voted bringing his majesty to trial, after they had set by the Lords for not agreeing to it, which was the 3rd of January, 1648-49.

4. The 12th of May, 1646, being the surrender of Newark, the parliament held a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing for the reduction of the king and his party, and finishing the war, which was the same day five years that the Earl of Strafford was beheaded.

5. The battle at Naseby, which ruined the king's affairs, and where his secretary and his office were taken, was the 14th of June, the same day and month the first commission was given out by his majesty to raise forces.

6. The queen voted a traitress by the parliament the 3rd of May, the same day and month she carried the jewels into France.

7. The same day the king defeated Essex in the west, his son, Charles II, was defeated at Worcester.

8. Archbishop Laud's house at Lambeth assaulted by the mob, the same day of the same month that he advised the king to make war upon the Scots.

9. Impeached the 15th of December, 1640, the same day twelvemonth that he commanded the common prayer-book of Scotland to be printed, in order to be imposed upon the Scots, from which all our troubles began.

But many more, and more strange, are the critical junctures of affairs in the case of the enemy, or at least more observed by me.

1. Sir John Hotham, who repulsed his majesty and refused him admittance into Hull before the

war, was siezed at Hull by the same parliament for whom he had done it, the same 10th day of August, two years, that he drew the first blood in that war.

2. John Hampden, Esq., of Buckinghamshire, killed the same day one year that the mob-petition from Bucks was presented to the king about him, as one of the five members.

3. Young Captain Hotham executed the 1st of January, the same day that he assisted Sir Thomas Fairfax in the first skirmish with the king's forces at Bramham Moor.

4. The same day and month, being the 6th of August, 1641, that the parliament voted to raise an army against the king, the same day and month, 1648, the parliament were assaulted and turned out of doors by that very army, and none left to sit but whom the soldiers pleased, which were therefore called the rump.

5. The Earl of Holland deserted the king, who had made him general of the horse, and went over to the parliament, and the 9th of March, 1641, carried the Commons' reproaching declaration to the king; and afterwards taking up arms for the king against the parliament, was beheaded by them on the 9th of March, 1648, just seven years after.

6. The Earl of Holland was sent to by the king to come to his assistance and refused, the 11th of July, 1641, and that very day seven years after was taken by the parliament of St Neots.

7. Colonel Massey defended Gloucester against the king, and beat him off the 5th of September, 1643, was after taken by Cromwell's men fighting for the king, on the 5th of September, 1651, two or three days after the fight of Worcester.

8. Richard Cromwell resigning, because he could not help it, the parliament voted a free commonwealth, without a single person or House of Lords; this was the 25th of May, 1658; the 25th of May, 1660, the king landed at Dover, and restored the government of a single person and House of Lords.

9. Colonel Lambert was proclaimed a traitor by the parliament, April the 20th, being the same day he proposed to Oliver Cromwell to take upon himself the title of king.

10. General Monck, being taken prisoner at Nantwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax, revolted to the parliament, the same day nineteen years he declared for the king, and thereby restored the royal authority.

11. The parliament voted to approve of Sir John Hotham's repulsing the king at Hull, the 28th of April, 1642; the 28th of April, 1660, the parliament first debated in the house the restoring the king to the crown.

12. The agitators of the army formed themselves into a cabal, and held their first meeting to seize on the king's person, and to take him into their custody from Holmby, the 28th of April, 1647; the same day, 1660, the parliament voted the agitators to be taken into custody, and committed as many of them as could be found.

13. The parliament voted the queen a traitress for assisting her husband, the king, May the 3rd, 1643. Her son, King Charles II, was presented with the votes of parliament to restore him, and

the present of fifty thousand pounds, the 3rd of May, 1660.

14. The same day the parliament passed the act for recognition of Oliver Cromwell, October the 13th, 1654, Lambert broke the parliament and set up the army, October the 13th, 1659.

Some other observations I have made, which, as not so pertinent, I forbear to publish, among which I have noted the fatality of some days to parties, as,

The 2nd of September, Essex defeated in Cornwall; Oliver died; city works demolished: for the king.

The 2nd of September, the fight at Dunbar; the fight at Worcester; the oath against a single person past; Oliver's first parliament called: for the enemy.

The 29th of May, Prince Charles born; Leicester taken by storm; King Charles II restored: for the king.

Fatality of circumstances in this unhappy war, as—

1. The English parliament called in the Scots to invade their king, and are invaded themselves by the same Scots, in defence of the king whose case and the design of the parliament the Scots had mist ken.

2. The Scots, who unjustly assisted the parliament to conquer their lawful sovereign, contrary to their oath of allegiance, and without any pretence on the king's part, are afterwards absolutely conquered and subdued by the same parliament they assisted.

3. The parliament, who raised an army to depose their king, deposed by the very army they had raised.

4. The army broke three parliaments, and are at last broken by a free parliament, and all they had done by the military power undone at once by the civil.

5. Abundance of the chief men, who, by their fiery spirits involved the nation in a civil war, and took up arms against their prince, first or last met with ruin and disgrace from their own party.

1. Sir John Hotham and his son, who struck the first stroke, both beheaded or hanged by the parliament.

2. Major-general Massey three times taken prisoner by them, and once wounded at Worcester.

3. Major-general Langhorn; 4. Colonel Poyer; and 5. Colonel Powell, changed sides, and at last taken, could obtain no other favour than to draw lots for their lives; Colonel Poyer drew the dead lot, and was shot to death.

6. Earl of Holland, who, when the house voted who should be reprieved, Lord Goring, who had been their worst enemy, or the Earl of Holland, who, excepting one offence, had been their constant servant, voted Goring to be spared, and the earl to die.

7. The Earl of Essex, their first general.

8. Sir William Waller.

9. Lieutenant-general Ludlow.

All disgusted and voted out of the army, though they had stood the first shock of the war, to make way for the new model of the army, and to introduce a party.

In all these confusions I have observed two

great errors, one of the king, and the other of his friends.

Of the king, that when he was in their custody, and at their mercy, he did not comply with their propositions of peace, before their army, for want of employment, fell into heats and mutinies; that he did not at first grant the Scots their own conditions, which, if he had done, he had gone into Scotland; and then, if the English would have fought the Scots for him, he had a reserve of his loyal friends who would have had room to have fallen in with the Scots to his assistance, who were afterwards dispersed and destroyed in small parties attempting to serve him.

While his majesty remained at Newcastle the queen wrote to him, persuading him to make peace upon any terms; and, in politics, her majesty's advice was certainly the best: for however low he was brought by a peace, it must have been better than the condition he was then in.

The error I mention of the king's friends was this, that after they saw all was lost, they could not be content to sit still and reserve themselves for better fortunes, and wait the happy time when the divisions of the enemy would bring them to certain ruin; but must hasten their own miseries by frequent fruitless risings, in the face of a victorious enemy, in small parties; and I always found these effects from it:—

First, the enemy, who were always together by the ears when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any interruption; as particularly, in the case of the first assault the army made upon them, when Colonel Pride with his regiment garbled the house, as they called it; at that time a fair opportunity offered; but it was omitted till it was too late: that insult upon the house had been attempted the year before, but was hindered by the little insurrections of the royal party, and the sooner they had fallen out the better.

Secondly—These risings being desperate, with vast disadvantages, and always suppressed, ruined all our friends; the remnants of the cavaliers were lessened, the stoutest and most daring were cut off, and the king's interest exceedingly weakened, there not being less than thirty thousand of his best friends cut off in the several attempts made at Maidstone, Colehester, Lancashire, Pembroke, Pontefract, Kingston, Preston, Warrington, Worcester, and other places. Had these men all reserved fortunes to a conjunction with the Scots at either of the invasions they made into this kingdom, and acted with the conduct and courage they were known masters of, perhaps neither of those Scotch armies had been defeated.

But the impatience of our friends ruined all; for my part, I was as willing to put my hand to the ruin of the enemy as any of them, but I never saw any tolerable appearance of a force able to match the enemy, and I had no mind to be beaten and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into so many parties and factions, and so effectually have torn one another to pieces, that whichever party had come to us, we should, with them, have been too hard for all the rest.

This was plain by the course of things afterwards; when the independent army had ruffled the presbyterian parliament, the soldiery of that party made no scruple to join us, and would have restored the king with all their hearts, and many of them did join us at last.

And the consequence, though late, ended so; for they fell out so many times, army and parliament, parliament and army, and alternately pulled one another down so often, till at last

the presbyterians, who began the war, ended it; and, to be rid of their enemies, rather than for any love to the monarchy, restored King Charles the Second, and brought him in on the very day that they themselves had formerly resolved the ruin of his father's government, being the 29th of May, the same day twenty years that the private cabal in London concluded their secret league with the Scots to embroil his father, King Charles the First.

NOTES.

(Note 1.) The protestant diet at Leipsic was begun Feb. 8, 1630, and continued to April 3, 1631. Four principal reasons were assigned for the congress. "The first of these four was this: that whereas the Duke of Saxony had, in the time of the diet of Frankfort, written advice unto the emperour, of the King of Sweden's approaching, the emperour tells him againe, how he hoped that himselfe (Saxon) and Brandenburg would well abide him. By which answer, Saxony perceived a new bill of charges comming upon the protestants next those parts where the King of Sweden was landed. The second was this: The round course taken by the emperour for the recovery of the church-lands. A third was this: That rigide course (taken by advice of the jesuites) for reformation of the protestant churches and schooles, and the forbidding of the libertie of the Augustane Confession. The fourth was, that decree of the emperour's for the continuance of the warres against the King of Sweden."—The *Swedish Intelligencer*, Part I, London, 1634. iv. p. 20.

(Note 2.) Of these levies the Elector of Saxony was to raise six regiments; Brandenburg three; each of the circles of Swabia, the Rhine, and Franconia, three; Lower Saxony one. Each regiment of foot was to consist of 3,000, and of horse 1,000.—*Ib.* p. 28.

(Note 3.) The storming of Magdeburg by John Tsercla, Count of Tilly, has always been considered as one of the most horrible butcheries which occurred in any war, and has only been paralleled by the conquerors of Ishmael and Warsaw in our days. The anniversary is still commemorated by the inhabitants; and their panic, during the late disgraceful siege, was considerably increased by the recollection. The following is the account of the siege in the '*Swedish Intelligencer*':—"Upon the 12th of April, Tilly first presents himselfe in full battaglia within a mile of the city; at which time believed it was, that he would at least have fallen upon the great star-sconce, or toll-house, by the old Elbe; but that day attempted he no more than to beat some guards out of their redoubts into the city. The 13th he laies his siege; himself, Pappenheim, Savelli, Holstein, and Mansfeldt, round begirting it. This done, twelve pieces of cannon are placed against the bridge over the Elbe, upon

which he made 568 shot that same day: his intent being to cut that passage off, that the town by it might send no succours to the foresaid sconce, or toll-house; but the General Falkenburg conveniently flanking some paces upon the toll-house, quite at last dismantled the enemies cannon. This not succeeding, Tilly falls pellmell at once upon both these places, giving eight several assaults unto them: but the Lord Falkenburg, with four whole cannon double charged with stones, old iron, &c. about 12 o'clocke at night, made them to give over. Some prisoners the next day taken, confesse there were 2,000 men that day slain of the assailants. This toll-house was a notable piece of fortification,* built on the other side the Elbe. To this Tilly now turned all his battery; heere he falls to myning, and all to no purpose. On the 15th, both by land and water he layes at it; but 300 muskettiers being by him sent in boates to assaile it on the water's side, were by those of the fort driven ashore, and either all drownd or slaine by the citizens; 200 also at the same time lost their lives on the land side. Now was there newes brought into Tillie's campe, of the King of Sweden's being upon his march, for the relieving of the besieged; a council of warre thereupon being called, some troups are sent towards Wittenberg and the Dessau bridge, there to stave off the king's forces. The newes of his coming againe slackning, April 21, to worke he fals againe; and giving on upon the toll-house, that notable piece is forsaken by the Magdeburgers; who, at their retreat, offering to fire it, the place was rescued by the Imperialists. Upon this, were all the forts on that side of the Elbe either taken or given over; the bridge also by Tilly burned, and approaches made unto the city; which was from thence immediately battered. Now were the besieged forced to burne their own New Towne; where 2,000 Imperialists immediately lodging themselves, fell to mining, and shooting of grana- does into the city. The 29th, by a sally out upon these in the New Towne, are some 100 slaine. The mynes doe no hurt, until one Farenback, a notable engineer, takes them in hand;

* It is still one of the strongest fortifications belonging to the town, and denominated Stern-Schanze.

who saps himself under the towne-ditches to the very hard wals, which he much shakes, by springing of a mine; in return of which service and some others, the emperor makes him a colonnell, granting him commission to raise two new regiments. May 2. The Imperialists in the new city, having suddenly in the night-time cast up a battery, shrewdly punish the besieged. May 7. General Tilly comes himself into the new towne, together with Pappenheim, then generall of the ordnance, and the count of Schomberg, sergeant-major-generall; and a great shew of ladders is made, as if there were a purpose of a general scaladoe. Tillie's hope was, that the towne would presently parly, upon sight of these preparations; but they, taking the alarme at it, instantly manne all their bulwarks. The 8th day is spent in shooting at a certain high tower, from which the towne-cannon much plagued the besiegers. This day Tilley sends a trumpet to summon the towne; they send another to him to signify their willingness to yield, might but their administrator still enjoy his bishopricke, and the towne their priviledges. This not consented to, the 9th day Pappenheim attempting to scale the wals, is by a sally beaten off; in which some of the enemies' mines being discovered, are by countermines in the towne defeated. That day is another trumpet sent into the towne. Towards evening, was there much bustling observed, and carriages to and againe in the enemies' leaguer: yea, they were perceived to rise with their whole army (as the towne thought), and march to Offensleben, half a mile from them. All that night was the Lord Falkenburg upon the wals; who perceiving in the morning no danger of assault, calls the city together into the state-horse, to give answer to the enemies' trumpet; yea, so secure they were, that the over-wacht souldiers are suffered to go from their courts of garde to take some sleepe; and some say, that the townesmen are gone to church to give God thanks for their deliverance from the siege. Thus, the wals being found empty, about seven in the morning, May 10th, Pappenheim having given the word, *Jesu-Maria*, to his souldiers, and a white string about their armes, makes towards the Heideker port; where, having thrown turfs and faggots into the ditch to fill it, thorow it, up to the middle, the Imperialists runne, with scaling ladders upon their backs. The walls are in a trice mounted, the towne entered, and the souldiers fall to killing. Falkenburg now flying in upon them, beates them back to the wals againe; but a port being by this tyme opened, and the enemies' horse let in, the valiant Falkenburg is slayne with a shot; the administrator hurt both in the thigh and head, and so taken. Whilst all thus goes to wraike, a mighty fire breakes out (howe, none knowes,) and it being a great windy day, all was on the sudden become one great flame, the whole towne being in twelve houres space utterly burnd to cinders, excepting 139 houses. Six goodly churches are burnt: the cathedrall, together with St. Marie's church and cloister, were by the monkes and souldiers diligently preserved. Twenty thousand people, at least, were killed, burned, and smothered; syxe thousand being observed to be drowned in the Elbe. Tilly's

Wallons* would give quarter to few; and the Crabats† never used to give or beg any; so that all were killed. May 12th, came Tilly into the towne, and finding some hundreds of women and children in the church, he gives them their lives, and some bread too; next day he forbids pillaging. Upon Sunday, May 15th, because he would have his cathedrall as like to Rome as might be, that is, dedicated in blood, he causes it to be cleansed and new consecrated; masse and *Te Deum* being sung in it, in thanksgiving for the victory. Future ages may perhaps compare the destruction of this goodly city unto that of Troy or of Jerusalem."

(Note 4.) The accession of King James to the throne of England, and the subsequent pacification of the borders and Highlands, had not destroyed the restless and impatient valour of the Scots. When the war in Germany broke out, several chieftains raised regiments chiefly at their own expense. Among these was Sir Houcheon Mackay, who had often been proceeded against for his predatory excursions into Sutherland. Upon his return from Germany, he was, for his services, created Lord Reay. Various methods of raising recruits were employed, and the following curious song, printed from an ancient MS., contributed probably not a little to increase the number of volunteers:

All brave lads that would haisard for honour,
Hark! how Bellona her trumpet doth blow;
Mars, with many a warlike banner,
Bravely displayed invites yow to go!
Germani, Suedden, Denmarke, are smoking
With a crew of brave lads others provoking,
All in their armour bright,
Daisling great Cesar's sight,
Summons you to ane fight! Tan la ra ra.

O, Viva! Viva! Gustavus we cry!
Heir we shall either won honour or dye!
Thow that riseth before the day dawning,
Mounted ere Phoebus saluteth the morne,
Yoffing, crying, youlling, yelling,
Lyk ane citie swyne summons out with an horne.
What honour canst thou gain by thy conquisht attending,
When thou hes brought a poor baist to their ending?
Please your yelping hounds,
And hear our martial sounds,
Till all the hills resounds: Tan la ra ra!

Fy, boyes! fy, boyes! leave it not there,
For honour is not gotten by hounting the hair,
Thou fyne thing, that still art resorting,
In princes pallaces deckt up like an ap,
Flattering, fawning, cringing, and courting,
Changing each moment in a new munkish shape;
Thinkest thou that a denti thing, or a fyne galliard,
Or that my ladies glove honours appallart,
Or Madams squivering voice,
Or such a fidling noice,
Sounding like, Sa Sa boyes! Tan la ra ra!

Up, lads! up, lads! up and advance,
For honour's not gotten by a cringe or a dance.
Thow that on thy pillow lyes sleiping,
Pampert with pleasures, and puffed up with pride,
And in thy armes a wanton keeping,
Thinking ther is no heavns besyd,
Slave to the womens lust, when thou doeth mount her,
What honour canst thou gain by thy raincounter?
Shame so the shall remain,
When we shall honour gain,
Where many a hero's slain! Tan ta ra ra.

* Soldiers raised in the Netherlands.

† The Croats, who rendered themselves so famous in the seven years' war, and were by Joseph II very impolitically formed into regular regiments.

Fy, man! fy, man! leave it for shame,
 For honour is not gotten by so easie a gain,
 All brave lads, raise up your spirits!
 Honour abydeeth you attendit by fame;
 Men are rewarded according to their merits
 Honour begeteth that winneth the same.
 Vivat, Gustavus! I pray God protekt him,
 And send the devill to the colstreat, for it doth expect
 him!
 Charge, lads! fall in a round,
 Till Cesar shall give ground.
 Hark, hark! our trumpets sound.
 Vivat, Gustavus Adolphus! we cry!
 Here we shall either wone honour or dy.

At Frankfort upon the Oder, Colonels Hepburn and Lumsdell, mentioned in the text, performed prodigies of valour. "The king calling the valiant Sir John Hebron (Hepburn) and Colonell Lumsdell unto him, 'Now, my brave Scots (saies he), remember your countrymen slaine at New Brandenburg.' Lumsdell, therefore, with his regiment of English and Scots; and Hebron, with his High Duchers, presse upon that sally port, and the enemies bullets flying as thick as hail, Lumsdell, with his drawne sword in his hand, cries, 'Let's enter, my hearts!' thrusting himself in amongst the thickest of them. His men followes resolutely, the pikes first entring; all knocking down the enemies most pitifully; for the inner port being shut behind them, they had no way to escape, but the little clicket-gate, through which as many as could crept into the towne. And by this time the greater gate being broke open, Hebron and Lumsdell entering with their men, make a most pittifull slaughter; and when any Imperialist cryed, 'Quarter!' 'New Brandenburg!' cries the other, and knocks him down. One Scotchman protested he had killed eighteen men with his owne hand. Here did Lumsdell take eighteen colours; yea, such testimony shewed he of his valour, that the king, after the battell, bade him aske what he would, and he would give it him. Sir John Hepburn, shewing extraordinary valour, was here hurt in the legge."—*Swedish Intelligencer, ut supra*, p. 90.

(Note 5.) The account of the siege and surrender of Oppenheim corresponds pretty accurately with that given in the work we have had occasion to quote so frequently, excepting in so far as respects the cavalier himself. During the storming of the castle, "fell there out a pretty merriment, which some readers may perchance be pleased withall. Whilest the most of the Spanish were begging for quarter, a certaine officer, with some others of his men, not daring to trust the courtesy of an enemy, fairly slips away from the Scots that had so ferryted them, running out of the towne for life, even close beside the king's army. It chanced that a hare, starting out of the bushes about the ditch, ranne directly before the Spaniards, and, within a few paces after, two or three other hares also ranne as directly after them. The Swedish soldiers laughed heartily to see what a convoy the Spaniards had gotten. 'Tis ill lucke (says one of their souldiers) to have one's way crost with a hare; and that ill lucke is now ours, for we are likely to get but little honour by them, should all their countrimen run away in the like manner."—*Ib.* P. II, p. 47.

(Note 6.) The siege of Creutznach was most

obstinately contested, and the desperate valour of William, first Lord Craven, was such, that, on his coming into the King of Sweden's presence, his Majesty told him, "he adventured so desperately, he bid his younger brother fair play for his estate." In 1626 he had been created Lord Craven of Hamstead Marshall, county Berks. In 1637 he was, along with Prince Rupert, taken prisoner, and, on obtaining his liberty, served the States of Holland under the Prince of Orange. The 16th of March, an. 16 Car. II, he was created Earl Craven of Craven, county Ebor. In 1670 he was appointed Colonel of the Coldstream regiment of guards. When King James II endeavoured to take it away from him, "If they took away his regiment, they had as good take away his life, since he had nothing else to divert himself with." He was, however, obliged to give it up at King William's accession to the crown. He died April 9, 1597, aged eighty-eight years and ten months.

(Note 7.) This celebrated bridge is described at full length in the *Swedish Intelligencer*. It was framed by the Swedes, who acted as carpenters, and the Fins as pioneers. The following note is singular; but the extraordinary valour of the Swedes, even in the present day, must make us hesitate how far we should believe the insinuations against them; though the Fins are well known to be a pusillanimous people: "The Swedes, generally one with another, are all carpenters; and the Fins, being a plain, simple, and droyling kinde of people, are more used for the spade than for the sword; notwithstanding we have heard so much of the great exploits of these Finlanders. The Swedes and Finlanders, plainly, are not the best sooldiers of the army; 'tis the Scots and Germanes that have done it; and yet have both the other done their parts also."—P. II, p. 142, *marginal note*.—De Foe, in this part, as well as in many others, has made great use of this interesting work. The account of the bridge and the battle, as well as of the supposed means by which Tilly might have gained the battle, correspond together accurately in both works: "When Cardinall Passman, the emperor's ambassadour with the Pope, had the first news brought him of this victory, and of the manner of it, he to his friends pronounced, *Actum est*, 'there is an end of all;' which some people interpreted to be meant of the empire and of the Romish religion."—"And yet had not the king escaped so cheap as with the lives of two thousand brave men; had not he directed David's sling-stone into Goliath's forehead, guided one bullet into Altringer's forehead, and another into Tilly's thigh-bone; had not this brave old counte beene thus spoyled, the king had found but an unfriendly welcome into Bavaria," &c.—*Ib.* p. 148. Tilly is one of the numerous list of imperial generals, who were frequently unfortunate, yet still acquired a high reputation, such as Wallenstein, Daun, Melas, &c.

(Note 8.) The conditions under which the celebrated Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, took the charge of generalissimo of the army, were most peremptory. He was to be generalissimo for life, and that in the most absolute manner, for the emperor, the King of Spain, and the whole house of Austria. The emperor should not be

present at the army, much less have any command over it; the free liberty of confiscating and pardoning the countries he conquered was stipulated for by him; the duchy of Mecklenburg, with other dominions, were promised to him, &c.

(Note 9.) "The king had now 132 ensignes of foot, which made up 10,767 in the muster-booke; and 152 troops of horse, which came to 7,676. In all 18,443 men."—*Swedish Intelligencer*, P. II, p. 240.

(Note 10.) The celebrated victory of Lutzen was gained on the 6th of November, 1632, old style. In the *Swedish Intelligencer*, a long account of it is introduced, consisting of 48 quarto pages. The king previously harangued the Swedes and Germans separately, both together consisting of 17,000 or 18,000 men. The watchword of his army was, *Gott mit uns*, God with us; that of the Imperialists, *Jesu Maria*. Both the armies had had the same in the great battle of Leipsic. The king, in the midst of the battle, had charged a numerous body of cuirassiers, but they being too powerful, he was forced to retreat, and wounded in the left arm. As he was carried off the field, a cuirassier, who knew him, came behind him, and crying out, "This is the right bird," shot him through the body, but was immediately killed himself by Luchan, the king's master of the horse. The king's body was forced to be abandoned, and he was stript of every thing about him by the imperial soldiers, who were anxious to have a relic of so renowned a commander. It is well known, that afterwards the body of the king was recovered, and a most complete victory gained. One of the best imperial commanders, Count Pappenheim, was slain by a bullet from a falconet. He had, previous to the battle, taken the sacrament, confessed, and made this short testament: His soul he commended to God; his body (if he were slain) to the emperor, and his wife and children to Wallenstein. The imperialists vauntingly claimed the victory, but acknowledged that the king of Sweden was the bravest enemy and the best captain that ever was in Christendom. A stone pillar, to the north of the town of Lutzen, still marks the spot where he fell.

(Note 11.) In this disastrous battle, the Swedish veteran general, Gustavus Horne, with Field-marshal Gratz, and two other generals, were taken prisoners; and several generals and superior officers killed. The defeat would have been still more complete, if the Rhinegrave Otto Ludwig, with his forces, had not approached, and prevented the pursuit of the Swedes, by the cavalry and Croats.

(Note 12.) The Earl of Holland entered Berwick with the king, May 30, 1639, and the 31st he marched with 200 horse to Dunse. "Upon the coming of our forces into the town, [the expected Scots army was not to be found, but] the people cried, "God bless the king," and that they were all his majesty's obedient subjects, and readily brought forth their Scots ale and what they had, to bid the English welcome."—*Rushworth's Collections*, vol. II, p. 929. June 3, the earl again entered into Scotland, with 4,000 horse, but retired before the numbers of the

Scots, and the superior skill of the Scottish general, Lesly.

(Note 13.) The 27th of August, 1640, at night, General Lesly arrived within a mile of Newcastle, and finding it garrisoned, marched the next morning to Newburn Ford, where he found the pass defended with strong works and six cannon, and guarded with 3,000 horse and 1,200 foot. He placed his own ordinance upon an adjoining hill, and so harassed the English foot that they fled in disorder, and abandoned their cannon. The horse attempted to rescue them, but were put to flight by Colonel Lesly, with about 1,500 horse. Upon this occasion, the celebrated gentleman-troop of Sir John Suckling was routed, and some of his horses taken.

(Note 14.) Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsay, was eldest son of Peregrine Lord Willoughby, of Eresby, a celebrated worthy of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was born in 1582; and, in 1603, succeeded to the office of lord high chamberlain of England; 1626, he was created Earl of Lindsay; in 1635, appointed lord high admiral; and, in 1642, general of the king's forces. The same year, 23rd October, he was killed at the battle of Edge Hill.

(Note 15.) Robert, Earl of Essex, was the only son of the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and, when young, was married to Lady Frances Howard. His divorce from her is well known; and he retired in disgust from the court in consequence of it. He died September 14th, 1646.

(Note 16.) "Those of ours (the parliamentary army) taken by the enemy were, the Lord St John, who was mortally wounded, and declared, at his death, a full satisfaction and cheerfulness to lay down his life for so good a cause; Colonel Walton, a member of parliament; and Captain Austin, an eminent merchant in London; of whom the last died through the hard usage he received in the gaol of Oxford, to which he was committed. It was observed, that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away; and on the enemy's side, of those that stood; of whom I saw about threescore lie within the compass of threescore yards, upon the ground whereon that brigade fought in which the king's standard was. We took prisoners the Earl of Lindsey, general of the king's army, who died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, and Colonel Lunsford, who were sent to Warwick castle."—*Memoirs of Lieutenant-general Ludlow*. * Edin. 1751, p. 44.—The king published a declaration to his subjects after the late victory against the rebels, which was answered by a similar declaration of the lords and commons.

(Note 17.) After the parliamentary army had possessed themselves of Reading, they had several skirmishes with the royalists, in one of which Hampden, the great patriot, lost his life. Sir William Waller engaged the king's western army at Lansdown. The Cornish men stood their ground till they came to push of pike, but were then routed, and their commander, Sir Bevil Grenville, killed. General Ludlow, soon after,

* Ludlow's statements, of course, lean towards the side most favourable to the party he was engaged in; but, for this reason, form proper annotations to those in the text, which are put into the mouth of one of the cavalier faction.

joined Waller. "But," he says in his own memoirs, "the great hopes we had conceived of enjoying some quiet in the west, by the means of this victory, were soon blasted. For a body of horse sent from Oxford, not being attended by any of our army, (though, as I have heard, commanded so to do,) engaged our horse at Roundway Hill; where the overforwardness of some of our party to charge the enemy upon disadvantageous ground, was the principal cause of their defeat. The horse being routed, our foot quitted their ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed; the rest retreated to Bristol."—Vol. I, p. 54.

(Note 18.) "In the meantime the king's army besieged Gloucester, the king being there in person to countenance the siege. The besieged made a vigorous defence for about a month; during which time the parliament took care to recruit their army, in order to relieve them. Their rendezvous was appointed on Hounslow Heath, whither some members of parliament (of which my father was one) were sent, to inspect their condition, that their wants, being known, might be the better supplied, who found them a very shattered and broken body; but the city, being then very affectionate to the public, soon recruited them, and drew forth so many of their trained bands and auxiliary regiments as made them up a gallant army. In their march to Gloucester, some of ours fell upon a party of the enemy at Cirencester, of whom they took many prisoners, and seized a great quantity of provisions, which they found prepared for the enemy; who, upon our approach, raised the siege."—*Ibid.*, p. 50. A particular and very circumstantial detail was published of this siege, in quarto, by order of parliament.

(Note 19.) "The Earl of Essex, having relieved the town of Gloucester, was marching back again, when he perceived the enemy endeavouring to get between him and London; and to that end, falling upon his rear with a strong party of horse, they so disordered his men, and retarded the march of his army, that he found himself obliged to engage them at Newbury. The dispute was very hot on both sides, and the enemy had the better at first; but our men resolving to carry their point, and the city regiments behaving themselves with great bravery, gave them, before night, so little to boast, that the next morning they were willing to permit the Earl of Essex to march to London without interruption. Few prisoners were taken on either side. The enemy had several of quality killed. We lost a colonel of one of the city regiments, together with some inferior officers."—*Ludlow ut supra*, p. 57.

(Note 20.) Alexander Lesly, Earl of Leven, for the first time, evinced his military genius as a volunteer in Lord Vere's regiment, in Holland, and afterwards went into the service of the great King of Sweden, who appointed him to defend the town of Stralsund against the imperialists. This he accomplished, and obliged the great Wallenstein to retire, though he had boasted he would take the town if it were even chained to the firmament. In 1630, he drove the imperialists out of Rugen, and then returned home. His actions at the head of the Scotch army

are, for the most part, detailed in the text. In 1641, he was created Earl of Leven, and died at Balgony, in Fife, in the year 1662.

(Note 21.) This heroic lady was Charlotte, daughter to Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Palmont, &c., and wife of William, sixth Earl of Derby, who suffered death in the year 1651 for his loyalty to his king. She not only defended successfully Hotham House in 1644, but, in 1651, for a long time, the Isle of Man, which was the last place in the English dominions that submitted to the commonwealth. She was detained in prison till the restoration, and died March 21st, 1663.

(Note 22.) The battle of Marston Moor was fought July 2, 1644. Ludlow has the following observation, similar to some of our cavaliers: "If Prince Rupert, who had acquired honour enough by the relief of York in the view of three generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the reputation he had gained would have caused his army to increase like the rolling of a snowball; but he thinking this nothing, unless he might have ably forced his enemies to a battle, against the advice of many of those that were with him," &c.—Vol. I, p. 107. The country people, it is said, buried four thousand men, of which the prince is reported to have lost three thousand. In a letter from the parliamentary generals, they state their loss to have been one lieutenant-colonel, some few captains, and only two or three hundred men, which is not credible, considering the defeat of one of their wings.—*Rushworth*, III, 635-636.

(Note 23.) This affair is represented as a very slight skirmish by Ludlow (I, 104), who hitherto had served under the defeated Sir William Waller. Of the parliamentary army, were taken prisoners Colonel Wemys, Lieutenant-colonels Baker and Baynes, and several other officers. "Colonel Middleton was dismounted amongst the king's forces, of whom one, taking him for a commander of theirs, mounted him again, and bid him make haste, and kill a roundhead; and so he escaped."—*Rushworth*, III, 676.

(Note 24.) According to Ludlow, the king lost, during the storm, about 1,700 men; and those of the town about one hundred.

(Note 25.) "Being encouraged by his success at Leicester, and with the consideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced enemy, upon advice that our army was in search of him, the king advanced towards them; and both armies met in the field of Naseby on the 14th of June, 1645. Some days before, one Colonel Vermuyden, an old soldier, who commanded a regiment of horse, had laid down his commission; whether through diffidence of success, or any other consideration, I know not: and, in the beginning of the engagement, Major-general Skipton, the only old soldier remaining amongst the chief officers of the army, received a shot in the body from one of our own party, as was supposed, unwillingly; whereby he was in a great measure disabled to perform the duty of his place that day, though extremely desirous to do it. Under these discouragements, the horse upon our left wing were attacked by those of the enemy's right, and beaten back to our

cannon, which were in danger of being taken, our foot giving way also: but our right wing being strengthened by those of our left that were rallied by our officers, fell upon the enemy's left wing; and having broken and repulsed them, resolving to improve the opportunity, charged the main body of the king's army; and, with the assistance of two or three regiments of our infantry, entirely encompassed the enemy's body of foot; who, finding themselves deserted by their horse, threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. By this means

our horse were at leisure to pursue the king and such as fled with him towards Leicester, taking many prisoners in the pursuit; who, with those taken in the field, amounted in all to about 6,000, and amongst them, six colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, seventy lieutenants, eighty ensigns, 200 inferior officers, about 140 standards of horse and foot, the king's footmen and servants, and the whole train of artillery and baggage. This victory was obtained with the loss of a very few on our side, and not above 300 or 400 of the enemy."—*Ludlow*, I, 131.

THE
FORTUNATE MISTRESS:

OR, A

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND VAST VARIETY OF FORTUNES

OF MADEMOISELLE DE BELEAU,

AFTERWARDS CALLED

THE COUNTESS DE WINTELSHEIM, IN GERMANY;

BEING THE PERSON KNOWN BY THE NAME OF

THE LADY ROXANA

IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. WARNER, AT THE BLACK BOY IN PATERNOSTER ROW; W. MEADOWS AT THE ANGEL IN CORNHILL; W. PEPPER, AT THE CROWN IN MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN; S. HARDING AT THE POST HOUSE IN ST. MARTIN'S LANE; AND T. EDLIN, AT THE PRINCE'S ARMS AGAINST EXETER CHANGE, IN THE STRAND.

1724.

FORTUNATE MISTRESS:

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND VARIOUS PORTUNES

OF MADEMOISELLE DE BELLE.

INTERLUDE CALLED

THE COMTESSE DE WINTERSHEIM IN GERMANY.

LONDON:

REPRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL,
LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

MDCCLX.

THE LADY ROZANA

IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

LONDON:

PREFACE.

THE year 1724 gave birth to a romance, which for originality of invention, for accuracy of painting, and for utility of purpose, was not exceeded by any of the former. In the story of "Roxana," there are incidents, indeed, that cannot be welcome to a virtuous mind; but the fault is in the subject rather than in the author, whose aim is to describe human nature as it is, for the purpose of contrasting it with what it should be. This fidelity of design will not always admit of an agreeable outline; and it was the humour of De Foe to employ his pen upon those subjects that present the broad features of life in their full deformity. In ordinary cases, this would be considered a mark of bad taste; but De Foe had always some important end to legitimate his choice. He was the last man to administer fuel to a flame that he sought rather to extinguish. He never tells a story for mere amusement, nor does he go out of his way to obtrude reflections for the purpose of correcting it. His facts, however disreputable to virtue, are always subservient to it in the long run: he tells his story for the sake of the moral, which forms a constituent part, and yet so inartificially produced, as to be essential to the narrative. As a correct painter of life and manners, he was under the necessity of taking the world as he found it; as a moralist, he was desirous of leaving it better. He therefore selected those parts from the great drama that he thought most susceptible of improvement, and converted them into sources of instruction, in a form that would be most accessible to the generality of readers. His knowledge of the world had taught him, that those who would not listen to a grave discourse, might be allured by an eventful story; that whilst to the former they gave only the unwilling assent of the judgment, its exemplification would go far towards fixing it upon the heart. Such a result, however, is not to be produced by a forced delineation of the passions, nor by pictures of life that do violence to truth. These, indeed, have been the common resort of novelists, whose aim at effect has betrayed them into a departure from the ordinary operations of nature, and producing a degree of excitement that requires to be kept alive by fresh stimulants; but as the illusion vanishes the mind falls a prey to grief and disappointment. De Foe never attempts the *beau ideal* of human life. His characters are those of ordinary occurrence, his portraits strictly natural, and his sketches of manners exactly such as existed at the period he describes.

"Roxana," like most of De Foe's narratives, has passed through several editions, but the variations in them require some distinct notice. In the second edition, De Foe was persuaded by his friend, Southern, to leave out the whole of the story relating to Roxana's daughter, Susannah; who, suspecting her relationship, contrived various expedients to throw herself in her mother's way, until she at length succeeded, and accomplished her ruin. Southern's objection, certainly a very curious one, rested upon the supposition, that the daughter's history was imaginary, whilst the rest of the story was founded upon fact. Whatever foundation there may be for this tradition, it is certain that most of the subsequent editions of the book contain the story, and it is one of the finest-wrought pictures in the work. There are some points in it that strongly resemble the case of poor Savage, whose prying curiosity was a great annoyance to his unnatural mother, but did not end so successfully. It was upon this part of Roxana's history, that Mr Godwin founded his tragedy of *Fawkeners*, which was acted and printed in December, 1807, with the following prologue by Charles Lamb:—

"An author who has given you all delight,
Furnish'd the tale our stage presents to-night;
Some of our earliest tears he taught to steal
Down our young cheeks, and forced us first to feel.
To solitary shores whole years confined,
Who has not read how pensive Crusoe pined?
Who, now grown old, that did not once admire
His goat, his parrot, his uncouth attire;
The stick, due notch'd, that told each tedious day,
That in the lonely island wore away?
Who has not shuddered, where he stands aghast
At sight of human footsteps in the waste;
Or joy'd not when his trembling hands unbind
Thee, Friday, gentlest of the savage kind?
The genius who conceived that magic tale
Was skilled by native pathos to prevail.
His stories, though rough drawn, and framed in haste,
Had that which pleas'd our hasty grandsire's taste.
His was a various pen that freely roved
Into all subjects,—was in most approved.
Whate'er the theme, his ready muse obeyed;
Love, courtship, politics, religion, trade.
Gifted alike to shine in every sphere,—
Novelist, historian, poet, pamphleteer.
In some blest interval of party strife,
He drew a striking sketch from private life;
Whose moving scenes of intricate distress,
We try to night in a dramatic dress;
A real story of domestic woe,
That asks no aid from music, verse, or show,
But trusts to truth, to nature, and DE FOE."

Mr Godwin, in his preface to the play, remarks, "The incident on which my production is founded made a strong impression on my fancy when a boy, and always rendered the book which contains it a favourite with me. The terrors of a guilty mind, haunted with mysterious fear of retribution, have seldom been more fearfully delineated."

The editions of "Roxana" printed since the death of the author, contain some variations in the matter as well as in the title. That of 1735, is called "The Life and Adventures of Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress, or most unhappy Wife." The edition of 1742, printed for H. Slater in Clement's lane, 12mo, varies again in the title, but the matter is an exact transcript of the first edition. In 1745, there appeared a new impression in 12mo, with a continuation of Roxana's life from the place where it was broken off by De Foe, until the time of her death, in 1742. It is impossible at this distance of time to say by whom it was written; no light is to be derived on this point from anything in the former part; the style certainly most strongly resembles that of the unquestionable productions of De Foe. These additions amount to about a fourth part of the work, and have been retained in the subsequent editions; but in most of them the work is printed incorrectly, and with the omission of some passages in the first edition. That of 1755, printed for H. Owen, in White Fryars, 12mo, is divided into chapters, and embellished with copper-plates; as is that published by J. Cooke, in 2 vols. 12mo, without a date. There is an edition in crown octavo, printed uniformly with "Moll Flanders," by C. Sympson, in Stone-cutter street, Fleet Market; and there is another in small quarto, printed uniformly with "Robinson Crusoe," towards the middle of the last century.* "Roxana," in common with the other fictions of De Foe, fell into the merciless grasp of Francis Noble, a bookseller in Holborn, and a wholesale dealer in the trash then published under the name of novels. Like his other works, it was dreadfully mangled in the operation. Besides mutilating it of nearly half its contents, and suppressing some of the finest and most interesting passages, he had recourse to artifice in order to procure a sale for his broken wares. His dealings with "Moll Flanders" have been already noticed; his "Roxana" bore the following title:—"The History of Mademoiselle de Belean: Or, the New Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress, afterwards Countess of Wintelsheim. Published by Mr Daniel De Foe; and from Papers found since his Decease, it appears was greatly altered by himself; and from the said Papers, the present work is produced. London: printed for F. Noble, &c. 1775." 12mo. As De Foe left no such papers as are here mentioned, it required no small stock of effrontery to publish the falsehood. Yet from these mutilated editions, so imposed upon the public, those which have since appeared, seem to have been chiefly copied.

The history of the beautiful Roxana, continues Mr Wilson, in the original dress that De Foe bestowed upon it, is one of those rare efforts of genius that occasionally blaze upon the world, to relieve it from the surrounding dullness. In rich natural painting, combining all the charms of simplicity with the most exquisite pathos, it is surpassed by none of his preceding works, and it is the subject only that renders it less acceptable than "Robinson Crusoe." The genius that inspired the one, has put forth the same energies in the other, producing an equally striking effect, and illustrating alike the peculiar talents of the writer.

Although the incidents that compose this instructive narrative derive all their interest from the contrivances of the writer, yet we may believe him when he says, "That the foundation is laid in truth of fact." It is not improbable that the original

* The latter work has the following imprint: "London: printed for R. Crusoe, Junior, and may be had of all the persons who serve newspapers and subscription books. 1742. It has some rude wood-cuts.

of the picture may have had an existence in the gay court of Charles II; but be this as it may, it is certain that the effect is greatly heightened by her being made to tell her own story. In this, indeed, consists its magical influence, persuading the reader that he is conversing with the very person, and receiving from her own lips the recital of her misfortunes.

Although "Roxana" has passed under the same ban of proscription as "Moll Flanders," yet there is an essential difference in the character of the two stories. The latter is an epitome of vice in low life, exhibiting the homely features of the class to which she belongs. Roxana, on the contrary, is a high bred courtesan. She is just such a sort of person as may be supposed to have figured in the gay and licentious days of Charles II; when a thorough-bred loyalist, whether in court or city, would have thought it a breach of good manners to be considered better than his prince. It is true, that in the empire of vice, the moralist knows no distinction of ranks. In its personal consequences, the rich and the poor meet upon one common ground, and the more eminent the station, the more baneful is the influence; but it is equally true, that in proportion to the refinements of life, its exhibition will be usually more or less disgusting. In Roxana, we have a portraiture of manners in the upper classes of society; whilst her maid, Amy, who performs a minor part in her adventures, belongs to the same class as Moll Flanders

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE history of this beautiful lady is to speak for itself: if it is not as beautiful as the lady herself is reported to be; if it is not as diverting as the reader can desire, and much more than he can reasonably expect, and if all the most diverting parts of it are not adapted to the instruction and improvement of the reader, the relator says it must be from the defect of his performance; dressing up the story in worse clothes than the lady whose words he speaks, prepared for the world.

He takes the liberty to say, that this story differs from most of the modern performances of this kind, though some of them have met with a very good reception in the world. I say, it differs from them in this great and essential article, namely, that the foundation of this is laid in truth of fact; and so the work is not a story, but a history.

The scene is laid so near the place where the main part of it was transacted, that it was necessary to conceal names and persons; lest what cannot be yet entirely forgot in that part of the town should be remembered, and the facts traced back too plainly by the many people yet living, who would know the persons by the particulars.

It is not always necessary that the names of persons should be discovered, though the history may be many ways useful; and if we shall be always obliged to name the persons, or not to relate the story, the consequence might be only this:—that many a pleasant and delightful history would be buried in the dark, and the world deprived both of the pleasure and the profit of it.

The writer says he was particularly acquainted with this lady's first husband, the brewer, and with his father, and also with his bad circumstances; and knows that first part of the story to be truth.

This may, he hopes, be a pledge for the credit of the rest, though the latter part of her history lay abroad, and could not be so well vouched as the first; yet, as she has told it herself, we have the less reason to question the truth of that part also.

In the manner she has told the story, it is evident she does not insist upon her justification in any one part of it; much less does she recommend her conduct, or, indeed, any part of it, except her repentance, to our imitation. On the contrary, she makes frequent excursions, in a just censuring and condemning her own practice. How often

does she reproach herself in the most passionate manner, and guide us to make just reflections in the like cases !

It is true she met with unexpected success in all her wicked courses ; but even in the highest elevations of her prosperity, she makes frequent acknowledgments, that the pleasure of her wickedness was not worth the repentance ; and that all the satisfaction she had, all the joy in the view of her prosperity, no, nor all the wealth she revelled in, the gaiety of her appearance, the equipages and the honours she was attended with, could quiet her mind, abate the reproaches of her conscience, or procure her an hour's sleep, when just reflection kept her waking.

The noble inferences that are drawn from this one part are worth all the rest of the story, and abundantly justify, as they are the professed design of, the publication.

If there are any parts in her story, which, being obliged to relate a wicked action, seem to describe it too plainly, the writer says, all imaginable care has been taken to keep clear of indecencies and immodest expressions ; and it is hoped you will find nothing to prompt a vicious mind, but everywhere much to discourage and expose it.

Scenes of crime can scarce be represented in such a manner but some may make a criminal use of them ; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, it is not to make people in love with it, but to expose it ; and if the reader makes a wrong use of the figures, the wickedness is his own.

In the meantime, the advantages of the present work are so great, and the virtuous reader has room for so much improvement, that we make no question the story, however meanly told, will find a passage to his best hours, and be read both with profit and delight.

ROXANA;

OR,

THE FORTUNATE MISTRESS.

I WAS born, as my friends told me, at the city of Poitiers, in the province or county of Poitou, in France, from whence I was brought to England by my parents, who fled for their religion about the year 1683, when the Protestants were banished from France by the cruelty of their persecutors.

I, who knew little or nothing of what I was brought over hither for, was well enough pleased with being here. London, a large and gay city, took with me mighty well, who, from my being a child, loved a crowd, and to see a great many fine folks.

I retained nothing of France but the language, my father and mother being people of better fashion than ordinarily the people called refugees at that time were; and having fled early, while it was easy to secure their effects, had, before their coming over, remitted considerable sums of money, or, as I remember, a considerable value in French brandy, paper, and other goods; and these selling very much to advantage here, my father was in very good circumstances at his coming over, so that he was far from applying to the rest of our nation that were here for countenance and relief. On the contrary, he had his door continually thronged with miserable objects of the poor starving creatures who at that time fled hither for shelter on account of conscience or something else.

I have, indeed, heard my father say, that he was pestered with a great many of those who, for any religion they had, might even have stayed where they were, but who flocked over hither in droves, for what they call, in English, a livelihood; hearing with what open arms the refugees were received in England, and how they fell readily into business, being, by the charitable assistance of the people of London, encouraged to work in their manufactories in Spittal-fields, Canterbury, and other places; and that they had a much better price for their work than in France and the like.

My father, I say, told me that he was more pestered with the clamours of these people than of those who were truly refugees, and fled in distress merely for conscience.

I was about ten years old when I was brought over hither, where, as I have said, my father lived in very good circumstances, and died in about eleven years more; in which time as I had accomplished myself for the sociable part of the

world, so I had acquainted myself with some of our English neighbours, as is the custom in London; and as, while I was young, I had picked up three or four play-fellows and companions, suitable to my years; so, as we grew bigger, we learnt to call one another intimates and friends; and this forwarded very much the finishing me for conversation and the world.

I went to English schools, and being young, I learnt the English tongue perfectly well, with all the customs of the English young women; so that I retained nothing of the French but the speech; nor did I so much as keep any remains of the French language tagged to my way of speaking, as most foreigners do, but spoke what we call natural English, as if I had been born here.

Being to give my own character, I must be excused to give it as impartially as possible, and as if I was speaking of another body; and the sequel will lead you to judge whether I flatter myself or no.

I was (speaking of myself at about 14 years of age) tall and very well made; sharp as a hawk in matters of common knowledge; quick and smart in discourse; apt to be satirical; full of repartee, and a little too forward in conversation; or, as we call it in English, bold though perfectly modest in my behaviour. Being French born, I danced, as some say, naturally, loved it extremely, and sung well also, and so well that, as you will hear, it was afterwards some advantage to me. With all these things, I wanted neither wit, beauty, nor money. In this manner I set out into the world, having all the advantages that any young woman can desire to recommend me to others, and form a prospect of happy living to myself.

At about fifteen years of age, my father gave me, as he called it in French, 25,000 livres, that is to say, two thousand pounds portion, and married me to an eminent brewer in the city. Pardon me if I conceal his name, for though he was the fountain of my ruin, I cannot take so severe a revenge upon him.

With this thing called a husband I lived eight years in good fashion, and for some part of the time kept a coach, that is to say, a kind of mock coach; for all the week the horses were kept at work in the dray-carts, but on the Sunday I had the privilege to go abroad in my chariot, either to church or otherways, as my husband and I

could agree about it, which, by the way, was not very often; but of that hereafter.

Before I proceed in the history of the married part of my life, you must allow me to give as impartial an account of my husband as I have done of myself. He was a jolly, handsome fellow as any woman need wish for a companion; tall and well made; rather a little too large, but not so as to be ungenteel; he danced well, which I think was the first thing that brought us together. He had an old father who managed the business carefully, so that he had little of that part lay on him, but now and then to appear and show himself; and he took the advantage of it, for he troubled himself very little about it, but went abroad, kept company, hunted much, and loved it exceedingly.

After I have told you that he was a handsome man and a good sportsman, I have indeed said all; and unhappy was I, like other young people of our sex, I chose him for being a handsome jolly fellow as I have said; for he was otherwise a weak, empty-headed, untaught creature, as any woman could ever desire to be coupled with. And here I must take the liberty, whatever I have to reproach myself with in my after conduct, to turn to my fellow-creatures, the young ladies of this country, and speak to them by way of precaution. If you have any regard to your future happiness—any view of living comfortably with a husband—any hope of preserving your fortunes, or restoring them after any disaster, never, ladies, marry a fool; any husband rather than a fool; with some other husbands you may be unhappy, but with a fool you will be miserable. With another husband you may, I say, be unhappy, but with a fool you must; nay, if he would, he cannot make you easy; every thing he does is so awkward, everything he says is so empty, a woman of any sense cannot but be surfeited and sick of him twenty times a day. What is more shocking than for a woman to bring a handsome, comely fellow of a husband in company, and then be obliged to blush for him every time she hears him speak? To hear other gentlemen talk sense, and he able to say nothing? And so look like a fool, or which is worse, hear him talk nonsense, and be laughed at for a fool?

In the next place, there are so many sorts of fools, such an infinite variety of fools, and so hard it is to know the worst of the kind, that I am obliged to say, no fool, ladies, at all, no kind of fool, whether a mad fool or a sober fool, a wise fool or a silly fool; take anything but a fool, nay, be anything, be even an old maid, the worst of nature's curses, rather than take up with a fool.

But to leave this awhile, for I shall have occasion to speak of it again; my case was particularly hard, for I had a variety of foolish things complicated in this unhappy match.

First, and which I confess is very insufferable, he was a conceited fool, *tout opiniate*, everything he said was right, was best, and was to the purpose, whoever was in company, and whatever was advanced by others, though with the greatest modesty imaginable; and yet when he came to defend what he had said by argument and reason, he would do it so weakly, so emptily, and so nothing to the purpose, that it was enough to

make anybody that heard him sick and ashamed of him.

Secondly, he was positive and obstinate, and the most positive in the most simple and inconsistent things, such as were intolerable to bear.

These two articles, if there had been no more, qualified him to be a most unbearable creature for a husband; and so it may be supposed, at first sight, what a kind of life I led with him. However, I did as well as I could, and held my tongue, which was the only victory I gained over him; for when he would talk after his own empty rattling way with me, and I would not answer, or enter into discourse with him on the point he was upon, he would rise up in the greatest passion imaginable, and go away, which was the cheapest way I had to be delivered.

I could enlarge here much upon the method I took to make my life passable and easy with the most incorrigible temper in the world; but it is too long, and the articles too trifling: I shall mention some of them as the circumstances I am to relate shall necessarily bring them in.

After I had been married about four years, my own father died, my mother having been dead before. He liked my match so ill, and saw so little room to be satisfied with the conduct of my husband, that though he left me 5,000 livres, and more, at his death, yet he left it in the hands of my elder brother, who, running on too rashly in his adventures as a merchant, failed, and lost not only what he had, but what he had for me too, as you shall hear presently.

Thus I lost the last gift of my father's bounty by having a husband not fit to be trusted with it: there is one of the benefits of marrying a fool.

Within two years after my own father's death my husband's father also died, and, as I thought, left him a considerable addition to his estate, the whole trade of the brewhouse, which was a very good one, being now his own.

But this addition to his stock was his ruin, for he had no genius for his business; he had no knowledge of his accounts; he bustled a little about, indeed, at first, and put on a face of business, but he soon grew slack; it was below him to inspect his books, he committed all that to his clerks and book-keepers; and while he found money in cash to pay his malt-man and the excise, and put some in his pocket, he was perfectly easy and indolent, let the main chance go how it would.

I foresaw the consequence of this, and attempted several times to persuade him to apply himself to his business; I put him in mind how his customers complained of the neglect of his servants on one hand, and how abundance broke in his debt, on the other hand, for want of the clerk's care to secure him, and the like; but he thrust me by, either with hard words or fraudulently, with representing the cases otherwise than they were.

However, to cut short a dull story, which ought not to be long, he began to find his trade sink, his stock declined, and that, in short, he could not carry on his business, and once or twice his brewing utensils were extorted for the excise; and the last time he was put to great extremities to clear them.

This alarmed him, and he resolved to lay down his trade; which, indeed, I was not sorry for; foreseeing that if he did not lay it down in time, he would be forced to do it in another way, namely, as a bankrupt. Also I was willing he should draw out while he had something left, lest I should come to be stripped at home, and be turned out of doors with my children; for I had now five children by him, the only work (perhaps) that fools are good for.

I thought myself happy when he got another man to take his brewhouse clear off his hands; for paying down a large sum of money, my husband found himself a clear man, all his debts paid, and with between two and three thousand pounds in his pocket; and being now obliged to remove from the brewhouse, we took a house at ———, a village about two miles out of town; and happy I thought myself, all things considered, that I was got off clear, upon so good terms; and had my handsome fellow had but one cap full of wit, I had been still well enough.

I proposed to him either to buy some place with the money, or with part of it, and offered to join my part to it, which was then in being, and might have been secured; so we might have lived tolerably, at least, during his life. But as it is the part of a fool to be void of counsel, so he neglected it, lived on as he did before, kept his horses and men, rode every day out to the forest a hunting, and nothing was done all this while; but the money decreased apace, and I thought I saw my ruin hastening on, without any possible way to prevent it.

I was not wanting with all that persuasions and entreaties could perform, but it was all fruitless; representing to him how fast our money wasted, and what would be our condition when it was gone, made no impression on him; but like one stupid, he went on, not valuing all that tears and lamentations could be supposed to do; nor did he abate his figure or equipage, his horses or servants, even to the last, till he had not a hundred pounds left in the whole world.

It was not above three years that all the ready money was thus spending off; yet he spent it, as I may say, foolishly too, for he kept no valuable company neither, but generally with huntsmen and horse-courers, and men meaner than himself, which is another consequence of a man's being a fool; such can never take delight in men more wise and capable than themselves, and that makes them converse with scoundrels, drink belch with porters, and keep company always below themselves.

This was my wretched condition, when one morning my husband told me he was sensible he should come to a miserable condition, and he would go and seek his fortune somewhere or other. He had said something to that purpose several times before that, upon my pressing him to consider his circumstances, and the circumstances of his family, before it should be too late; but as I found he had no meaning in anything of that kind, as, indeed, he had not much in anything he ever said, so I thought they were but words of course now. When he said he would be gone, I used to wish secretly, and even say in my thoughts, I wish you would, for if you go on thus, you will starve us all.

He stayed, however, at home all that day, and lay at home that night; early the next morning he gets out of bed, goes to a window which looked out towards the stables, and sounds his French horn, as he called it, which was his usual signal to call his men to go out a hunting.

It was about the latter end of August, and so was light yet at five o'clock, and it was about that time that I heard him and his two men go out and shut the yard gates after them. He said nothing to me more than as usual when he used to go out upon his sport; neither did I rise, or say anything to him that was material, but went to sleep again after he was gone, for two hours or thereabouts.

It must be a little surprising to the reader to tell him at once, that after this, I never saw my husband more; but to go farther, I not only never saw him more, but I never heard from him, or of him, neither of any or either of his two servants, or of the horses, either what became of them, where or which way they went, or what they did, or intended to do, no more than if the ground had opened and swallowed them all up, and nobody had known it, except as hereafter.

I was not, for the first night or two, at all surprised, no, nor very much the first week or two, believing that if anything evil had befallen them, I should soon enough have heard of that; and also knowing, that as he had two servants and three horses with him, it would be the strangest thing in the world that anything could befall them all but that I must some time or other hear of them.

But you will easily allow, that as time ran on, a week, two weeks, a month, two months, and so on, I was dreadfully frightened at last, and the more when I looked into my own circumstances, and considered the condition in which I was left, with five children, and not one farthing subsistence for them, other than about seventy pounds in money, and what few things of value I had about me, which, though considerable in themselves, were yet nothing to feed a family, and for a length of time too.

What to do I knew not, nor to whom to have recourse; to keep in the house where I was I could not, the rent being too great; and to leave it without his order, if my husband should return, I could not think of that neither; so that I continued extremely perplexed, melancholy, and discouraged, to the last degree.

I remained in this dejected condition near a twelvemonth. My husband had two sisters, who were married, and lived very well, and some other near relations that I knew of, and I hoped would do something for me; and I frequently sent to these, to know if they could give me any account of my vagrant creature; but they all declared to me in answer, that they knew nothing about him; and after frequent sending, began to think me troublesome, and to let me know they thought so too, by their treating my maid with very slight and unhandsome returns to her inquiries.

This grated hard, and added to my affliction, but I had no recourse but to my tears, for I had not a friend of my own left me in the world. I should have observed, that it was about half a year before this elopement of my husband, that

the disaster I mentioned above befel my brother, who broke, and that in such bad circumstances, that I had the mortification to hear, not only that he was in prison, but that there would be little or nothing to be had by way of composition.

Misfortunes seldom come alone: this was the forerunner of my husband's flight; and as my expectations were cut off on that side, my husband gone, and my family of children on my hands, and nothing to subsist them, my condition was the most deplorable that words can express.

I had some plate and some jewels, as might be supposed, my fortune and former circumstances considered; and my husband, who had never stayed to be distressed, had not been put to the necessity of rifling me, as husbands usually do in such cases. But, as I had seen an end of all the ready money during the long time I had lived in a state of expectation for my husband, so I began to make away one thing after another, till those few things of value which I had began to lessen apace, and I saw nothing but misery and the utmost distress before me, even to have my children starve before my face. I leave any one that is a mother of children, and has lived in plenty and good fashion, to consider and reflect what must be my condition. As to my husband, I had now no hope or expectation of seeing him any more; and indeed, if I had, he was the man, of all the men in the world, the least able to help me, or to have turned his hand to the gaining one shilling towards lessening our distress: he neither had the capacity nor the inclination; he could have been no clerk, for he scarce wrote a legible hand; he was so far from being able to write sense, that he could not make sense of what others wrote; he was so far from understanding good English that he could not spell good English; to be out of all business was his delight, and he would stand leaning against a post for half an hour together, with a pipe in his mouth, with all the tranquillity in the world, smoking, like Dryden's countryman, who whistled as he went for want of thought, and this even when his family was, as it were, starving, that little he had wasting, and that we were all bleeding to death; he not knowing, and as little considering, where to get another shilling when the last was spent.

This being his temper and the extent of his capacity, I confess I did not see so much loss in his parting with me as at first I thought I did, though it was hard and cruel to the last degree in him not giving me the least notice of his design, and indeed that which I was most astonished at was, that seeing he must certainly have intended this excursion some few moments at least before he put it in practice, yet he did not come and take what little stock of money we had left, or at least a share of it, to bear his expenses for a little while, but he did not; and I am morally certain he had not five guineas with him in the world when he went away. All that I could come to the knowledge of about him was, that he left his hunting horn, which he called the French horn, in the stable, and his hunting saddle, went away in a handsome furniture, as they call it, which he used sometimes to travel with, having an embroidered housing, a case of pistols, and other things belonging to them; and one of his servants had another saddle with pistols,

though plain, and the other a long gun, so that they did not go out as sportsmen, but rather as travellers; what part of the world they went to I never heard for many years.

As I have said, I sent to his relations, but they sent me short and surly answers; nor did any one of them offer to come to see me, or to see the children, or so much as to inquire after them, well perceiving that I was in a condition that was likely to be soon troublesome to them; but it was no time now to dally with them, or with the world; I left off sending to them, and went myself among them, laid my circumstances open to them, told them my whole case, and the condition I was reduced to, begged they would advise me what course to take, laid myself as low as they could desire, and entreated them to consider that, I was not in a condition to help myself, and that without some assistance we must all inevitably perish; I told them, that if I had but one child, or two children, I would have done my endeavour to have worked for them with my needle, and should only have come to them to beg them to help me to some work, that I might get our bread by my labour; but to think of one single woman, not bred to work, and at a loss where to get employment, to get the bread of five children, that was not possible, some of my children being too young too, and none of them big enough to help one another.

It was all one; I received not one farthing of assistance from anybody, was hardly asked to sit down at the two sisters' houses, nor offered to eat or drink at two more near relations. The fifth, an ancient gentlewoman, aunt-in-law to my husband, a widow, and the least able also of any of the rest, did, indeed, ask me to sit down, gave me a dinner, and refreshed me with a kinder treatment than any of the rest, but added the melancholy part, viz. that she would have helped me, but that, indeed, she was not able, which, however, I was satisfied was very true.

Here I relieved myself with the constant assistant of the afflicted, I mean tears, for, relating to her how I was received by the other of my husband's relations, it made me burst into tears, and I cried vehemently for a great while together, till I made the good old gentlewoman cry too several times.

However, I came home from them all without any relief, and went on at home till I was reduced to such inexpressible distress that is not to be described. I had been several times after this at the old aunt's, for I prevailed with her to promise me to go and talk with the other relations, at least, that, if possible, she could bring some of them to take off the children, or to contribute something towards their maintenance; and, to do her justice, she did use her endeavour with them, but all was to no purpose, they would do nothing, at least that way. I think, with much entreaty, she obtained, by a kind of collection among them all, about eleven or twelve shillings in money, which, though it was a present comfort, was yet not to be named as capable to deliver me from any part of the load that lay upon me.

There was a poor woman that had been a kind of a dependent upon our family, and whom I had often, among the rest of the relations, been very

kind to ; my maid put it into my head one morning to send to this poor woman, and to see whether she might not be able to help in this dreadful case.

I must remember it here, to the praise of this poor girl, my maid, that though I was not able to give her any wages, and had told her so, nay, I was not able to give her the wages that I was in arrears to her, yet she would not leave me ; nay, and as long as she had any money, when I had none, she would help me out of her own, for which, though I acknowledged her kindness and fidelity, yet it was but a bad coin that she was paid in at last, as will appear in its place.

Amy (for that was her name) put it into my thoughts to send for this poor woman to come to me, for I was now in great distress, and I resolved to do so ; but just the very morning that I intended it, the old aunt, with the poor woman in her company, came to see me ; the good old gentlewoman was, it seems, heartily concerned for me, and had been talking again among those people, to see what she could do for me, but to very little purpose.

You shall judge a little of my present distress by the posture she found me in : I had five little children, the eldest was under ten years old, and I had not one shilling in the house to buy them victuals, but had sent Amy out with a silver spoon to sell it, and bring home something from the butcher's ; and I was in a parlour, sitting on the ground, with a great heap of old rags, linen, and other things about me, looking them over, to see if I had anything among them that would sell or pawn for a little money, and had been crying ready to burst myself, to think what I should do next.

At this juncture they knocked at the door ; I thought it had been Amy, so I did not rise up, but one of the children opened the door, and they came directly into the room where I was, and where they found me in that posture, and crying vehemently, as above. I was surprised at their coming, you may be sure, especially seeing the person I had but just before resolved to send for ; but when they saw me, how I looked, for my eyes were swelled with crying, and what a condition I was in as to the house, and the heaps of things that were about me, and especially when I told them what I was doing, and on what occasion, they sat down, like Job's three comforters, and said not one word to me for a great while, but both of them cried as fast and as heartily as I did.

The truth was, there was no need of much discourse in the case, the thing spoke itself, they saw me in rags and dirt, who was but a little before riding in my coach ; thin, and looking almost like one starved, who was before fat and beautiful. The house that was before handsomely furnished with pictures and ornaments, cabinets, pierglasses, and every thing suitable, was now stripped and naked, most of the goods having been seized by the landlord for rent, or sold to buy necessities ; in a word, all was misery and distress, the face of ruin was everywhere to be seen ; we had eaten up almost every thing, and little remained, unless, like one of the pitiful women of Jerusalem, I should eat up my very children themselves.

After these two good creatures had sat, as I say, in silence some time, and had then looked about them, my maid Amy came in, and brought with her a small breast of mutton and two great bunches of turnips, which she intended to stew for our dinner. As for me, my heart was so overwhelmed at seeing these two friends, for such they were, though poor, and at their seeing me in such a condition, that I fell into another violent fit of crying, so that in short I could not speak to them for a great while longer.

During my being in such an agony, they went to my maid Amy at another part of the same room, and talked with her. Amy told them all my circumstances, and set them forth in such moving terms, and so to the life, that I could not upon any terms have done it like her myself, and, in a word, affected them both with it in such a manner, that the old aunt came to me, and though hardly able to speak for tears, "Look ye, cousin," said she, "in a few words, things must not stand thus, some course must be taken, and that forthwith ; pray where were these children born ?" I told her the parish where we lived before ; that four of them were born there, and one in the house where I now was, where the landlord, after having seized my goods for the rent past, not then knowing my circumstances, had now given me leave to live for a whole year more without any rent, being moved with compassion, but that this year was now almost expired.

Upon hearing this account, they came to this resolution, that the children should be all carried by them to the door of one of the relations mentioned above, and be set down there by the maid Amy, and that I, the mother, should remove for some days, shut up the doors, and be gone ; that the people should be told, that if they did not think fit to take some care of the children, they might send for the church-wardens, if they thought that better, for that they were born in that parish, and there they must be provided for ; as for the other child, which was born in the parish of —, that was already taken care of by the parish officers there, for indeed they were so sensible of the distress of the family, that they had at first word done what was their part to do.

This was what these good women proposed, and bade me leave the rest to them. I was at first sadly afflicted at the thoughts of parting with my children, and especially at that terrible thing, their being taken into the parish keeping ; and then a hundred terrible things came into my thoughts, viz. of parish children being starved at nurse ; of their being ruined, let grow crooked, lamed, and the like, for want of being taken care of, and this sunk my very heart within me.

But the misery of my own circumstances hardened my heart against my own flesh and blood ; and when I considered they must inevitably be starved, and I too, if I continued to keep them about me, I began to be reconciled to parting with them all, any how, and anywhere, that I might be freed from the dreadful necessity of seeing them all perish, and perishing with them myself ; so I agreed to go away out of the house, and leave the management of the whole matter to my maid Amy and to them, and accordingly I did so ; and the same afternoon they carried them all away to one of their aunts.

Amy, a resolute girl, knocked at the door, with the children all with her, and bade the eldest, as soon as the door was open, run in, and the rest after her. She set them all down at the door before she knocked, and when she knocked, she stayed till a maid servant came to the door; "Sweetheart," said she, "pray go in and tell your mistress here are her little cousins come to see her from —," naming the town where we lived, at which the maid offered to go back. "Here, child," said Amy, "take one of them in your hand, and I'll bring the rest;" so she gives her the least, and the wench goes in mighty innocently, with the little one in her hand, upon which Amy turns the rest in after her, shuts the door softly, and marches off as fast as she could.

Just in the interval of this, and even while the maid and her mistress were quarrelling—for the mistress raved and scolded at her like a mad woman, and had ordered her to go and stop the maid Amy, and turn all the children out of the doors again; but she had been at the door, and Amy was gone, and the wench was out of her wits, and the mistress too.—I say just at this juncture came the poor old woman, not the aunt, but the other of the two that had been with me, and knocks at the door; the aunt did not go, because she had pretended to advocate for me, and they would have suspected her of some contrivance; but as for the other woman, they did not so much as know that she had kept up any correspondence with me.

Amy and she had concerted this between them, and it was well enough contrived that they did so. When she came into the house, the mistress was fuming and raging like one distracted, and calling the maid all the foolish jades and sluts that she could think of, and that she would take the children and turn them all out into the streets. The good poor woman, seeing her in such a passion, turned about if she would be gone again, and said, "Madam, I'll come again another time, I see you are engaged." No, no, Mrs —, says the mistress, "I am not much engaged, sit down; this senseless creature here has brought in my fool of a brother's whole house of children upon me, and tells me, that a wench brought them to the door, and thrust them in, and bade her carry them to me; but it shall be no disturbance to me, for I have ordered them to be set in the street without the door, and so let the churchwardens take care of them, or else make this dull jade carry them back to — again, and let her that brought them into the world look after them if she will; what does she send her brats to me for?"

"The last indeed had been the best of the two," says the poor woman, "if it had been to be done, and that brings me to tell you my errand, and the occasion of my coming, for I came on purpose about this very business, and to have prevented this being put upon you, if I could, but I see I am come too late."

"How do you mean too late?" says the mistress; "what! have you been concerned in this affair then? what! have you helped to bring this family slur upon us?"—"I hope you do not think such a thing of me, madam," says the poor woman. "but I went this morning to — to see my old mistress and benefactor, for she had been

very kind to me, and when I came to the door, I found all fast locked and bolted, and the house looking as if nobody was at home.

"I knocked at the door, but nobody came, till at last some of the neighbour's servants called to me, and said, 'There is nobody lives there, mistress; what do you knock for?' I seemed surprised at that, 'What! nobody live there!' said I; what do ye mean? does not Mrs — live there?' The answer was, 'No, she is gone;' at which I parleyed with one of them, and asked her what was the matter. 'Matter!' says she, 'why, it is matter enough: the poor gentlewoman has lived there all alone, and without anything to subsist her a long time, and this morning the landlord turned her out of doors.'

"'Out of doors!' says I; 'what! with all her children? poor lambs, what is become of them?' 'Why, truly, nothing worse,' said they, 'can come to them than staying here, for they were almost starved with hunger; so the neighbours, seeing the poor lady in such distress, for she stood crying and wringing her hands over her children like one distracted, sent for the churchwardens to take care of the children; and they, when they came, took the youngest, which was born in this parish, and have got it a very good nurse, and taken care of it; but as for the other four, they had them sent away to some of their father's relations, who were very substantial people, and who, besides that, lived in the parish where they were born.'

"I was not so surprised at this as not presently to foresee that this trouble would be brought upon you, or upon Mr —; so I came immediately to bring you word of it, that you might be prepared for it, and might not be surprised, but I see they have been too nimble for me, so that I know not what to advise. The poor woman, it seems, is turned out of doors into the street; and another of the neighbours there told me, that when they took her children from her, she swooned away, and when they recovered her out of that, she ran distracted, and is put into a mad-house by the parish, for there is nobody else to take care of her."

This was all acted to the life by this good, kind, poor creature; for though her design was perfectly good and charitable, yet there was not one word of it true in fact: for I was not turned out of doors by my landlord, nor gone distracted. It was true, indeed, that at parting with my poor children I fainted, and was like one mad when I came to myself and found they were gone; but I remained in the house a good while after that, as you shall hear.

While the poor woman was telling this dismal story, in came the gentlewoman's husband, and though her heart was hardened against all pity, who was really and nearly related to the children, for they were the children of her own brother, yet the good man was quite softened with the dismal relation of the circumstances of the family; and when the poor woman had done, he said to his wife, "This is a dismal case, my dear, indeed, and something must be done." His wife fell a-raving at him: "What," says she, "do you want to have four children to keep? Have we not children of our own? Would you have these brats come and eat up my children's

bread? No, no, let them go to the parish, and let them take care of them; I'll take care of my own."

"Come, come, my dear," says the husband, "charity is a duty to the poor, and 'he that gives to the poor lends to the Lord;' let us lend our heavenly Father a little of our children's bread, as you call it; it will be a store well laid up for them, and will be the best security that our children shall never come to want charity, or be turned out of doors, as these poor innocent creatures are."—"Don't tell me of security," says the wife, "'tis a good security for our children to keep what we have together, and provide for them, and then 'tis time enough to help to keep other people's children. Charity begins at home."

"Well, my dear," says he again, "I only talk of putting out a little money to interest. Our Maker is a good borrower. Never fear making a bad debt there, child; I'll be bound for it."

"Don't banter me with your charity, and your allegories," says the wife angrily; "I tell you they are my relations, not yours, and they shall not roost here; they shall go to the parish."

"All your relations are my relations now," says the good gentleman very calmly, "and I won't see your relations in distress, and not pity them, any more than I would my own; indeed, my dear, they shan't go to the parish. I assure you, none of my wife's relations shall come to the parish, if I can help it."

"What! will you take four children to keep?" says the wife.

"No, no, my dear," says he, "there's your sister —, I'll go and talk with her; and your uncle —, I'll send for him and the rest. I'll warrant you, when you are all together we will find ways and means to keep four poor little creatures from beggary and starving, or else it would be very hard; we are none of us in so bad circumstances but we are able to spare a mite for the fatherless. Don't shut up your bowels of compassion against your own flesh and blood. Could you hear these poor innocent children cry at your door for hunger, and give them no bread?"

"Prithee, what need they cry at our door?" says she; "'tis the business of the parish to provide for them; they shan't cry at our door. If they do, I'll give them nothing."—"Won't you?" says he; "but I will. Remember that Scripture is directly against us, *Prov. xxi, 13*, 'Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.'"

"Well, we," says she, "you must do what you will, because you pretend to be master; but if I had my will, I would send them where they ought to be sent. I would send them from whence they came."

Then the poor woman put in, and said, "But, madam, that is sending them to starve, indeed, for the parish has no obligation to take care of them, and so they will lie and perish in the street."

"Or be sent back again," says the husband, "to our parish in a cripple-cart, by a justice's warrant, and so expose us and our relations to the last degree among our neighbours, and among those who knew the good old gentleman their

grandfather, who lived and flourished in this parish so many years, and was so well beloved among all people, and deserved it so well."

"I don't value that one farthing, not I," says the wife; "I'll keep none of them."

"Well, my dear," says her husband, "but I value it, for I won't have such a blot lie upon the family, and upon your children; he was a worthy, ancient, and good man, and his name is respected among all his neighbours; it will be a reproach to you, that are his daughter, and to our children, who are his grand-children, that we should let your brother's children perish, or come to be a charge to the public, in the very place where your family once flourished. Come, say no more: I will see what can be done."

Upon this he sent and gathered all the relations together at a tavern hard by, and likewise sent for the four little children, that they might see them; and they all, at first word, agreed to have them taken care of; and, because his wife was so furious, that she would not suffer one of them to be kept at home, they agreed to keep them all together for awhile; accordingly they committed them to the poor woman that had managed the affair for them, and entered into obligations to one another to supply the needful sums for their maintenance; and not to have one separated from the rest, they sent for the youngest from the parish where it was taken in, and had them all brought up together.

It would take up too long a part of this story to give a particular account with what a charitable tenderness this good person, who was but an uncle-in-law to them, managed that affair; how careful he was of them; went constantly to see them, and to see that they were well provided for, clothed, put to school, and at last put out in the world for their advantage; but 'tis enough to say he acted more like a father to them than an uncle-in-law, though all along much against his wife's consent, who was of a disposition not so tender and compassionate as her husband.

You may believe I heard this with the same pleasure which I now feel at the relating it again; for I was terribly affrighted at the apprehensions of my children being brought to misery and distress, as those must be who have no friends, but are left to parish benevolence.

I was now, however, entering on a new scene of life. I had a great house upon my hands, and some furniture left in it, but I was no more able to maintain myself and my maid Amy in it than I was my five children; nor had I anything to subsist with but what I might get by working, and that was not a town where much work was to be had.

My landlord had been very kind indeed, after he came to know my circumstances, though, before he was acquainted with that part, he had gone so far as to seize my goods, and to carry some of them off too.

But I had lived three quarters of a year in his house after that, and had paid him no rent, and which was worse, I was in no condition to pay him any. However, I observed he came oftener to see me, looked kinder upon me, and spoke more friendly to me than he used to do; particularly the last two or three times he had been there, he observed, he said, how poorly I lived,

how low I was reduced, and the like; told me it grieved him for my sake; and the last time of all he was kinder still, told me he came to dine with me, and that I should give him leave to treat me: so he called my maid Amy, and sent her out to buy a joint of meat; he told her what she should buy; but naming two or three things, either of which she might take, the maid, a cunning wench, and faithful to me as the skin to my back, did not buy anything outright, but brought the butcher along with her, with both the things that she had chosen, for him to please himself. The one was a large, very good loin of veal; the other a piece of the fore-ribs of roasting beef. He looked at them, but bade me chaffer with the butcher for him, and I did so, and told him what the butcher had demanded for either of them, and what each of them came to. So he pulls out eleven shillings and threepence, which they came to together, and bade me take them both; the rest, he said, would serve another time.

I was surprised, you may be sure, at the bounty of a man that had but a little while ago been my terror, and had torn the goods out of my house like a fury: but I considered that my distresses had mollified his temper, and that he had afterwards been so compassionate as to give me leave to live rent-free in the house a whole year.

But now he put on the face, not of a man of compassson only, but of a man of friendship and kindness, and this was so unexpected that it was surprising. We chatted together, and were, as I may call it, cheerful, which was more than I could say I had been for three years before; he sent for wine and beer too, for I had none; poor Amy and I had drank nothing but water for many weeks, and, indeed, I have often wondered at the faithful temper of the poor girl, for which I but ill requited her at last.

When Amy was come with the wine, he made her fill a glass to him, and with the glass in his hand, he came to me and kissed me, which I was, I confess, a little surprised at, but more at what followed; for he told me, that as the sad condition which I was reduced to had made him pity me, so my conduct in it, and the courage I bore it with, had given him a more than ordinary respect for me, and made him very thoughtful for my good; that he was resolved for the present to do something to relieve me, and to employ his thoughts in the meantime to see if he could, for the future, put me in a way to support myself.

While he found me change colour, and look surprised at his discourse, for I did to be sure, he turns to my maid Amy, and looking at her, he says to me, "I say all this, madam, before your maid, because both she and you shall know that I have no ill design, and that I have, in mere kindness, resolved to do something for you, if I can: and as I have been a witness of the uncommon honesty and fidelity of Mrs Amy here to you in all your distresses, I know she may be trusted with so honest a design as mine is; for I assure you, I bear a proportioned regard to your maid too, for her affection to you."

Amy made him a courtesy, and the poor girl looked so confounded with joy, that she could not speak, but her colour came and went, and every now and then she blushed as red as scarlet, and the next minute looked as pale as death.

Well, having said this, he sat down, made me sit down, and then drank to me, and made me drink two glasses of wine together; "For," says he, "you have need of it;" and so indeed I had. When he had done so, "Come, Amy," says he, "with your mistress's leave, you shall have a glass too." So he made her drink two glasses also; and then rising up, "And now, Amy," says he, "go and get dinner; and you, madam," says he to me, "go up and dress you, and come down and smile and be merry;" adding, "I'll make you easy, if I can," and in the meantime, he said, he would walk in the garden.

When he was gone, Amy changed her countenance, indeed, and looked as merry as ever she did in her life. "Dear madam," says she, "what does this gentleman mean?" "Nay, Amy," said I, "he means to do us good, you see, don't he? I know no other meaning he can have, for he can get nothing by me." "I warrant you, madam," says she, "he'll ask of you a favour, by and by." "No, no, you are mistaken, Amy, I dare say," said I; "you have heard what he said—didn't you?" "Ay," says Amy, "it's no matter for that, you shall see what he will do after dinner." "Well, well, Amy," says I, "you have hard thoughts of him; I cannot be of your opinion. I don't see anything in him yet that looks like it." "As to that, madam," says Amy, "I don't see anything of it yet neither; but what should move a gentleman to take pity of us, as he does?" "Nay," says I, "that's a hard thing too, that we should judge a man to be wicked because he's charitable; and vicious because he's kind." "O madam," says Amy, "there's abundance of charity begins in that vice; and he is not so unacquainted with things as not to know that poverty is the strongest incentive; a temptation against which no virtue is powerful enough to stand out; he knows your condition as well as you do." "Well, and what then?" "Why then he knows too that you are young and handsome, and he has the surest bait in the world to take you with."

"Well, Amy," said I, "but he may find himself mistaken, too, in such a thing as that." "Why, madam," says Amy, "I hope you won't deny him if he should offer it."

"What d'ye mean by that, hussy?" said I; "no, I'd starve first."

"I hope not, madam, I hope you will be wiser; I'm sure if he will set you up, as he talks of, you ought to deny him nothing; and you will starve if you do not consent, that's certain."

"What, consent to lie with him for bread?—Amy," said I, "how can you talk so!"

"Nay, madam," says Amy, "I don't think you would for anything else; it would not be lawful for anything else; but for bread, madam—why nobody can starve—there's no bearing that, I'm sure."

"Ay," says I, "but if he would give me an estate to live on, he should not lie with me, I assure you."

"Why, look you, madam; if he would but give you enough to live easy upon, he should lie with me for it with all my heart."

"That's a token, Amy, of inimitable kindness to me," said I, "and I know how to value it: but there's more friendship than honesty in it, Amy."

"O madam," says Amy, "I'd do anything to get you out of this sad condition; as to honesty, I think honesty is out of the question when starving is the case—are not we almost starved to death?"

"I am indeed," said I, "and thou art for my sake; but to be a whore, Amy!—" and there I stopped.

"Dear madam," says Amy, "if I will starve for your sake, I will be a whore, or anything, for your sake—why, I would die for you, if I were put to it."

"Why, that's an excess of affection, Amy," said I, "I never met with before; I wish I may be ever in a condition to make you some returns suitable. But however, Amy, you shall not be a whore to him, to oblige him to be kind to me;—no, Amy, nor I won't be a whore to him, if he would give me much more than he is able to give me, or do for me."

"Why, madam," says Amy, "I don't say I will go and ask him; but I say, if he should promise to do so and so for you, and the condition was such that he would not serve you unless I would let him lie with me, he should lie with me as often as he would rather than you should not have his assistance. But this is but talk, madam; I don't see any need of such discourse, and you are of opinion that there will be no need of it."

"Indeed so I am, Amy; but," said I, "if there were, I tell you again, I'd die before I would consent, or before you should consent for my sake."

Hitherto I had not only preserved the virtue itself, but the virtuous inclination and resolution; and had I kept myself there, I had been happy, though I had perished of mere hunger; for without question, a woman ought rather to die than to prostitute her virtue and honour, let the temptation be what it will.

But to return to my story: he walked about the garden, which was, indeed, all in disorder, and overrun with weeds, because I had not been able to hire a gardener to do anything to it, no not so much as to dig up ground enough to sow a few turnips and carrots for family use. After he had viewed it, he came in, and sent Amy to fetch a poor man, a gardener, that used to help our man-servant, and carried him into the garden, and ordered him to do several things in it, to put it into a little order; and this took him up near an hour.

By this time I had dressed me as well as I could, for though I had good linen left still, yet I had but a poor head-dress, and no knots, but old fragments; no necklace, no ear-rings; all those things were gone long ago for mere bread.

However, I was tight and clean, and in better plight than he had seen me in a great while, and he looked extremely pleased to see me so; for he said I looked so disconsolate and so afflicted before, that it grieved him to see me; and he bid me pluck up a good heart, for he hoped to put me in a condition to live in the world, and be beholden to nobody.

I told him that was impossible, for I must be beholden to him or it, for all the friends I had in the world would not or could not do so much for me as that he spoke of. "Well, widow," says he, so he called me, and so indeed I was, in the worst

sense that desolate word could be used in, "if you are beholden to me, you shall be beholden to nobody else."

By this time dinner was ready, and Amy came in to lay the cloth, and indeed it was happy there was none to dine but he and I, for I had but six plates left in the house, and but two dishes; however, he knew how things were, and bid me make no scruple about bringing out what I had. He hoped to see me in a better plight. He did not come, he said, to be entertained, but to entertain me, and comfort and encourage me. Thus he went on, speaking so cheerfully to me, and such cheerful things, that it was a cordial to my very soul to hear him speak.

Well, we went to dinner: I am sure I had not eaten a good meal hardly in a twelvemonth, at least—not of such a joint of meat as the loin of veal was. I ate, indeed, very heartily, and so did he, and made me drink three or four glasses of wine. In short, my spirits were lifted up to a degree I had not been used to, and I was not only cheerful but merry, and so he pressed me to be.

I told him I had a great deal of reason to be merry, seeing he had been so kind to me, and had given me hopes of recovering me from the worst circumstances that ever woman of any sort of fortune was sunk into; that he could not believe but what he had said to me was like life from the dead; that it was like recovering one sick from the brink of the grave; how I should ever make him a return in any way suitable, was what I had not yet had time to think of; I could only say that I should never forget it while I had life, and should be always ready to acknowledge it.

He said that was all he desired of me, that his utmost reward would be the satisfaction of having rescued me from misery; that he found he was obliging one that knew what gratitude meant; that he would make it his business to make me completely easy, first or last, if it lay in his power; and in the meantime, he bid me consider of anything that I thought he might do for me, for my advantage, and in order to make me perfectly easy.

After we had talked thus, he bid me be cheerful. "Come," says he, "lay aside these melancholy things, and let us be merry." Amy waited at the table, and she smiled and laughed, and was so merry she could hardly contain it, for the girl loved me to an excess hardly to be described; and it was such an unexpected thing to hear any one talk to her mistress, that the wench was beside herself almost, and as soon as dinner was over, Amy went up stairs, and put on her best clothes too, and came down dressed like a gentlewoman.

We sat together talking of a thousand things, of what had been, and what was to be, all the rest of the day, and in the evening he took his leave of me, with a thousand expressions of kindness and tenderness, and true affection to me, but offered not the least of what my maid Amy had suggested.

At his going away he took me in his arms, protesting an honest kindness to me; said a thousand kind things to me, which I cannot now recollect; and after kissing me twenty times or thereabouts, put a guinea into my hand, which he said was

for my present supply, and told me that he would see me again before it was out; he also gave Amy half-a-crown.

When he was gone, "Well, Amy," said I, "are you convinced now that he is an honest as well as a true friend, and that there has been nothing, not the least appearance of anything, of what you imagined in his behaviour."—"Yes," says Amy, "I am, but I admire at it; he is such a friend as the world sure has not abundance of to show."

"I am sure," says I, "he is such a friend as I have long wanted, and as I have as much need of as any creature in the world has, or ever had;" and, in short, I was so overcome with the comfort of it, that I sat down and cried for joy a good while, as I had formerly cried for sorrow. Amy and I went to bed that night (for Amy lay with me) pretty early, but lay chatting almost all night about it, and the girl was so transported that she got up two or three times in the night and danced about the room in her shift; in short, the girl was half distracted with the joy of it; a testimony still of her violent affection for her mistress, in which no servant ever went beyond her.

We heard no more of him for two days, but the third day he came again; then he told me, with the same kindness, that he had ordered me a supply of household goods for the furnishing the house; that in particular he had sent me back all the goods that he had seized for rent, which consisted, indeed, of the best of my former furniture; "and now," says he, "I'll tell you what I have in my head for you for your present supply, and that is," says he, "that the house being well furnished, you shall let it out to lodgings for the summer gentry, by which you will easily get a good comfortable subsistence, especially seeing you shall pay me no rent for two years, nor after neither, unless you can afford it."

This was the first view I had of living comfortably indeed, and it was a very probable way, I must confess, seeing we had very good conveniences, six rooms on a floor, and three stories high. While he was laying down the scheme of my management came a cart to the door with a load of goods, and an upholsterer's man to put them up; they were chiefly the furniture of two rooms which he had carried away for his two years' rent, with two fine cabinets, and some pier glasses out of the parlour, and several other valuable things.

These were all restored to their places, and he told me he gave them me freely as a satisfaction for the cruelty he had used me with before; and the furniture of one room being furnished and set up, he told me he would furnish one chamber for himself, and would come and be one of my lodgers, if I would give him leave.

I told him he ought not to ask my leave, who had so much right to make himself welcome; so the house began to look in some tolerable figure, and clean; the garden also, in about a fortnight's time, began to look something less like a wilderness than it used to do; and he ordered me to put up a bill for letting rooms, reserving one for himself, to come to as he saw occasion.

When all was done to his mind, as to placing the goods, he seemed very well pleased, and we

dined together again of his own providing; and when the upholsterer's man was gone, after dinner, took me by the hand; "Come now, madam," says he, "you must show me your house," (for he had a mind to see everything over again). "No, sir," said I, "but I'll go show you your house, if you please;" so we went up through all the rooms, and in the room which was appointed for himself, Amy was doing something; "Well, Amy," says he, "I intend to lie with you to-morrow night." "To-night, if you please, sir," says Amy, very innocently, "your room is quite ready." "Well, Amy," says he, "I am glad you are so willing." "No," says Amy, "I mean your chamber is ready to-night," and away she run out of the room ashamed enough; for the girl meant no harm, whatever she had said to me in private.

However he said no more then; but when Amy was gone he walked about the room and looked at everything, and taking me by the hand he kissed me, and spoke a great many kind affectionate things to me indeed; as of his measures for my advantage, and what he would do to raise me again in the world; told me that my afflictions, and the conduct I had shown in bearing them to such an extremity, had so engaged him to me, that he valued me infinitely above all the women in the world; that though he was under such engagements that he could not marry me (his wife and he had been parted for some reasons, which make too long a story to intermix with mine), yet that he would be everything else that a woman could ask in a husband; and with that he kissed me again and took me in his arms, but offered not the least uncivil action to me, and told me he hoped I would not deny him all the favours he should ask, because he resolved to ask nothing of me but what was fit for a woman of virtue and modesty, for such he knew me to be, to yield.

I confess the terrible pressure of my former misery, the memory of which lay heavy upon my mind, and the surprising kindness with which he had delivered me, and withal, the expectations of what he might still do for me, were powerful things, and made me have scarce the power to deny him anything he would ask; however, I told him thus, with an air of tenderness too, that he had done so much for me, that I thought I ought to deny him nothing; only I hoped and depended upon him, that he would not take the advantage of the infinite obligations I was under to him to desire anything of me, the yielding to which would lay me lower in his esteem than I desired to be; that as I took him to be a man of honour, so I knew he could not like me the better for doing anything that was below a woman of honesty and good manners to do.

He told me that he had done all this for me, without so much as telling me what kindness or real affection he had for me, that I might not be under any necessity of yielding to him in anything for want of bread; and he would no more oppress my gratitude now than he would my necessity before, nor ask anything, supposing he would stop his favours or withdraw his kindness, if he was denied; it was true, he said, he might tell me more freely his mind now than before, seeing I had let him see that I accepted his as-

sistance, and saw that he was sincere in his design of serving me; that he had gone thus far to shew me that he was kind to me, but that now he would tell me that he loved me, and yet would demonstrate that his love was both honourable, and that what he should desire was what he might honestly ask, and I might honestly grant.

I answered, "that within these two limitations I was sure I ought to deny him nothing, and I should think myself not ungrateful only, but very unjust, if I should." He said no more, but I observed he kissed me more, and took me in his arms in a kind of familiar way, more than usual, and which once or twice put me in mind of my maid Amy's words; and yet, I must acknowledge, I was so overcome with his goodness to me in those things he had done, that I not only was easy at what he did, and made no resistance, but was inclined to do the like, whatever he had offered to do. But he went no further than what I have said, nor did he so much as offer to sit down on the bed-side with me, but took his leave, said he loved me tenderly, and would convince me of it by such demonstrations as should be to my satisfaction. I told him I had a great deal of reason to believe him, that he was full master of the house and of me, as far as was within the bounds we had spoken of, which I believed he would not break, and asked him if he would not lodge there that night.

He said he could not stay there that night, business required him in London, but added, smiling, that he would come the next day and take a night's lodging with me. I pressed him to stay that night, and told him I should be glad a friend so valuable should be under the same roof with me; and indeed I began at that time not only to be much obliged to him, but to love him too, and that in a manner that I had not been acquainted with myself.

O let no woman cast a reflection, but consider me generously delivered from trouble, and furnished with gratitude and just principles. This gentleman had freely and voluntarily delivered me from misery, from poverty, and rags; he had made me what I was, and put me into a way to be even more than I ever was, namely, to live happy and pleased, and on his bounty I depended. What could I say to this gentleman when he pressed me to yield to him, and argued the lawfulness of it? But of that in its place.

I pressed him again to stay that night, and told him it was the first completely happy night that I had ever had in the house in my life, and I should be very sorry to have it without his company, who was the cause and foundation of it all; that we would be innocently merry, but that it could never be without him; and, in short, I courted him so, that he said he could not deny me, but he would take his horse and go to London, do the business he had to do, which it seems was to pay a foreign bill that was due that night, and would else be protested, and that he would come back in three hours at furthest and sup with me; but bade me get nothing there, for since I was resolved to be merry, which was what he desired above all things, he would send me something from London, "and we will make it a wedding supper, my dear," says he; and with that word took me in his arms, and kissed me so

vehemently, that I made no question but he intended to do everything else that Amy had talked of.

I started a little at the word wedding. "What do you mean, to call it by such a name?" says I, adding, "we will have a supper, but the other is impossible, as well on your side as mine;" he laughed—"Well," says he, "you shall call it what you will, but it may be the same thing, for I shall satisfy you it is not so impossible as you make it."

"I do not understand you," said I; "have not I a husband and you a wife?"

"Well, well," says he, "we will talk of that after supper;" so he rose up, gave me a kiss, and took his horse for London.

This kind of discourse had fired my blood, I confess, and I knew not what to think of it; it was plain now he intended to lie with me, but how he would reconcile it to a legal thing, like a marriage, that I could not imagine. We had both of us used Amy with so much intimacy, and trusted her with everything, having such unexampled instances of her fidelity, that he made no scruple to kiss me and say all these things to me before her; nor had he cared one farthing if I would have let him lie with me, to have had Amy there too all night. When he was gone—"Well, Amy," says I, "what will all this come to now? I am all in a sweat at him."—"Come to, madam," says Amy, "I see what it will come to, I must put you to bed to-night together." "Why you would not be so impudent, you jade you," says I, "would you?"—"Yes, I would," says she, "with all my heart, and think you both as honest as ever you were in your lives."

"What ails the slut to talk so?" said I, "honest! how can it be honest?"—"Why, I'll tell you, madam," says Amy, "I founded it as soon as I heard him speak, and it is very true too; he calls you widow, and such indeed you are, for as my master has left you so many years, he is dead to you; he is no husband; you are and ought to be free to marry who you will; and his wife being gone from him, and refusing to lie with him, then he is a single man again, as much as ever; and though you cannot bring the laws of the land to join you together, yet one refusing to do the office of a wife, and the other of a husband, you may certainly take one another fairly."

"Nay, Amy," says I, "if I could take him fairly, you may be sure I would take him above all the men in the world; it turned my very heart within me when I heard him say he loved me; how could it do otherwise, when you know what a condition I was in before, despised and trampled on by all the world—I could have took him in my arms and kissed him as freely as he did me, if it had not been for shame."

"Ay, and all the rest too," says Amy, "at the first word; I do not see how you can think of denying him anything; has he not brought you out of the devil's clutches, brought you out of the blackest misery that ever poor lady was reduced to? Can a woman deny such a man anything?"

"Nay, I do not know what to do, Amy," says I. "I hope he wont desire anything of that kind of me, I hope he will not attempt it; if he does, I know not what to say to him."

"Not ask you," says Amy, "depend upon it he will ask you, and you will grant it too; I am sure my mistress is no fool; come, pray madam, let me go air you a clean shift; do not let him find you in foul linen the wedding night."

"But that I know you to be a very honest girl, Amy," says I, "you would make me abhor you; why, you argue for the devil, as if you were one of his privy counsellors."

"It is no matter for that," says Amy, "I say nothing but what I think; you own you love this gentleman, and he has given you sufficient testimony of his affection to you; your conditions are alike unhappy, and he is of opinion that he may take another woman, his first wife having broke her honour, and living from him: and that though the laws of the land will not allow him to marry formally, yet that he may take another woman into his arms, provided he keeps true to the other woman as a wife; nay, he says it is usual to do so, and allowed by the custom of the place, in several countries abroad; and, I must own, I am of the same mind; else it is in the power of a whore, after she has jilted and abandoned her husband, to confine him from the pleasure as well as convenience of a woman all the days of his life, which would be very unreasonable, and, as things go, not tolerable to all people; and the like on your side, madam."

Had I now had my senses about me, and had my reason not been overcome by the powerful attraction of so kind, so beneficent a friend; had I consulted conscience and virtue, I should have repelled this Amy, however faithful and honest to me in other things, as a viper and engine to the devil; I ought to have remembered, that neither he or I, either by the laws of God or man, could come together upon any other terms than that of notorious adultery. The ignorant jade's argument, that he had brought me out of the hands of the devil, by which she meant the devil of poverty and distress, should have been a powerful motive to me not to plunge myself into the jaws of hell, and into the power of the real devil, in recompense for the deliverance. I should have looked upon all the good this man had done for me to have been the particular work of the goodness of Heaven, and that goodness should have moved me to a return of duty and obedience; I should have received the mercy thankfully, and applied it soberly to the praise and honour of my Maker; whereas, by this wicked course, all the bounty and kindness of this gentleman became a snare to me, was a mere bait to the devil's hook; I received his kindness at the dear expense of body and soul, mortgaging faith, religion, conscience, and modesty, for (as I may call it) a morsel of bread; or if you will, ruined my soul from a principle of gratitude, and gave myself up to the devil, to shew myself grateful to my benefactor. I must do the gentleman that justice as to say, I verily believe that he did nothing but what he thought lawful; and I must do that justice upon myself as to say, I did what my own conscience convinced me, at the very time I did it, was horribly unlawful, scandalous, and abominable.

But poverty was my share; dreadful poverty! The misery I had been in was great, such as would make the heart tremble at the apprehen-

sions of its return; and I might appeal to any that has had any experience of the world, whether one so entirely destitute as I was of all manner of help, or friends, either to support me or to assist me to support myself, could withstand the proposal, not that I plead this as a justification of my conduct, but that it may move the pity even of those that abhor the crime.

Besides this, I was young, handsome, and, with all the mortifications I had met with, was vain, and that not a little; and, as it was a new thing, so it was a pleasant thing to be courted, caressed, embraced, and high professions of affection made to me, by a man so agreeable and so able to do me good.

Add to this, that if I had ventured to disoblige this gentleman, I had no friend in the world to have recourse to; I had no prospect, no, not of a bit of bread; I had nothing before me but to fall back into the same misery that I had been in before.

Amy had but too much rhetoric in this cause, she represented all those things in their proper colours, she argued them all with her utmost skill, and at last the merry jade, when she came to dress me, said, "Look you, madam, if you will not consent, tell him you will do as Rachael did to Jacob, when she could have no children, put her maid to bed to him; tell him you cannot comply with him, but there is Amy, he may ask her the question, she has promised me she will not deny you."

"And would you have me say so, Amy?" said I.

"No, madam, but I would really have you do so, besides, you are undone if you do not; and if my doing it would save you from being undone, as I said before, he shall, if he will; if he asks me I will not deny him, hang me if I do," says Amy.

"Well, I know not what to do," says I to Amy. "Do!" says Amy; "your choice is fair and plain; here you may have a handsome, charming gentleman, be rich, live pleasantly, and in plenty, or refuse him, and want a dinner, go in rags, live in tears, in short, beg and starve; you know this is the case, madam," says Amy, "I wonder how you can say you know not what to do."

"Well, Amy," says I, "the case is as you say, and I think verily I must yield to him; but then," said I, moved by conscience, "do not talk any more of your cant, of its being lawful that I ought to marry again, and such stuff as that; it is all nonsense," says I, "Amy, there is nothing in it, let me hear no more of that, for if I yield, it is in vain to mince the matter; I am a whore, Amy, neither better nor worse, I assure you."

"I do not think so, madam, by no means," says Amy, "I wonder how you can talk so;" and she run on with her argument of the unreasonableness that a woman should be obliged to live single, or a man to live single, in such cases as before. "Well, Amy," said I, "come let us dispute no more, for the longer I enter into that part, the greater my scruples will be; but if I let it alone, the necessity of my present circumstances is such, that I believe I shall yield to him, if he should importune me much about it, but I should be glad he would not do it at all, but leave me as I am."

"As to that, madam, you may depend," says

Amy, "he expects to have you for his bed-fellow to-night; I saw it plainly in his management all day, and at last he told you so too as plain, I think, as he could."—"Well, well, Amy," said I, "I do not know how to resist such a man that has done so much for me."—"I do not know how you should," says Amy.

Thus Amy and I canvassed the business between us; the jade prompted the crime, which I had but too much inclination to commit, that is to say, not as a crime, for I had nothing of the vice in my constitution; my spirits were far from being high, my blood had no fire in it to kindle the flame of desire; but the kindness and good humour of the man, and the dread of my own circumstances, concurred to bring me to the point, and I even resolved, before he asked, to give up my virtue to him, whenever he should put it to the question.

In this I was a double offender, whatever he was, for I was resolved to commit the crime, knowing and owning it to be a crime; he, if it was true as he said, was fully persuaded it was lawful, and in that persuasion he took his measures, and used all the circumlocutions which I am going to speak of.

About two hours after he was gone, came a Leadenhall basket woman, with a load of good things for the mouth, the particulars are not to the purpose, and brought orders to get supper by eight o'clock; however, I did not intend to begin to dress anything till I saw him; and he gave me time enough, for he came before seven, so that Amy, who had got one to help her, had everything ready in time.

We sat down to supper about eight, and were indeed very merry; Amy made us some sport, for she was a girl of spirit and wit, and with her talk she made us laugh very often, and yet the jade managed her wit with all the good manners imaginable.

But to shorten the story; after supper he took me up into his chamber, where Amy had made a good fire, and there pulled out a great many papers, and spread them upon a little table, and then took me by the hand, and after kissing me very much, he entered into a discourse of his circumstances, and of mine, how they agreed in some things exactly, for example, that I was abandoned by a husband in the prime of my youth and vigour, and he by a wife in his middle age, how the end of marriage was destroyed by the treatment we had either of us received, and it would be very hard that we should be tied by the formality of the contract, where the essence of it was destroyed; I interrupted him, and told him there was a vast difference between our circumstances, and that in the most essential part, namely, that he was rich and I was poor, that he was above the world, and I infinitely below it; that his circumstances were very easy, mine miserable, and this was an inequality the most essential that could be imagined. "As to that, my dear," says he, "I have taken such measures as shall make an equality still," and with that he showed me a contract in writing, wherein he engaged himself to me to cohabit constantly with me, to provide for me in all respects as a wife; and repeating in the preamble a long account of the nature and reason of our living to-

gether, and an obligation in the penalty of 7,000*l.* never to abandon me; and at last showed me a bond for 500*l.*, to be paid to me, or to my assigns, within three months after his death.

He read over these things to me, and then, in a most moving, affectionate manner, and in words not to be answered, he said, "Now, my dear, is not this sufficient? can you object anything against it? If not, as I believe you will not, then let us debate this matter no longer." With that he pulled out a silk purse, which had threescore guineas in it, and threw it into my lap, and concluded all the rest of his discourse with kisses and protestations of his love, of which indeed I had abundant proof.

Pity human frailty, you that read of a woman reduced in her youth and prime to the utmost misery and distress, and raised again as above, by the unexpected and surprising bounty of a stranger; I say pity her if she was not able, after all these things, to make any more resistance.

However, I stood out a little longer still; I asked him how he could, with any show of reason, expect that I should come into a proposal of such consequence the very first time it was moved to me? and that I ought, if I consented to it, to capitulate with him, that he should never upbraid me with easiness, and consenting too soon. He said, no; but on the contrary he would take it as a mark of the greatest kindness I could shew him. Then he went on to give reasons why there was no occasion to use the ordinary ceremony of delay, or to wait a reasonable time of courtship, which was only to avoid scandal; but, as this was private, it had nothing of that nature in it; that he had been courting me some time, by the best of courtship, viz. doing acts of kindness to me; and that he had given testimonies of his sincere affection to me, by deeds, not by flattering trifles, and the usual courtship of words, which were often found to have very little meaning; that he took me not as a mistress, but as a wife, and protested it was clear to him he might lawfully do it, and that I was perfectly at liberty; and assured me, by all that was possible for an honest man to say, that he would treat me as a wife as long as he lived; in a word, he conquered all the little resistance I intended to make; he protested he loved me above all the world, and begged I would for once believe him; that he had never deceived me, and never would, but would make it his study to make my life comfortable and happy, and to make me forget the misery I had gone through. I stood still awhile and said nothing, but seeing him eager for my answer, I smiled, and looking up at him—"And must I then," said I, "say yes, at first asking? must I depend upon your promise? why, then," says I, "upon the faith of that promise, and in the sense of that inexpressible kindness you have shown to me, you shall be obliged, and I am wholly yours to the end of my life; and with that I took his hand, which held me by the hand, and gave it a kiss.

And thus, in gratitude for the favours I received from a man, was all sense of religion and duty to God, all regard to virtue and honour, given up at once, and we were to call one another man and wife, who, in the sense of the laws, both of God and our country, were no more than two

adulterers,—in short, a whore and a rogue; nor, as I have said above, was my conscience silent in it, though it seems his was; for I sinned with open eyes, and thereby had a double guilt upon me; as I always said his notions were of another kind, and he either was before of the opinion, or argued himself into it, now that we were both free, and might lawfully marry.

But I was quite of another side, nay, and my judgment was right, but my circumstances were my temptation; the terrors behind me looked blacker than the terrors before me; and the dreadful argument of wanting bread, and being run into the horrible distresses I was in before, mastered all my resolution, and I gave myself up as above.

The rest of the evening was spent very agreeably to me; he was perfectly good humoured, and was at that time merry; then he made Amy dance with him, and I told him I would put Amy to bed to him. Amy said, with all her heart, she never had been a bride in her life; in short, he made the girl so merry that had he not been to lie with me the same night I believe he would have played the fool with Amy for half an hour, and the girl would no more have refused him than I intended to do; yet before I had always found her a very modest wench as any I ever saw in all my life; but, in short, the mirth of that night, and a few more such afterwards, ruined the girl's modesty for ever, as shall appear by and by in its place.

So far does fooling and toying sometimes go, that I know nothing a young woman has to be more cautious of; so far had this innocent girl gone in jesting between her and I, and in talking that she would let him lie with her, if he would but be kinder to me, that at last she let him lie with her in earnest; and so empty was I now of all principle, that I encouraged the doing it almost before my face.

I say but too justly that I was empty of principle, because as above I had yielded to him, not as deluded to believe it lawful, but as overcome by his kindness, and terrified at the fear of my own misery if he should leave me. So, with my eyes open, and with my conscience, as I may say, awake, I sinned, knowing it to be a sin, but having no power to resist. When this had thus made a hole in my heart, and I was come to such a height as to transgress against the light of my own conscience, I was then fit for any wickedness, and conscience left off speaking when it found it could not be heard.

But, to return to our story. Having consented as above to his proposal, we had not much more to do. He gave me my writings, and the bond for my maintenance during his life, and for five hundred pounds after his death. And so far was he from abating his affection to me afterwards, that two years after we were thus, as he called it, married, he made his will, and gave me a thousand pounds more, and all my household stuff, plate, &c., which was considerable too.

Amy put us to bed, and my new friend, I cannot call him husband, was so well pleased with Amy for her fidelity and kindness to me, that he paid her all the arrears of her wages that I owed her, and gave her five guineas over; and had it

gone no farther, Amy had richly deserved what she had; for never was a maid so true to a mistress in such dreadful circumstances as I was in, nor was what followed more her own fault than mine, who led her almost into it at first, and quite into it at last; and this may be a farther testimony what a hardness of crime I was now arrived to, which was owing to the conviction that was from the beginning upon me that I was a whore, not a wife; nor could I ever frame my mouth to call him husband, or to say my husband when I was speaking of him.

We lived, surely, the most agreeable life, the grand exception only excepted, that ever two lived together. He was the most obliging gentlemanly man, and the most tender of me, that ever woman gave herself up to: nor was there ever the least interruption to our mutual kindness, no, not to the last day of his life. But I must bring Amy's disaster in at once, that I may have done with her.

Amy was dressing me one morning, for now I had two maids, and Amy was my chambermaid. "Dear madam," says Amy, "what, ain't you with child yet?"—"No, Amy," says I, "nor any sign of it."

"Law, madam," says Amy, "what have you been doing? Why, you have been married a year and a half. I warrant you, master would have got me with child twice in that time."—"It may be so, Amy," says I, "let him try, can't you?"—"No," says Amy, "you'll forbid it now; before I told you he should with all my heart; but I won't now, now he's all your own."—"O," says I, "Amy, I'll freely give you my consent. It will be nothing at all to me. Nay, I will put you to bed to him myself one night or other, if you are willing."—"No, madam, no," says Amy, "not now he's yours."

"Why, you fool you," says I, "don't I tell you I'll put you to bed to him myself?"—"Nay, nay," says Amy, "if you put me to bed to him, that is another case. I believe I shall not rise again very soon."—"I'll venture that, Amy," says I.

After supper that night, and before we were risen from the table, I said to him, Amy being by, "Hark ye, Mr —, do you know that you are to lie with Amy to-night?"—"No, not I," says he; but turns to Amy, "Is it so, Amy?" says he.—"No, Sir," says she. "Nay, don't say no, you fool. Did not I promise to put you to bed to him?" But the girl said "No," still, and it passed off.

At night, when we came to go to bed, Amy came into the chamber to undress me, and her master slipped into bed first; then I began, and told him all that Amy had said about my not being with child, and of her being with child twice in that time. "Ay, Mrs Amy," says he, "I believe so too: come hither, and we will try." But Amy did not go. "Go, you fool," says I, "can't you? I'll freely give you both leave." But Amy would not go. "Nay, you whore," says I, "but you said, if I would put you to bed, you would with all your heart." And with that, I sat her down, pulled off her stockings and shoes, and all her clothes, piece by piece, and led her to the bed to him. "Here," says I, "try what you can do with your maid Amy." She pulled back a little, would not let me pull off her clothes at

first, but it was hot weather, and she had not many clothes on, and particularly no stays on; and at last, when she saw I was in earnest, she let me do what I would. So I fairly stripped her, and then I threw open the bed, and thrust her in.

I need say no more. This is enough to convince any body that I did not think him my husband, and that I had cast off all principle, and all modesty, and had effectually stifled conscience.

Amy, I dare say, began now to repent, and would fain have got out of bed again; but he said to her, "Nay, Amy, you see your mistress has put you to bed, 'tis all her doing, you must blame her." So he held her fast, and the wench being naked in the bed with him, it was too late to look back, so she lay still and let him do what he would with her.

Had I looked upon myself as a wife, you cannot suppose I would have been willing to have let my husband lie with my maid, much less before my face, for I stood by all the while; but as I thought myself a whore, I cannot say but that it was something designed in my thoughts, that my maid should be a whore too, and should not reproach me with it.

Amy, however, less vicious than I, was grievously out of sorts the next morning, and cried and took on most vehemently; that she was ruined and undone, and there was no pacifying her; she was a whore, a slut, and she was undone! undone! and cried almost all day. I did all I could to pacify her. "A whore," says I, "well, and am not I a whore as well as you?" "No, no," says Amy, "no, you are not, for you are married."—"Not I, Amy," says I, "I don't pretend to it. He may marry you to-morrow, if he will, for anything I could do to hinder it. I am not married. I do not look upon it as anything." Well, all did not pacify Amy, but she cried two or three days about it; but it wore off by degrees.

But the case differed between Amy and her master exceedingly; for Amy retained the same kind temper she always had: but, on the contrary, he was quite altered, for he hated her heartily, and could, I believe, have killed her after it, and he told me so, for he thought this a vile action; whereas what he and I had done he was perfectly easy in, thought it just, and esteemed me as much his wife as if we had been married from our youth, and had neither of us known any other; nay, he loved me, I believe, as entirely as if I had been the wife of his youth. Nay, he told me it was true, in one sense, that he had two wives, but that I was the wife of his affection, the other the wife of his aversion.

I was extremely concerned at the aversion he had taken to my maid Amy, and used my utmost skill to get it altered; for though he had, indeed, debauched the wench, I knew that I was the principal occasion of it; and as he was the best humoured man in the world, I never gave it over till I prevailed with him to be easy with her, and as I had now become the devil's agent, to make others as wicked as myself, I brought him to lie with her again several times after that, till at last,

as the poor girl said, so it happened, and she was really with child.

She was terribly concerned at it, and so was he too. "Come, my dear," says I, "when Rachel put her handmaid to bed to Jacob, she took the children as her own. Do not be uneasy; I will take the child as my own. Had not I a hand in the frolic of putting her to bed to you? It was my fault as much as yours." So I called Amy, and encouraged her too, and told her that I would take care of the child and her too, and added the same argument to her. "For," says I, "Amy, it was all my fault; did not I drag your clothes off your back, and put you to bed to him." Thus I that had, indeed, been the cause of all the wickedness between them, encouraged them both, when they had any remorse about it, and rather prompted them to go on with it, than to repent of it.

When Amy grew big, she went to a place I had provided for her, and the neighbours knew nothing but that Amy and I were parted. She had a fine child indeed, a daughter, and we had it nursed, and Amy came again in about half a year to live with her old mistress; but neither my gentleman, or Amy either, cared for playing that game over again; for, as he said, the jade might bring him a house full of children to keep.

We lived as merrily and as happily after this as could be expected, considering our circumstances; I mean as to the pretended marriage, &c.; and as to that my gentleman had not the least concern about him for it. But as much as I was hardened, and that was as much as I believe ever any wicked creature was, yet I could not help it, there was and would be hours of intervals, and of dark reflections which came involuntarily in, and thrust in sighs into the middle of all my songs; and there would be sometimes a heaviness of heart which intermingled itself with all my joy, and which would often fetch a tear from my eye. And let others pretend what they will, I believe it impossible to be otherwise with anybody. There can be no substantial satisfaction in a life of known wickedness; conscience will and does often break in upon them at particular times, let them do what they will to prevent it.

But I am not to preach but to relate, and whatever loose reflections were, and how often soever those dark intervals came on, I did my utmost to conceal them from him; ay, and to suppress and smother them too in myself; and as to outward appearance, we lived as cheerfully and as agreeably as it was possible for any couple in the world to live.

After I had thus lived with him something above two years, truly I found myself with child too; my gentleman was mightily pleased at it, and nothing could be kinder than he was in the preparations he made for me, and for my lying in, which was, however, very private, because I cared for as little company as possible; nor had I kept up my neighbourly acquaintance, so that I had nobody to invite upon such an occasion.

I was brought to bed very well (of a daughter too, as well as Amy), but the child died at six weeks old, so all that work was to do over again,

that is to say, the charge, the expense, the travail, &c.

The next year I made him amends, and brought him a son, to his great satisfaction; it was a charming child, and did very well. After this, my husband, as he called himself, came to me one evening, and told me he had a very difficult thing happened to him, which he knew not what to do in, or how to resolve about, unless I would make him easy; this was, that he must go over to France for about two months.

"Well, my dear," says I, "and how shall I make you easy?"

"Why, by consenting to let me go," says he, "upon which condition, I will tell you the occasion of my going, that you may judge of the necessity there is for it on my side;" then to make me easy in his going, he told me he would make his will before he went, which should be to my full satisfaction.

I told him the last part was so kind that I could not decline the first part, unless he would give me leave to add, that if it was not putting him to an extraordinary expense. I would go over along with him.

He was so pleased with this offer that he told me he would give me full satisfaction for it, and accept of it too; so he took me to London with him the next day, and there he made his will, and shewed it to me, and sealed it before proper witnesses, and then gave it to me to keep. In this will he gave me a thousand pounds to a person that we both knew very well, in trust, to pay it, with the interest from the time of his decease, to me or my assigns; then he willed the payment of my jointure, as he called it, viz., his bond of a hundred pounds after his death; also he gave me all my household stuff, plate, &c.

This was a most engaging thing for a man to do to one under my circumstances; and it would have been hard, as I told him, to deny him anything, or to refuse to go with him any where. So we settled everything as well as we could, left Amy in the house, and for his other business, which was in jewels, he had two men he entrusted, whom he had good security for, who managed for him, and corresponded with him.

Things being thus concerted, we went away to France, arrived safe at Calais, and by easy journies came in eight days more to Paris, where we lodged in the house of an English merchant of his acquaintance, and were very courteously entertained.

My gentleman's business was with some persons of the first rank, and to whom he had sold some jewels of very great value, and received a great sum of money in specie; and, as he told me privately, he gained 3,000 pistoles by his bargain, but would not suffer the most intimate friend he had there to know what he had received; for it is not so safe a thing in Paris to have a great sum of money in keeping as it might be in London.

We made this journey much longer than we intended, and my gentleman sent for one of his managers in London to come over to Paris with some diamonds, and sent him back to London again to fetch more; then other business fell into his hands so unexpectedly, that I began

to think we should take up our constant residence there, which I was not very averse to, it being my native country, and I spoke the language perfectly well, so that we took a good house in Paris, and lived very well there; and I sent for Amy to come over to me, for I lived gallantly, and my gentleman was two or three times going to keep me a coach, but I declined it, especially at Paris; but as they have those conveniences by the day there, at a certain rate, I had an equipage provided for me whenever I pleased, and I lived here in very good figure, and might have lived higher if I pleased.

But in the middle of all this felicity, a dreadful disaster befel me, which entirely unhinged all my affairs, and threw me back into the same state of life that I was in before; with this one happy exception, however, that whereas before I was poor, even to misery, now I was not only provided for, but very rich.

My gentleman had the name in Paris for a very rich man, and, indeed, he was so, though not so immensely rich as people imagined; but that which was fatal to him, was, he generally carried a shagreen case in his pocket, especially when he went to court, or the houses of any of the princes of the blood, in which he had jewels of very great value.

It happened one day, that being to go to Versailles to wait upon the Prince of ———, he came up into my chamber in the morning, and laid out his jewel case, because he was not going to show any jewels, but to get a foreign bill accepted, which he had received from Amsterdam; so when he gave me the case, he said, "My dear, I think I need not carry this with me, because it may be I may not come back till night, and it is too much to venture." I returned, "Then, my dear, you shall not go." "Why?" says he. "Because, as they are too much for you, so you are too much for me to venture, and you shall not go, unless you will promise me not to stay so as to come back in the night."

"I hope there's no danger," said he, "seeing I have nothing about me of any value; and therefore, lest I should, take that too," says he, and gives me his gold watch, and a rich diamond, which he had in a ring, and always wore on his finger.

"Well, but my dear," says I, "you make me more uneasy now than before: if you apprehend no danger, why do you use this caution? and if you apprehend there is danger, why do you go at all?"

"There is no danger," says he, "if I do not stay late, and I do not design to do so."

"Well, but promise me then that you will not," says I, "or else I cannot let you go."

"I will not indeed, my dear," says he, "unless I am obliged to it; I assure you I do not intend it; but if I should, I am not worth robbing now, for I have nothing about me but about six pistoles in my little purse, and that little ring," showing me a small diamond ring, worth about ten or twelve pistoles, which he put upon his finger, in the room of the rich one he usually wore.

I still pressed him not to stay late, and he said he would not. "But if I am kept late," says he. "beyond my expectation, I will stay all night, and come next morning." This seemed a very good

caution; but still my mind was very uneasy about him, and I told him so, and entreated him not to go; I told him I did not know what might be the reason, but that I had a strange terror upon my mind about his going, and that, if he did go, I was persuaded some harm would attend him; he smiled, and returned, "Well, my dear, if it should be so, you are now richly provided for, all that I have here I give to you." And with that he takes up the casket or case, "Here," says he, "hold your hand, there is a good estate for you in this case; if anything happens to me it is all your own, I give it you for yourself;" and with that he put the casket, the fine ring, and his gold watch all into my hands, and the key of his scrutoire besides, adding, "And in my scrutoire there is some money, it is all your own."

I started at him as if I was frightened, for I thought all his face looked like a death's head; and then, immediately, I thought I perceived his head all bloody, and then his clothes looked bloody too, and immediately it all went off, and he looked as he really did; immediately I fell a-crying, and hung about him,—“My dear,” said I, “I am frightened to death, you shall not go, depend upon it some mischief will befall you.” I did not tell him how my vapourish fancy had represented him to me, that I thought was not proper; besides, he would only have laughed at me, and would have gone away with a jest about it; but I pressed him seriously not to go that day, or, if he did, to promise me to come home to Paris again by day-light. He looked a little graver then than he did before, told me he was not apprehensive of the least danger, but if there was, he would either take care to come in the day, or, as he said before, would stay all night.

But all these promises came to nothing, for he was set upon in the open day, and robbed by three men on horseback, masked, as he went; and one of them, who it seems rifled him while the rest stood to stop the coach, stabbed him in the body with a sword, so that he died immediately. He had a footman behind the coach, whom they knocked down with the stock, or butt-end of a carbine. They were supposed to kill him because of the disappointment they met with in not getting his case or casket of diamonds, which they knew he carried about him; and this was supposed, because, after they killed him, they made the coachman drive out of the road a long way over the heath, till they came to a convenient place, where they pulled him out of the coach and searched his clothes more narrowly than they could do while he was alive.

But they found nothing but his little ring, six pistoles, and the value of about seven livres in small moneys.

This was a dreadful blow to me, though I cannot say I was so surprised as I should otherwise have been, for all the while he was gone my mind was oppressed with the weight of my own thoughts, and I was so sure that I should never see him any more, that I think nothing could be like it. The impression was so strong, that I think nothing could make so deep a wound that was imaginary; and I was so dejected and disconsolate, that when I received the news of his disaster, there was no room for any extraordinary alteration in me. I cried all that day, eat nothing,

and only waited, as I might say, to receive the dismal news, which I had brought to me about five o'clock in the afternoon.

I was in a strange country, and though I had a pretty many acquaintances, had but very few friends that I could consult on this occasion. All possible inquiry was made after the rogues that had been thus barbarous, but nothing could be heard of them; nor was it possible that the footman could make any discovery of them by his description, for they knocked him down immediately, so that he knew nothing of what was done afterwards. The coachman was the only man that could say anything, and all his account amounted to no more than this, that one of them had soldier's clothes, but he could not remember the particulars of his mounting, so as to know what regiment he belonged to; and as to their faces, that he could know nothing of, because they had all of them masks on.

I had him buried as decently as the place would permit a protestant stranger to be buried, and made some of the scruples and difficulties on that account easy, by the help of money to a certain person, who went impudently to the curate of the parish of St Sulpitius, in Paris, and told him, that the gentleman that was killed was a catholic; that the thieves had taken from him a cross of gold, set with diamonds, worth 6,000 livres; that his widow was a catholic, and had sent by him 60 crowns to the church of —, for masses to be said for the repose of his soul. Upon all which, though not one word of it was true, he was buried with all the ceremonies of the Roman church.

I think I almost cried myself to death for him, for I abandoned myself to all the excesses of grief; and indeed I loved him to a degree inexpressible; and considering what kindness he had shown me at first, and how tenderly he had used me to the last, what could I do less?

Then the manner of his death was terrible and frightful to me, and, above all, the strange notices I had of it. I had never pretended to the second-sight, or anything of the kind, but certainly if any one ever had such a thing, I had it at this time, for I saw him as plainly in all those terrible shapes as above—first, as a skeleton, not dead only, but rotten and wasted; secondly, as killed, and his face bloody; and thirdly, his clothes bloody, and all within the space of one minute, or indeed of a very few moments.

These things amazed me, and I was a good while as one stupid; however, after some time I began to recover and look into my affairs. I had the satisfaction not to be left in distress or in danger of poverty. On the contrary, besides what he had put into my hands fairly in his lifetime, which amounted to a very considerable value, I found above 700 pistoles in gold in his scrutoire, of which he had given me the key; and I found foreign bills accepted for about 12,000 livres, so that, in a word, I found myself possessed of almost 10,000*l.* sterling in a very few days after the disaster.

The first thing I did upon this occasion was to send a letter to my maid, as I still called her, Amy, wherein I gave her an account of my disaster, how my husband, as she called him (for I never called him so) was murdered; and as I did

not know how his relations, or his wife's friends, might act upon that occasion, I ordered her to convey away all the plate, linen, and other things of value, and to secure them in a person's hands that I directed her to, and then to sell or dispose of the furniture of the house, if she could, and so, without acquainting anybody with the reason of her going, withdraw; sending notice to his head manager at London, that the house was quitted by the tenant, and they might come and take possession of it for the executors. Amy was so dexterous, and did her work so nimbly, that she gutted the house, and sent the key to the said manager, almost as soon as he had notice of the misfortune that befel their master.

Upon their receiving the surprising news of his death, the head manager came over to Paris, and came to the house; I made no scruple of calling myself Madame ———, the widow of Monsieur ———, the English jeweller; and as I spoke French naturally, I did not let him know but that I was his wife, married in France, and that I had not heard that he had any wife in England, but pretended to be surprised, and exclaimed against him for so base an action; and that I had good friends in Poictou, where I was born, who would take care to have justice done me in England out of his estate.

I should have observed that, as soon as the news was public, of a man being murdered, and that he was a jeweller, fame did me the favour to publish presently, that he was robbed of his casket of jewels, which he always carried about him. I confirmed this, among my daily lamentations for his disaster, and added, that he had with him a fine diamond ring, which he was known to wear frequently about him, valued at 100 pistoles, a gold watch, and a great quantity of diamonds of inestimable value in his casket; which jewels he was carrying to the Prince of ———, to show some of them to him; and the prince owned that he had spoken to him to bring some such jewels, to let him see them. But I sorely repented this part afterwards, as you shall hear.

This rumour put an end to all inquiry after his jewels, his ring, or his watch; and as for the 700 pistoles, that I secured. For the bills that were in hand, I owned I had them, but that as, I said, I brought my husband 30,000 livres portion, I claimed the said bills, which came not to above 12,000 livres, for my amende; and this, with the plate, and the household stuff, was the principal of all his estate which they could come at. As to the foreign bill, which he was going to Versailles to get accepted, it was really lost with him; but his manager who had remitted the bill to him, by way of Amsterdam, bringing over the second bill, the money was saved, as they call it, which would otherwise have been also gone; the thieves who robbed and murdered him, were to be sure afraid to send anybody to get the bill accepted, for that would undoubtedly have discovered them.

By this time my maid Amy was arrived, and she gave me an account of her management, and how she had secured everything, and that she had quitted the house, and sent the key to the head manager of his business, and let me know how much she made of everything, very punctually and honestly.

I should have observed, in the account of his dwelling with me so long at ———, that he never passed for anything there but a lodger in the house; and though he was landlord, that did not alter the case. So that at his death, Amy coming to quit the house, and give them the key, there was no affinity between that and the case of their master who was newly killed.

I got good advice at Paris from an eminent lawyer, a counsellor of the parliament there, and laying my case before him, he directed me to make a process in dower upon the estate, for making good my new fortune upon matrimony, which accordingly I did; and, upon the whole, the manager went back to England well satisfied that he had gotten the unaccepted bill of exchange, which was for two thousand five hundred pounds, with some other things, which together amounted to seventeen thousand livres; and thus I got rid of him.

I was visited with great civility on this sad occasion of the loss of my husband, as they thought him, by a great many ladies of quality. And the Prince of ———, to whom it was reported he was carrying the jewels, sent his gentleman with a handsome compliment of condolence to me; and his gentleman, whether with or without order, hinted as if his highness did intend to have visited me himself, but that some accident, which he made a long story of, had prevented him.

By the concourse of ladies and others that thus came to visit me, I began to be much known; and as I did not forget to set myself out with all possible advantage, considering the dress of a widow, which in those days was a most frightful thing; I say, as I did this from my own vanity, for I was not ignorant that I was very handsome; I say, on this account I was soon made very public, and was known by the name of *la belle veuve de Poictou*, or the pretty widow of Poictou. As I was very well pleased to see myself thus handsomely used in my affliction, it soon dried up all my tears; and though I appeared as a widow, yet, as we say in England, it was a widow comforted. I took care to let the ladies see, that I knew how to receive them, and that I was not at a loss how to behave to any of them; and in short I began to be very popular there; but I had an occasion afterwards which made me decline that kind of management, as you shall hear presently.

About four days after I had received the compliments of condolence from the Prince ———, the gentleman he had sent before came to tell me that his highness was coming to give me a visit. I was indeed surprised at that, and perfectly at a loss how to behave. However, as there was no remedy, I prepared to receive him as I could. It was not many minutes after, but he was at the door, and came in, introduced by his own gentleman, as above, and afterwards by my woman Amy.

He treated me with abundance of civility, and condoled handsomely the loss of my husband, and likewise the manner of it. He told me he understood he was coming to Versailles to himself, to show him some jewels; that it was true that he had discoursed with him about jewels, but could not imagine how any villains should

hear of his coming at that time with them; that he had not ordered him to attend with them at Versailles, but told him that he would come to Paris by such a day, so that he was no way accessory to the disaster. I told him gravely I knew very well that all his highness had said of that part was true: that these villains knew his profession, and knew, no doubt, that he always carried a casket of jewels about him, and that he always wore a diamond ring on his finger worth a hundred pistoles, which report had magnified to five hundred; and that if he had been going to any other place, it would have been the same thing. After this his highness rose up to go, and told me he had resolved however to make me some reparation; and with these words put a silk purse into my hand with a hundred pistoles, and told me he would make me a further compliment of a small pension, which his gentleman would inform me of.

You may be sure I behaved with a due sense of so much goodness, and offered to kneel to kiss his hand, but he took me up and saluted me, and sat down again (though before he made as if he was going away), making me sit down by him.

He then began to talk with me more familiarly; told me he hoped I was not left in bad circumstances; that Mr — was reputed to be very rich, and that he had gained lately great sums by some jewels, and he hoped, he said, that I had still a fortune agreeable to the condition I had lived in before.

I replied, with some tears which I confess were a little forced, that I believed if Mr — had lived, we should have been out of danger of want, but that it was impossible to estimate the loss which I had sustained, besides that of the life of my husband. That, by the opinion of those that knew something of his affairs, and of what value the jewels were which he intended to have shown to his highness, he could not have less about him than the value of a hundred thousand livres. That it was a fatal blow to me, and to his whole family, especially that they should be lost in such a manner.

His highness returned, with an air of concern, that he was very sorry for it; but he hoped, if I settled in Paris, I might find ways to restore my fortune; at the same time he complimented me upon my being very handsome, as he was pleased to call it, and that I could not fail of admirers. I stood up and humbly thanked his highness, but told him I had no expectations of that kind; that I thought I should be obliged to go over to England, to look after my husband's effects there, which I was told were considerable; but that I did not know what justice a poor stranger would get among them; and as for Paris, my fortune being so impaired, I saw nothing before me but to go back to Poictou to my friends, where some of my relations, I hoped, might do something for me, and added, that one of my brothers was an abbot at —, near Poitiers.

He stood up, and taking me by the hand, led me to a large looking-glass which made up the pier in the front of the parlour, "Look there, madam," said he, "is it fit that that face," pointing to my figure in the glass, "should go back to Poictou? No, madam," says he, "stay and make some gentleman of quality happy, that

may in return make you forget all your sorrows; and with that he took me in his arms, and kissing me twice, told me he would see me again, but with less ceremony.

Some little time after this, but the same day, his gentleman came to me again, and with great ceremony and respect, delivered me a black box tied with a scarlet ribband, and sealed with a noble coat of arms, which I suppose was the prince's. There was in it a grant from his highness, or an assignment, I know not which to call it, with a warrant to his banker to pay me two thousand livres a year, during my stay in Paris, as the widow of Monsieur —, the jeweller, mentioning the horrid murder of my late husband as the occasion of it, as above.

I received it with great submission, and expressions of being infinitely obliged to his master, and of my showing myself on all occasions his highness's most obedient servant; and after giving my most humble duty to his highness, with the utmost acknowledgements of the obligation, &c. I went to a little cabinet, and taking out some money, which made a little sound in taking it out, offered to give him five pistoles.

He drew back, but with the greatest respect, and told me he humbly thanked me, but that he durst not take a farthing; that his highness would take it so ill of him, he was sure he would never see his face more; but that he would not fail to acquaint his highness what respect I had offered; and added, "I assure you, madam, you are more in the good graces of my master, the Prince of —, than you are aware of; and I believe you will hear more of him."

Now I began to understand him, and resolved if his highness did come again, he should see me under no disadvantage, if I could help it. I told him, if his highness did me the honour to see me again, I hoped he would not let me be surprised as I was before; that I would be glad to have some little notice of it, and would be obliged to him if he would procure it me. He told me, he was very sure that when his highness intended to visit me, he should be sent before, to give me notice of it, and that he would give me as much warning of it as possible.

He came several times after this, on the same errand, that is, about the settlement, the grant requiring several things yet to be done, for making it payable without going every time to the prince again for a fresh warrant. The particulars of this part I did not understand; but as soon as it was finished, which was above two months, the gentleman came one afternoon, and said his highness designed to visit me in the evening; but desired to be admitted without ceremony.

I prepared not my rooms only, but myself; and when he came in there was nobody appeared in the house but his gentleman and my maid Amy, and of her I bid the gentleman acquaint his highness that she was an English woman; that she did not understand a word of French, and that she was one also that might be trusted.

When he came into my room, I fell down at his feet, before he could come to salute me, and with words that I had prepared full of duty and respect, thanked him for his bounty and goodness to a poor desolate woman, oppressed under the weight of so terrible a disaster, and refused to

rise till he would allow me the honour to kiss his hand.

"*Levez-vous donc,*" says the prince, taking me in his arms, "I design more favours for you than this trifle;" and going on, he added, "you shall for the future find a friend where you did not look for it, and I resolve to let you see how kind I can be to one who is to me the most agreeable creature on earth."

I was dressed in a kind of half mourning, had turned off my weeds, and my head, though I had yet no ribbands nor lace, was so dressed as failed not to set me out with advantage enough, for I began to understand his meaning: and the prince professed I was the most beautiful creature on earth. "And where have I lived," says he, "and how ill have I been served that I should never till now be shown the finest woman in France?"

This was the way in all the world the most likely to break in upon my virtue if I had been mistress of any, for I was now become the vainest creature upon earth, and particularly of my beauty, which, as other people admired, so I became every day more foolishly in love with myself than before.

He said some very kind things to me after this, and sat down with me for an hour or more, when getting up, and calling his gentleman by name, he threw open the door. "*A boire,*" says he, upon which his gentleman immediately brought up a little table covered with a fine damask cloth, the table no bigger than he could bring in his two hands, but upon it was set two decanters, one of champagne and the other of water, six silver plates, and a service of fine sweetmeats in fine China dishes, on a set of rings standing up about twenty inches high, one above another. Below were three roasted partridges and a quail. As soon as his gentleman had set it all down, he ordered him to withdraw. "Now," says the prince, "I intend to sup with you."

When he had sent away his gentleman, I stood up and offered to wait on his highness, while he eat, but he positively refused, and told me, "No, to-morrow you shall be the widow of Monsieur —, the jeweller, but to-night you shall be my mistress. Therefore, sit here," says he, "and eat with me, or I will get up and serve."

I would then have called up my woman Amy, but I thought that would not be proper neither; so I made my excuse that since his highness would not let his own servant wait, I would not presume to let my woman come up; but if he would please to let me wait, it would be my honour to fill his highness's wine; but, as before, he would by no means allow me. So we sat and eat together.

"Now, madam," says the prince, "give me leave to lay aside my character; let us talk together with the freedom of equals; my quality sets me at a distance from you, and makes you ceremonious; your beauty exalts you to more than an equality. I must then treat you as lovers do their mistresses, but I cannot speak the language; it is enough to tell you how agreeable you are to me, how I am surprised at your beauty, and resolve to make you happy, and to be happy with you."

I knew not what to say to him for a good while, but blushed, and looking up towards him,

said I was already made happy in the favour of a person of such rank, and had nothing to ask of his highness but that he would believe me infinitely obliged.

After he had eaten, he poured the sweetmeats into my lap; and the wine being out, he called his gentleman again to take away the table, who, at first, only took the cloth and the remains of what was to eat, away; and laying another cloth, set the table on one side of the room with a noble service of plate on it, worth at least 200 pistoles. Then, having set the two decanters again upon the table, filled, as before, he withdrew, for I found the fellow understood his business very well, and his lord's business too.

About half an hour after, the prince told me that I offered to wait a little before, but if I would now take the trouble, he would give me leave to give him some wine; so I went to the table, filled a glass of wine, and brought it to him on a fine salver, which the glasses stood on, and brought the bottle or decanter of water in my other hand, to mix it as he thought fit.

He smiled, and bid me look on that salver, which I did, and admired it much, for it was a very fine one indeed. "You may see," said he, "I resolve to have more of your company, for my servant shall leave you that plate for my use." I told him I believed his highness would not take it ill that I was not furnished fit to entertain a person of his rank, and that I would take great care of it, and value myself infinitely upon the honour of his highness's visit.

It now began to grow late, and he began to take notice of it. "But," says he, "I cannot leave you; have you not a spare lodging for one night? I told him I had but a homely lodging to entertain such a guest. He said something exceeding kind on that head, but not fit to repeat, adding, that my company would make him amends.

About midnight he sent his gentleman on an errand, after telling him aloud that he intended to stay here all night. In a little time his gentleman brought him a night-gown, slippers, two caps, a neckcloth, and shirt, which he gave me to carry into his chamber, and sent his man home; and then, turning to me, said I should do him the honour to be his chamberlain of the household and his dresser also. I smiled, and told him I would do myself the honour to wait on him upon all occasions.

About one in the morning, while his gentleman was yet with him, I begged leave to withdraw, supposing he would go to bed; but he took the hint, and said, "I am not going to bed yet, pray let me see you again."

I took this time to undress me, and to come in a new dress, which was in a manner *une dishabille*, but so fine, and all about me so clean and so agreeable, that he seemed surprised. "I thought," says he, "you could not have dressed to more advantage than you had done before; but now," says he, "you charm me a thousand times more, if that be possible."

"It is only a loose habit, my lord," said I, "that I may the better wait on your highness." He pulled me to him. "You are perfectly obliging," says he, "and," sitting on the bed-side, "now you shall be a princess, and know what it is to

oblige the most grateful man alive:" and, with that, he took me in his arms. I can go no further in the particulars of what passed at that time, but it ended in this, that, in short, I lay with him all that night.

I have given you the whole detail of this story to lay it down as a black scheme of the way how unhappy women are ruined by great men; for though poverty and want is an irresistible temptation to the poor, vanity and great things are as irresistible to others. To be courted by a prince, and by a prince who was first a benefactor and then an admirer; to be called handsome, the finest woman in France, and to be treated as a woman fit for the bed of a prince; these are things a woman must have no vanity in her, nay, no corruption in her, that is not overcome by it; and my case was such that, as before, I had enough of both.

I had now no poverty attending me; on the contrary, I was mistress of ten thousand pounds before the prince did anything for me. Had I been mistress of my resolution; had I been less obliging, and rejected the first attack, all had been safe; but my virtue was lost before, and the devil, who had found the way to break in upon me by one temptation, easily mastered me now by another; and I gave myself up to a person, who, though a man of high dignity, was yet the most tempting and obliging that ever I met with in my life.

I had the same particulars to insist upon here with the prince as I had with my gentleman before. I hesitated much at consenting at first asking, but the prince told me princes did not court like other men; that they brought more powerful arguments; and he very prettily added, that they were sooner repulsed than other men, and ought to be sooner complied with; intimating, though very genteely, that after a woman had positively refused him once, he could not, like other men, wait with importunities and stratagems, and laying long sieges; but as such men as he stormed warmly, so, if repulsed, they made no second attacks: and, indeed, it was reasonable; for as it was below their rank to be long battering a woman's constancy, so they ran greater hazards in being exposed in their amours than other men did.

I took this for a satisfactory answer, and told his highness that I had the same thoughts in respect to the manner of his attacks; for that his person and his arguments were irresistible; that a person of his rank, and a munificence so unbounded, could not be withstood; that no virtue was proof against him, except such as was able to suffer martyrdom; that I thought it impossible I could be overcome, but that now I found it impossible I should not be overcome; that so much goodness, joined with so much greatness, would have conquered a saint; and that I confess he had the victory over me, by a merit infinitely superior to the conquest he had made.

He made me a most obliging answer; told me abundance of fine things, which still flattered my vanity, till at last I began to have pride enough to believe him, and fancied myself a fit mistress for a prince.

As I had thus given the prince the last favour, and he had all the freedom with me that it was

possible for me to grant, so he gave me leave to use as much freedom with him another way, and that was to have everything of him I thought fit to command; and yet I did not ask of him with an air of avarice, as if I was greedily making a penny of him, but I managed him with such art that he generally anticipated my demands. He only requested of me that I would not think of taking another house, as I had intimated to his highness I intended to do, not thinking it good enough to receive his visits in; but he said my house was the most convenient that could possibly be found in all Paris for an amour, especially for him, having a way out into three streets, and not overlooked by any neighbours, so that he could pass and repass without observation; for one of the back ways opened into a narrow dark alley, which alley was a thoroughfare or passage out of one street into another; and any person that went in or out by the door had no more to do but to see that there was nobody following him in the alley before he went in at the door. This request I knew was reasonable, and therefore I assured him I would not change my dwelling, seeing his highness did not think it too mean for me to receive him in.

He also desired me that I would not take any more servants, or set up any equipage, at least for the present; for that it would then be immediately concluded I had been left very rich, and then I should be thronged with the impertinence of admirers, who would be attracted by the money, as well as by the beauty of a young widow, and he should be frequently interrupted in his visits; or that the world would conclude I was maintained by somebody, and would be indefatigable to find out the person; so that he should have spies peeping at him every time he went out or in, which it would be impossible to disappoint; and that he should presently have it talked over all the toilets in Paris that the Prince de — had got the jeweller's widow for a mistress.

This was too just to oppose, and I made no scruple to tell his highness that since he had stooped so low as to make me his own, he ought to have all the satisfaction in the world; that I was all his own; that I would take all the measures he should please to direct me to avoid the impertinent attacks of others; and that, if he thought fit, I would be wholly within doors, and have it given out that I was obliged to go to England to solicit my affairs there, after my husband's misfortunes, and that I was not expected there again for at least a year or two. This he liked very well, only he said that he would by no means have me confined; that it would injure my health, and that I should then take a country house in some village, a good way from the city, where it should not be known who I was, and that he should be there sometimes to divert me.

I made no scruple of the confinement, and told his highness no place could be a confinement where I had such a visitor, and so I put off the country house, which would have been to remove myself further from him, and have less of his company; so I made the house be, as it were, shut up. Amy, indeed, appeared, and when any of the neighbours or servants enquired, she answered, in broken French, that I was gone to

England to look after my affairs, which presently went current through the streets about us. For you are to note, that the people of Paris, especially the women, are the most busy and impertinent inquirers into the conduct of their neighbours, especially that of a single woman, that are in the world, though there are no greater intriguers in the universe than themselves; and perhaps that may be the reason of it, for it is an old but a sure rule, that,—

"When deep intrigues are close and shy,
The guilty are the first that spy."

Thus his highness had the most easy, and yet the most undiscoverable access to me imaginable, and he seldom failed to come two or three nights in a week, and sometimes stayed two or three nights together. Once he told me he was resolved I should be weary of his company, and that he would learn to know what it was to be a prisoner; so he gave out among his servants that he was gone to ——— where he often went a hunting, and that he should not return under a fortnight; and that fortnight he stayed wholly with me, and never went out of my doors.

Never woman, in such a station, lived a fortnight in so complete a fulness of human delight; for to have the entire possession of one of the most accomplished princes in the world, and of the politest best-bred man; to converse with him all day, and as he professed, charm him all night; what could be more inexpressibly pleasing, and especially to a woman of a vast deal of pride, as I was?

To finish the felicity of this part, I must not forget that the devil had played a new game with me, and prevailed with me to satisfy myself with this amour, as a lawful thing; that a prince of such grandeur and majesty, so infinitely superior to me, and one who had made such an introduction by an unparalleled bounty, I could not resist: and therefore, that it was very lawful for me to do it, being at this time perfectly single, and unengaged to any other man, as I was, most certainly, by the unaccountable absence of my first husband, and the murder of my gentleman who went for my second.

It cannot be doubted but that I was the easier to persuade myself of the truth of such a doctrine as this, when it was so much for my ease, and for the repose of my mind, to have it be so.

"In things we wish, 'tis easy to deceive,
What we would have we willingly believe."

Besides, I had no casuists to resolve this doubt; the same devil that put this into my head bade me go to any of the Romish clergy, and, under the pretence of confession, state the case exactly, and I should see they would either resolve it to be no sin at all, or absolve me upon the easiest penance. This I had a strong inclination to try, but I know not what scruple put me off to it, for I could never bring myself to like having to do with those priests; and though it was strange that I, who had thus prostituted my chastity, and given up all sense of virtue, in two such particular cases, living a life of open adultery, should scruple anything; yet so it was. I argued with myself that I could not be a cheat in anything that was esteemed sacred; that I could not be of one opinion, and then pretend myself to be of

another; nor could I go to confession, who knew nothing of the manner of it, and should betray myself to the priest to be an Hugonot, and then might come into trouble; but, in short, though I was a whore, yet I was a Protestant whore, and could not act as if I was Popish, upon any account whatsoever.

But, I say, I satisfied myself with the surprising occasion, that, as it was all irresistible, so it was all lawful; for that heaven would not suffer us to be punished for that which it was not possible for us to avoid; and with these absurdities I kept conscience from giving me any considerable disturbance in all this matter; and I was as perfectly easy as to the lawfulness of it, as if I had been married to the prince, and had had no other husband: so possible is it for us to roll ourselves up in wickedness, till we grow invulnerable by conscience; and that sentinel once dozed, sleeps fast, not to be awakened while the tide of pleasure continues to flow, or till something dark and dreadful brings us to ourselves again.

I have, I confess, wondered at the stupidity that my intellectual part was under all that while; what lethargic fumes dozed the soul; and how it was possible that I, who in the case before, where the temptation was many ways more forcible, and the arguments stronger, and more irresistible, was yet under a continued inquietude, on account of the wicked life I led, could now live in the most profound tranquillity, and with an uninterrupted peace, nay, even rising up to satisfaction and joy, and yet in a more palpable state of adultery than before; for before, my gentleman, who called me wife, had the pretence of his wife being parted from him, refusing to do the duty of her office as a wife to him. As for me, my circumstances were the same; but as for the prince, as he had a fine and extraordinary lady, or princess, of his own, so he had two or three mistresses more besides me, and made no scruple of it at all.

However, I say, as to my own part, I enjoyed myself in perfect tranquillity; and as the prince was the only deity I worshipped, so I was really his idol; and however it was with his princess, I assure you his other mistresses found a sensible difference, and though they could never find me out, yet I had good intelligence that they guessed very well that their lord had got some new favourite that robbed them of his company, and, perhaps, of some of his usual bounty too. And now I must mention the sacrifices he made to his idol, and they were not a few, I assure you.

As he loved like a prince, so he rewarded like a prince, for though he declined my making a figure, as above, he let me see that he was above doing it for the saving the expense of it, and so he told me, and that he would make it up in other things. First of all, he sent me a toilet, with the appurtenances of silver, even so much as the frame of the table; and then for the house he gave me the table, or sideboard of plate I mentioned above, with all things belonging to it, of massy silver, so that, in short, I could not for my life study to ask him for anything of plate which I had not.

He could then accommodate me in nothing more but jewels and clothes, or money for clothes; he sent his gentleman to the mercer's, and bought

me a suit, or whole piece, of the finest brocaded silk, figured with gold, and another with silver, and another of crimson, so that I had three suits of clothes, such as the queen of France would not have disdained to have worn at that time; yet I went out nowhere; but as those were for me to put on when I went out of mourning, I dressed myself in them, one after another, always when his highness came to see me.

I had no less than five several morning dresses besides these, so that I need never be seen twice in the same dress; to these he added several parcels of fine linen and of lace, so much that I had no room to ask for more, or, indeed, for so much.

I took the liberty once, in our freedoms, to tell him he was too bountiful, and that I was too chargeable to him for a mistress, and that I would be his faithful servant at less expense to him; and that he not only left me no room to ask him for anything, but that he supplied me with such a profusion of good things that I scarce could wear them, or use them unless I kept a great equipage, which he knew was no way convenient for him or for me: he smiled, and took me in his arms, and told me he was resolved, while I was his, I should never be able to ask him for anything, but that he would be daily asking new favours of me.

After we were up, (for this conference was in bed) he desired I would dress me in the best suit of clothes I had. It was a day or two after the three suits were made and brought home. I told him, if he pleased, I would rather dress me in that suit which I knew he liked best. He asked me how I could know that before he had seen them. I told him I would presume for once to guess at his fancy by my own; so I went away and dressed me in the second suit, brocaded with silver, and returned in full dress, with a suit of lace upon my head, which would have been worth in England £200 sterling; and I was every way set out as well as Amy could dress me, who was a very genteel dresser too. In this figure I came to him, out of my dressing room, which opened with folding doors into his bedchamber.

He sat as one astonished a good while, looking at me, without speaking a word, till I came quite up to him, kneeled on one knee to him, and almost, whether he would or no, kissed his hand. He took me up, and stood up himself, but was surprised when, taking me in his arms, he perceived tears to run down my cheeks. "My dear," says he, aloud, "what mean these tears?"—"My lord," said I, after some little check, for I could not speak presently, "I beseech you to believe me, they are not tears of sorrow, but tears of joy. It is impossible for me to see myself snatched from the misery I was fallen into, and at once to be in the arms of a prince of such goodness, such immense bounty, and be treated in such a manner; it is not possible, my lord," said I, "to contain the satisfaction of it; and it will break out in an excess in some measure proportioned to your immense bounty, and to the affection which your highness treats me with, who am so infinitely below you."

It would look a little too much like a romance here to repeat all the kind things he said to me on that occasion, but I cannot omit one passage;

as he saw the tears drop down my cheeks, he pulls out a fine cambric handkerchief, and was going to wipe the tears off, but checked his hand, as if he was afraid to deface something; nay, he checked his hand, and tossed the handkerchief to me to do it myself. I took the hint immediately, and with a kind of pleasant disdain, "How, my lord," said I, "have you kissed me so often, and don't you know whether I am painted or not? Pray let your highness satisfy yourself that you have no cheats put upon you; for once let me be vain enough to say, I have not deceived you with false colours." With this, I put a handkerchief into his hand, and taking his hand into mine, I made him wipe my face so hard that he was unwilling to do it, for fear of hurting me.

He appeared surprised more than ever, and swore, which was the first time that I had heard him swear from my first knowing him, that he could not have believed there was any such skin without paint in the world. "Well, my lord," said I, "your highness shall have a further demonstration than this; as to that which you are pleased to accept for beauty, it is the mere work of nature;" and with that I stepped to the door, and rung a little bell for Amy, and bid her bring me a cup full of hot water, which she did; and when it was come, I desired his highness to feel if it was warm, which he did, and I immediately washed my face all over with it before him. This was, indeed, more than satisfaction, that is to say, than believing, for it was an undeniable demonstration, and he kissed my cheeks and breasts a thousand times, with expressions of the greatest surprise imaginable.

Nor was I a very indifferent figure as to shape; though I had two children by my gentleman, and six by my true husband, I say, I was no despicable shape; and my prince (I must be allowed the vanity to call him so) was taking his view of me as I walked from one end of the room to the other. At last he leads me to the darkest part of the room, and standing behind me, bid me hold up my head, when putting both his hands round my neck, as if he was spanning my neck, to see how small it was, for it was long and small, he held my neck so long and so hard in his hand, that I complained he hurt me a little. What he did it for, I knew not, nor had I the least suspicion but that he was spanning my neck; but when I said he hurt me, he seemed to let me go, and in a half a minute more led me to a pier glass, and behold I saw my neck clasped with a fine necklace of diamonds; whereas I felt no more what he was doing than if he had really done nothing at all, nor did I suspect it in the least. If I had an ounce of blood in me that did not fly up in my face, neck, and breasts, it must be from some interruption in the vessels. I was all on fire with the sight, and began to wonder what it was that was coming to me.

However, to let him see that I was not unqualified to receive benefits, I turned about: "My lord," says I, "your highness is resolved to conquer, by your bounty the very gratitude of your servants; you will leave no room for anything but thanks, and make those thanks useless too, by their bearing no proportion to the occasion."

"I love, child," says he, "to see everything suitable. A fine gown and petticoat, a fine laced

head, a fine face and neck and no necklace, would not have made the object perfect. But why that blush, my dear?" says the prince. "My lord," said I, "all your gifts call for blushes, but above all I blush to receive what I am so little able to merit, and may become so ill also."

Thus far I am a standing mark of the weakness of great men in their vice, that value not squandering away immense wealth upon the most worthless creatures; or, to sum it up in a word, they raise the value of the object which they pretend to pitch upon by their fancy. I say, raise the value of it at their own expense; give vast presents for a ruinous favour which is so far from being equal to the price, that nothing will at last prove more absurd than the cost men are at to purchase their own destruction.

I could not, in the height of all these fine doings, I say, I could not be without some just reflection, though conscience was, as I said, dumb as to any disturbance it gave me in my wickedness. My vanity was fed up to such a height, that I had no room to give way to such reflections. But I could not but sometimes look back with astonishment at the folly of men of quality, who, immense in their bounty as in their wealth, give to a profusion and without bounds to the most scandalous of our sex, for granting them the liberty of amusing themselves and ruining both.

I, that knew what this carcase of mine had been but a few years before; how overwhelmed with grief, drowned in tears, frightened with the prospect of beggary, and surrounded with rags and fatherless children, that was pawning and selling the rags that covered me for a dinner, and sat on the ground despairing of help, and expecting to be starved till my children were snatched from me to be kept by the parish; I, that was after this a whore for bread, and abandoning conscience and virtue, lived with another woman's husband; I that was despised by all my relations and my husband's too; I, that was left so entirely desolate, friendless, and helpless, that I knew not how to get the least help to keep me from starving; that I should be caressed by a prince, for the honour of having the scandalous use of my prostituted body, common before to his inferiors, and perhaps would not have denied one of his footmen but a little while before, if I could have got my bread by it.

I say, I could not but reflect upon the brutality and blindness of mankind; that because nature had given me a good skin and some agreeable features, should suffer that beauty to be such a bait to appetite, as to do such sordid unaccountable things to obtain the possession of it.

It is for this reason that I have so largely set down the particulars of the caresses I was treated with by the jeweller, and also by this prince. Not to make the story an incentive to the vice, which I am now such a sorrowful penitent for being guilty of, (God forbid any should make so vile a use of so good a design,) but to draw the just picture of a man enslaved to the rage of his vicious appetite; how he defaces the image of God in his soul; dethrones his reason, causes conscience to abdicate the possession, and exalts sense into the vacant throne; how he deposes the man and exalts the brute.

Oh! could we hear now the reproaches this great man afterwards loaded himself with, when he grew weary of this admired creature, and became sick of his vice! how profitable would the report of them be to the reader of this story; but had he himself also known the dirty history of my actings upon the stage of life, that little time I had been in the world, how much more severe would those reproaches have been upon himself, but I shall come to this again.

I lived in this gay sort of retirement almost three years, in which time no amour of such a kind, sure, was ever carried up so high. The prince knew no bounds to his munificence; he could give me nothing either for my wearing, or using, or eating, or drinking, more than he had done from the beginning.

His presents were after that in gold, and very frequent and large, often a hundred pistoles, never less than fifty at a time; and I must do myself the justice, that I seemed rather backward to receive, than craving and encroaching; not that I had not an avaricious temper, nor was it that I did not foresee that this was my harvest in which I was to gather up, and that it would not last long; but it was that really his bounty always anticipated my expectations, and even my wishes; and he gave me money so fast, that he rather poured it in upon me than left me room to ask it; so that before I could spend fifty pistoles, I had always a hundred to make it up.

After I had been near a year and a half in his arms as above, or thereabouts, I proved with child. I did not take any notice of it to him till I was satisfied that I was not deceived; when one morning early, when we were in bed together, I said to him, "My lord, I doubt your highness never gives yourself leave to think what the case should be, if I should have the honour to be with child by you."—"Why, my dear," says he, "we are able to keep it if such a thing should happen. I hope you are not concerned about that."—"No, my lord," said I, "I should think myself very happy if I could bring your highness a son; I should hope to see him a lieutenant-general of the king's armies by the interest of his father, and by his own merit."—"Assure yourself, child," says he, "if it should be so, I will not refuse owning him for my son, though it be as they call it, a natural son; and shall never slight or neglect him for the sake of his mother." Then he began to importune me to know if it were so, but I positively denied it so long, till at last I was able to give him the satisfaction of knowing it himself by the motion of the child within me.

He professed himself overjoyed at the discovery, but told me that now it was absolutely necessary for me to quit the confinement which, he said, I had suffered for his sake, and to take a house somewhere in the country, in order for health as well as for privacy, against my lying-in. This was quite out of my way, but the prince, who was a man of pleasure, had, it seems, several retreats of this kind, which he had made use of, I suppose, upon like occasions; and so leaving it, as it were, to his gentleman, he provided a very convenient house, about four miles south of Paris, at the village of —, where I had very agreeable lodgings, good gar-

dens, and all things very easy to my content; but one thing did not please me at all, viz. that an old woman was provided, and put into the house to furnish everything necessary to my lying-in, and to assist at my travail.

I did not like this old woman at all; she looked so like a spy upon me, or (as sometimes I was frightened to imagine) like one set privately to dispatch me out of the world, as might best suit with the circumstances of my lying-in; and when his highness came the next time to see me, which was not many days, I expostulated a little on the subject of the old woman; and by the management of my tongue, as well as by the strength of my reasoning, I convinced him that it would not be at all convenient; that it would be the greater risk on his side; and at first or at last it would certainly expose him and me also. I assured him that my servant, being an English woman, never knew to that hour who his highness was; that I always called him the Count de Clerac, and that she knew nothing else of him, nor ever should; that if he would give me leave to choose proper persons for my use, it should be so ordered, that not one of them should know who he was, or perhaps ever see his face; and that for the reality of the child that should be born, his highness who had alone been at the first of it, should, if he pleased, be present in the room all the time, so that he would need no witnesses on that account.

This discourse fully satisfied him, so that he ordered his gentleman to dismiss the old woman the same day, and without any difficulty I sent my maid Amy to Calais, and thence to Dover, where she got an English midwife and nurse, to come over on purpose to attend an English lady of quality, as they stiled me, for four months certain.

This midwife Amy had agreed to pay a hundred guineas to, and bear her charges to Paris and back again to Dover. The poor woman that was to be my nurse had twenty pounds, and the same charges as the other.

I was very easy when Amy returned, and the more because she brought with the midwife a good motherly sort of a woman, who was to be her assistant, and would be very helpful on occasion; and bespoke a man-midwife at Paris too, if there should be any necessity for his help. Having thus made provision for everything, the count, for so we all called him in public, came as often to see me as I could expect, and continued exceeding kind, as he had always been. One day, conversing together upon the subject of my being with child, I told him how all things were in order, but that I had a strange apprehension that I should die with that child. He smiled, "So all ladies say, my dear," says he, "when they are with child."—"Well, however, my lord," said I, "it is but just that care should be taken that what you have bestowed in your excess of bounty upon me should not be lost;" and upon this I pulled a paper out of my bosom, folded up, but not sealed, and I read it to him, wherein I had ordered that all the plate and jewels, and fine furniture which his highness had given me, should be restored to him by my woman, and the keys be immediately delivered to his gentleman, in case of disaster.

Then I recommended my woman, Amy, to his favour for a hundred pistoles, on condition she gave up the keys as above to his gentleman, and his gentleman's receipt for them. When he saw this, "My dear child," said he, and took me in his arms, "what! have you been making your will and disposing of your effects? Pray who do you make your universal heir?"—"So far as to do justice to your highness, in case of mortality, I have, my lord," said I, "and who should I dispose the valuable things to, which I have had from your hand as pledges of your favour and testimonies of your bounty, but to the giver of them? If the child should live, your highness will, I do not question, act like yourself in that part, and I shall have the utmost satisfaction that it will be well used by your direction."

I could see he took this very well. "I have forsaken all the ladies in Paris," says he, "for you, and I have lived every day since I knew you to see that you know to merit all that a man of honour can do for you. Be easy, child, I hope you will not die, and all you have is your own, to do with it what you please."

I was then within about two months of my time, and that soon wore off. When I found my time was come, it fell out very happily that he was in the house, and I entreated he would continue a few hours in the house, which he agreed to. They called his highness to come into the room, if he pleased, as I had offered and had desired him; and I sent word I would make as few cries as possible to prevent disturbing him. He came into the room once, and called to me to be of good courage, it would soon be over, and then he withdrew again; and in about half an hour more Amy carried him the news that I was delivered, and had brought him a charming boy. He gave her ten pistoles for her news, stayed till they had adjusted things about me, and then came into the room again, cheered me and spoke kindly to me, and looked on the child, then withdrew, and came again the next day to visit me.

Since this, and when I have looked back upon these things with eyes unpossessed with crime, when the wicked part has appeared in its clearer light, and I have seen it in its own natural colours, when no more blinded with the glittering appearances, which at that time deluded me, as in like cases, if I may guess at others by myself, too much possessed the mind. I say, since this, I have often wondered with what pleasure or satisfaction the prince could look upon the poor innocent infant, which, though his own, and that he might that way have some attachment in his affections to it, yet must always afterwards be a remembrance to him of his most early crime, and, which was worse, must bear upon itself, unmerited, an eternal mark of infamy, which should be spoken of, upon all occasions, to its reproach, from the folly of its father and wickedness of its mother.

Great men are indeed delivered from the burden of their natural children, or bastards, as to their maintenance. This is the main affliction in other cases, where there is no substance sufficient without breaking into the fortunes of the family. In those cases, either a man's legitimate children suffer, which is very unnatural, or the unfortunate mother of that illegitimate birth, a dreadful alternative, either of being turned off with her child,

and be left to starve, &c., or of seeing the poor infant packed off with a piece of money to some of those she-butchers, who take children off their hands, as it is called, that is to say, starve them, and in a word, murder them.

Great men, I say, are delivered from this burden, because they are always furnished to supply the expense of their out of the way offspring, by making little assignments upon the bank of Lyons, or the Town-house of Paris, and settling those sums, to be received for the maintenance of such expense as they see cause.

Thus, in the case of this child of mine, while he and I conversed, there was no need to make any appointment as an appendage or maintenance for the child or its nurse, for he supplied me more than sufficiently for all those things; but afterwards, when time, and a particular circumstance, put an end to our conversing together, as such things always meet with a period, and generally break off abruptly, I say, after that, I found he appointed the children a settled allowance, by an assignment of annual rent upon the bank of Lyons, which was sufficient for bringing them handsomely, though privately, up in the world, and that not in a manner unworthy of their father's blood, though I came to be sunk and forgotten in the case; nor did the children ever know anything of their mother to this day, other than as you may have an account hereafter.

But to look back to the particular observation I was making, which I hope may be of use to those who read my story, I say it was something wonderful to me to see this person so exceedingly delighted at the birth of this child, and so pleased with it; for he would sit and look at it, and with an air of seriousness sometimes, a great while together, and particularly, I observed, he loved to look at it when it was asleep.

It was indeed a lovely, charming child, and had a certain vivacity in its countenance that is far from being common to all children so young, and he would often say to me, that he believed there was something extraordinary in the child, and he did not doubt but he would come to be a great man.

I could never hear him say so, but though secretly it pleased me, yet it so closely touched me another way that I could not refrain sighing, and sometimes tears; and one time in particular it so affected me that I could not conceal it from him; but when he saw tears run down my face there was no concealing the occasion from him; he was too importunate to be denied in a thing of that moment, so I frankly answered: "It sensibly affects me, my lord," said I, "that whatever the merit of this little creature may be, he must always have a bend on his arms. The disaster of his birth will be always, not only a blot to his honour, but a bar to his fortunes in the world. Our affections will still be ever his affliction, and his mother's crime be the son's reproach; the blot can never be wiped out by the most glorious actions; nay, if it lives to raise a family," said I, "the infamy must descend even to its innocent posterity."

He took the thought, and sometimes told me afterwards that it made a deeper impression on him than he discovered to me at that time; but for the present he put it off with telling me

these things could not be helped; that they served for a spur to the spirits of brave men, inspired them with the principles of gallantry, and prompted them to brave actions; that though it might be true that the mention of illegitimacy might attend the name, yet that personal virtue placed a man of honour above the reproach of his birth; that, as he had no share in the offence, he could have no concern at the blot; when, having by his own merit placed himself out of the reach of scandal, his fame should drown the memory of his beginning.

That as it was usual for men of quality to make such little escapes, so the number of their natural children were so great, and they generally took such good care of their education, that some of the greatest men in the world had a bend in their coat of arms, and that it was of no consequence to them, especially when their fame began to rise upon the basis of their acquired merit; and upon this he began to reckon up to me some of the greatest families in France and in England also.

This carried off our discourse for a time; but I went further with him once, removing the discourse from the part attending our children to the reproach which those children would be apt to throw upon us, their originals; and, when speaking a little too feelingly on the subject, he began to receive the impression a little deeper than I wished he had done. At last he told me I had almost acted the confessor to him; that I might, perhaps, preach a more dangerous doctrine to him than we should either of us like, or than I was aware of; "For, my dear," says he, "if once we come to talk of repentance, we must talk of parting."

If tears were in my eyes before, they now flowed too fast to be restrained, and I gave him but too much satisfaction by my looks that I had yet no reflections upon my mind strong enough to go that length, and that I could no more think of parting than he could.

He said a great many kind things, which were great, like himself; and, extenuating our crime, intimated to me that he could no more part with me than I could with him; so we both, as I may say, even against our light, and against our conviction, concluded to sin on; indeed, his affection to the child was one great tie to him, for he was extremely fond of it.

This child lived to be a considerable man. He was first an officer of the *Garde du Corps* of France, and afterwards colonel of a regiment of dragoons in Italy; and on many extraordinary occasions showed that he was not unworthy such a father, but many ways deserving a legitimate birth, and a better mother, of which hereafter.

I think I may say now that I lived indeed like a queen; or, if you will have me confess, that my condition had still the reproach of a whore; I may say I was, sure, the queen of whores; for no woman was ever more valued or more caressed by a person of such quality only in the station of a mistress. I had, indeed, one deficiency which women in such circumstances seldom are chargeable; namely, I craved nothing of him. I never asked him for anything in my life, nor suffered myself to be made use of, as is too much the custom of mistresses, to ask favours for

others. His bounty always prevented me in the first, and my strict concealing myself in the last, which was no less to my convenience than to his.

The only favour I ever asked of him was for his gentleman, whom he had all along entrusted with the secret of our affair, and who once so much offended him by some omissions in his duty that he found it very hard to make his peace. He came and laid his case before my woman Amy, and begged her to speak to me to intercede for him, which I did, and on my account he was received again and pardoned, for which the grateful dog requited me by getting to bed to his benefactress, Amy, at which I was very angry; but Amy generously acknowledged that it was her fault as much as his; that she loved the fellow so much that she believed if he had not asked her she should have asked him; I say this pacified me, and I only obtained of her that she should not let him know that I knew it.

I might have interspersed this part of my story with a great many pleasant parts and discourses which happened between my maid Amy and me, but I omit them on account of my own story, which has been so extraordinary. However, I must mention something as to Amy and her gentleman.

I inquired of Amy upon what terms they came to be so intimate, but Amy seemed backward to explain herself. I did not care to press her upon a question of that nature, knowing that she might have answered my question with a question, and have said,—“Why, how did you and the prince come to be so intimate?” so I left off further inquiring into it, till, after some time, she told it me all freely of her own accord, which, to cut it short, amounted to no more than this, that, like mistress like maid, as they had many leisure hours together below, while they waited respectively when his lord and I were together above; I say, they could hardly avoid the usual question one to another; namely, why might not they do the same thing below that we did above?

On that account, indeed, as I said above, I could not find in my heart to be angry with Amy. I was, indeed, afraid the girl would have been with child too, but that did not happen, and so there was no hurt done; for Amy had been harrassed before, as well as her mistress, and by the same party too, as you have heard.

After I was up again, and my child provided with a good nurse, and, withal, winter coming on, it was proper to think of coming to Paris again, which I did; but as I had now a coach and horses, and some servants to attend me, by my lord's allowance, I took the liberty to have them come to Paris sometimes, and so to take a tour into the gardens of the Thuilleries, and other pleasant places of the city. It happened one day that my prince (if I may call him so) had a mind to give me some diversion, and to take the air with me; but, that he might do it and not be publicly known, he comes to me in a coach of the Count de ***, a great officer of the court, attended by his liveries also; so that, in a word, it was impossible to guess by the equipage who I was, or whom I belonged to; also that I might be the more effectually concealed, he ordered me to be taken up at a mantua-maker's

house, where he sometimes came, whether upon other amours or not was no business of mine to inquire. I knew nothing whither he intended to carry me; but when he was in the coach with me, he told me he had ordered his servant to go to court with me, and he would show me some of the *beau monde*. I told him I cared not where I went while I had the honour to have him with me; so he carried me to the fine palace of Meudon, where the Dauphin then was, and where he had some particular intimacy with one of the Dauphin's domestics, who procured a retreat for me in his lodgings while we stayed there, which was three or four days.

While I was there the king happened to come from Versailles, and, making but a short stay, visited Madame the Dauphiness, who was then living. The prince was here incognito, only because of his being with me, and, therefore, when he heard that the king was in the gardens, he kept close within the lodgings; but the gentleman in whose lodgings we were, with his lady and several others, went out to see the king, and I had the honour to be asked to go with them.

After we had seen the king, who did not stay long in the gardens, we walked up the broad terrace, and, crossing the hall towards the great stair-case, I had a sight which confounded me at once, as I doubt not it would have done any woman in the world. The horse guards, or, what they call there, the *gens d'armes*, had, upon some occasion, been either upon duty, or been reviewed, or something (I did not understand that part) was the matter, that occasioned their being there, I know not what; but, walking the guard-chamber, and with his jack-boots on, and the whole habit of the troop, as it is worn when our horse guards are upon duty, as they call it, at St James's Park; I say, there, to my inexpressible confusion, I saw Mr ****, my first husband, the brewer.

I could not be deceived; I passed so near him that I almost brushed him with my clothes, and looked him full in the face; but, having my fan before my face, so that he could not know me. However, I knew him perfectly well, and I heard him speak, which was a second way of knowing him. Besides being, you may be sure, astonished and surprised at such a sight, I turned about after I had passed him some steps, and, pretending to ask the lady that was with me some questions, I stood as if I had viewed the Great Hall, the outer Guard Chamber, and some other things; but I did it to take a full view of his dress, that I might further inform myself.

While I stood thus amusing the lady that was with me with questions, he walked, talking with another man of the same cloth, back again, just by me; and to my particular satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, take it which way you will, I heard him speak English, the other being, it seems, an Englishman.

I then asked the lady some other questions: “Pray, madam,” says I, “what are these troopers here; are they the king's guards?”—“No,” says she, “they are the *gens d'armes*; a small detachment of them, I suppose, attended the king to-day, but they are not his Majesty's ordinary guard.” Another lady that was with her said, “No, madam, it seems that this is not the case;

for I heard them saying, the *gens d'armes* were here to-day by special order, some of them being to march towards the Rhine, and these attend for orders; but they go back to-morrow to Orleans, where they are expected."

This satisfied me in part, but I found means after this to inquire whose particular troop it was that the gentlemen that were here belonged to; and with that I heard they would all be at Paris the week after.

Two days after we returned for Paris, when I took occasion to speak to my lord, that I heard the *gens d'armes* were to be in the city the next week, and I should be charmed with seeing them march if they came in a body. He was so obliging in such things that I need but name a thing of that kind and it was done; so he ordered his gentleman (I should now call him him Amy's gentleman) to get me a place in a certain house where I might see them march.

As he did not appear with me on this occasion, so I had the liberty of taking my woman, Amy, with me, and stood where we were very well accommodated for the observation which I was to make. I told Amy what I had seen, and she was as forward to make the discovery as I was to have her, and almost as much surprised at the thing itself. In a word, the *gens d'armes* entered the city, as was expected, and made a most glorious show indeed, being new clothed and armed, and being to have their standards blessed by the Archbishop of Paris on this occasion, they indeed looked very gay; and as they marched very leisurely, I had time to take as critical a view, and make as nice a search among them as I pleased. Here, in a particular rank, eminent for one monstrous sized man on the right, here, I say, I saw my gentleman again, and a very handsome jolly fellow he was as any in the troop, though not so monstrous large as that great one I speak of who, it seems, was, however, a gentleman of a very good family in Gascoigne, and was called the giant of Gascoigne.

It was a kind of good fortune to us, among the other circumstances of it, that something caused the troop to halt in their march, a little before that particular rank came right against that window which I stood in, so that then we had occasion to take our full view of him, at a small distance, and so as not to doubt of his being the same person.

Amy, who thought she might, on many accounts, venture with more safety to be particular than I could, asked her gentleman how a particular man, who she saw there among the *gens d'armes* might be inquired after and found out; she having seen an Englishman riding there who was supposed to be dead in England for several years before she came out of London, and that his wife had married again. It was a question the gentleman did not well understand how to answer; but another person that stood by told her if she would tell him the gentleman's name, he would endeavour to find him out for her, and asked her, jestingly, if he was her lover? Amy put that off with a laugh, but still continued her inquiry, and in such a manner as the gentleman easily perceived she was in earnest, for he left bantering, and asked her in which part of the troop he rode. She foolishly told him his name,

which she should not have done; and pointing to the cornet that troop carried, which was not then quite out of sight, she let him early know whereabouts he rode, only she could not name the captain. However, he gave her such directions afterwards that, in short, Amy, who was an indefatigable girl, found him out. In seems he had changed his name, not supposing any inquiry would be made after him here; but, I say, Amy found him out, and went boldly to his quarters, asked for him, and he came out to her immediately.

I believe I was not more confounded at my first seeing him at Meudon then he was at seeing Amy. He started and turned pale as death; Amy believed if he had seen her at first, in any convenient place for so villainous a purpose, he would have murdered her.

But he started, as I said before, and asked in English, with an admiration, "What are you?" "Sir," says she, "dost you know me?"—"Yes," says he, "I knew you when you were alive, but what you are now (whether ghost or substance) I know not."—"Be not afraid, sir, of that," says Amy, "I am the same Amy that I was in your service, and do not speak to you now for any hurt, but that I saw you accidentally yesterday ride among the soldiers, I thought you might be glad to hear from your friends at London."—"Well, Amy," says he, "then (having a little recovered himself) how does everybody do? What! is your mistress here?" Thus they began:

Amy. My mistress, sir, alas! Not the mistress you mean, poor gentlewoman, you left her in a sad condition.

Gent. Why that is true, Amy, but it could not be helped; I was in a sad condition myself.

Amy. I believe so, indeed, sir, or else you had not gone away as you did; for it was a very terrible condition you left them all in, that I must say.

Gent. What did they do after I was gone?

Amy. Do, sir! very miserably you may be sure; how could it be otherwise?

Gent. Well, that is true indeed; but you may tell me, Amy, what became of them, if you please; for though I went so away, it was not because I did not love them all very well, but because I could not bear to see the poverty that was coming upon them, and which it was not in my power to help; what could I do?

Amy. Nay, I believe so, indeed, and I have heard my mistress say, many times, she did not doubt but your affliction was as great as her's, almost, wherever you were.

Gent. Why, did she believe I was alive, then?

Amy. Yes, sir, she always said she believed you were alive, because she thought she would have heard something of you had you been dead.

Gent. Ay, ay, my perplexity was very great, indeed, or else I had never gone away.

Amy. It was very cruel though to the poor lady, sir, my mistress; she almost broke her heart for you at first, for fear of what might befall you, and at least because she could not hear from you.

Gent. Alas! Amy, what could I do? Things were driven to the last extremity before I went; I could have done nothing but help to starve

them all if I had stayed; and beside I could not bear to see it,

Amy. You know, sir, that I can say little to what passed before, but I was a melancholy witness to the sad distresses of my poor mistress so long as I stayed with her, and which would grieve your heart to hear them.*

Gent. Well, Amy, I have heard enough so far, what did she do afterwards?

Amy. I can't give you any further account, sir; my mistress would not let me stay with her any longer; for she said she could neither pay me or subsist me. I told her I would serve her without any wages, but I could not live without victuals, you know; so I was forced to leave her, poor lady, sore against my will, and I heard afterwards, that the landlord seized her goods, so she was turned out of doors: for as I went by the door, about a month after, I saw the house shut up; and about a fortnight after that there were workmen fitting it up, as I suppose for a new tenant; but none of the neighbours could tell me what was become of my poor mistress, only that they said she was so poor that it was next to begging; that some of the neighbouring gentlefolks relieved her, or that else she must have starved."

Then she went on, and told him that after that they never heard any more of (me) her mistress, but that she had been seen once or twice in the city, very shabby, and poor in clothes, and it was thought she worked with her needle for her bread.

All this the jade said with so much cunning, and managed and humoured it so well, and wiped her eyes and cried so artificially, that he took it all as it was intended he should, and once or twice she saw tears in his eyes too. He told her it was a moving, melancholy story, and it had almost broke his heart at first, but that he was driven to the last extremity, and could do nothing but stay and see them all starve, which he could not bear the thoughts of, but should have pistoled himself if any such thing had happened while he was there; that he left (me) his wife, all the money he had in the world but 25*l.*, which was as little as he could take with him to seek his fortune in the world. He could not doubt but that his relations, seeing they were all rich, would have taken the poor children off, and not let them come to the parish; and that his wife was young and handsome, and he thought might marry again, perhaps, to her advantage; and for that very reason he never wrote to her, or let her know he was alive, that she might in a reasonable term of years marry, and perhaps mend her fortunes; that he resolved never to claim her, because he should rejoice to hear that she had settled to her mind; and that he wished there had been a law made to empower a woman to marry if her husband was not heard of in so long a time; which time, he thought, should not be above four years, which was long enough to send word in to a wife or family from any part of the world.

* Here she told my whole story to the time that the parish took off one of my children, and which she perceived very much affected him; and he shook his head, and said some things very bitter when he heard of the cruelty of his own relations to me.

Amy said she could say nothing to that, but this, that she was satisfied her mistress would marry nobody unless she had certain intelligence that he had been dead from somebody that saw him buried; "but, alas," says Amy, "my mistress was reduced to such dismal circumstances that nobody would be so foolish to think of her, unless it had been somebody to go a begging with her."

Amy, then, seeing him so perfectly deluded, made a long and lamentable outcry how she had been deluded away to marry a poor footman; "for he is no worse or better," says she, "though he calls himself a lord's gentleman, and here," says Amy, "he has dragged me over into a strange country to make a beggar of me;" and then she falls a howling again, and snivelling, which by the way, was all hypocrisy, but acted it so to the life as perfectly deceived him, and he gave credit to every word of it.

"Why, Amy," says he, "you are very well dressed, you do not look as if you were in danger of being a beggar."—"Ay, hang 'em," says Amy, "they love to have fine clothes here, if they have never a smock under them; but I love to have money in cash, rather than a chest full of fine clothes. Besides, sir," says she, "most of the clothes I have were given me in the last place I had, when I went away from my mistress."

Upon the whole of the discourse, Amy got out of him what condition he was in, and how he lived, upon her promise to him that if ever she came to England, and should see her old mistress, she should not let her know that he was alive. "Alas! sir," says Amy, "I may never come to see England again as long as I live, and it would be ten thousand to one whether I shall see my old mistress, for how should I know which way to look for her, or what part of England she may be in, not I," says she; "I don't so much as know how to inquire for her; and if I should," says Amy, "ever be so happy as to see her, I would not do her so much mischief as to tell her where you were, sir, unless she was in a condition to help herself and you too." This further deluded him, and made him entirely open in his conversing with her. As to his own circumstances, he told her, she saw him in the highest preferment he had arrived to, or was ever like to arrive at; for having no friends or acquaintance in France, and which was worse, no money, he never expected to rise; that he could have been made a lieutenant to a troop of light horse but the week before, by the favour of an officer in the *gens d'armes*, who was his friend; but that he must have found 8,000 livres to have paid for it, to the gentleman who possessed it, and had leave given him to sell. "But where could I get 8,000 livres," says he, "that never have been master of 500 livres ready money at a time, since I came into France."

"O dear! sir," says Amy, "I am very sorry to hear you say so; I fancy if you once got up to some preferment, you would think of my old mistress again, and do something for her; poor lady," says Amy, "she wants it, to be sure," and then she falls a crying again; "it is a sad thing, indeed," says she, "that you should be so hard put to it for money, when

you had got a friend to recommend you, and should lose it for want of money."—"Ay, so it was, Amy, indeed," says he; "but what can a stranger do that has neither money nor friends?" Here Amy puts in again on my account: "Well," says she, "my poor mistress has had a loss, though she knows nothing of it; O dear! how happy it would have been; to be sure, sir, you would have helped her all you could."—"Aye," says he, "Amy, so I would with all my heart; and even as I am, I would send her some relief, if I thought she wanted it; only letting her know I was alive might do her some prejudice, in case of her settling or marrying anybody."

"Alas," says Amy, "Marry! who will marry her in the poor condition she is in?" And so their discourse ended for that time.

All this was mere talk on both sides, and words of course; for on further inquiry, Amy found that he had no such offer of a lieutenant's commission, or anything like it; and that he rambled in his discourse from one thing to another: but of that in its place.

You may be sure that this discourse, as Amy at first related it, was moving to the last degree upon me; and I was once going to send him the 8,000 livres to purchase the commission he had spoken of; but as I knew his character better than anybody, I was willing to search a little further into it; and so I set Amy to inquire of some other of the troop, to see what character he had, and whether there was anything in the story of a lieutenant's commission or no.

But Amy soon came to a better understanding of him, for she presently learned that he had a most scoundrel character; that there was nothing of weight in anything he said; but that he was in short a mere sharper, one that would stick at nothing to get money, and that there was no depending on anything he said; and that more especially about the lieutenant's commission, she understood that there was nothing in it, but they told her how he had often made use of that sham to borrow money, and move gentlemen to pity him and lend him money, in hopes to get him preferment; that he had reported that he had a wife and five children in England, whom he maintained out of his pay, and by these shifts had run into debt in several places, and upon several complaints of such things, he had been threatened to be turned out of the *gens d'armes*, and that in that he was not to be believed in anything he said, or trusted on any account.

Upon this information Amy began to cool in her further meddling with him, and told me it was not safe for me to attempt doing him any good, unless I resolved to put him upon suspicions and inquiries which might be to my ruin, in the condition I was now.

I was soon confirmed in this part of his character, for the next time that Amy came to talk with him, he discovered himself more effectually; for while she had put him in hopes of procuring one to advance the money for the lieutenant's commission for him upon easy conditions, he by degrees dropped the discourse, then pretended that it was too late, and that he could not get it, and then descended to ask poor Amy to lend him 500 pistoles.

Amy pretended poverty; that her circumstances

were but mean, and that she could not raise such a sum; and this she did, to try him to the utmost; he descended to 300, then to 100, then to 50, and then to a pistole, which she lent him, but he never intending to pay it, played out of her sight as much as he could; and thus being satisfied that he was the same worthless thing he had ever been, I threw off all thoughts of him; whereas, had he been a man of any sense, and of any principle of honour, I had it in my thoughts to retire to England again, send for him over, and have lived honestly with him. But as a fool is the worst of husbands to do a woman good, so a fool is the worst husband a woman can do good to. I would willingly have done him good, but he was not qualified to receive it or make the best use of it. Had I sent him ten thousand crowns instead of ten thousand livres, and sent it with express condition that he should immediately have bought himself the commission he talked of with part of the money, and have sent some of it to relieve the necessities of his poor miserable wife at London, and to prevent his children to be kept by the parish, it was evident he would have been still but a private trooper, and his wife and children would still have starved at London, or been kept of mere charity, as, for aught he knew, they then were.

Seeing, therefore, no remedy, I was obliged to withdraw my hand from him, that had been my first destroyer, and reserve the assistance that I intended to have given him for another more desirable opportunity. All that I had now to do was to keep myself out of his sight, which was not very difficult for me to do, considering in what station he lived.

Amy and I had several consultations then upon the main question, namely, how to be sure never to chop upon him again by chance, and to be surprised into a discovery, which would have been a fatal discovery indeed. Amy proposed that we should always take care to know where the *gens d'armes* were quartered, and thereby effectually avoid them, and this was one way.

But this was not so as to be fully to my satisfaction; no ordinary way of inquiring where the *gens d'armes* were quartered was sufficient for me; but I found out a fellow who was completely qualified for the work of a spy (for France has plenty of such people). This man I employed to be a constant and particular attendant upon his person and motions; and he was especially employed and ordered to haunt him as a ghost; that he should scarce let him be ever out of his sight. He performed this to a nicety, and failed not to give me a perfect journal of all his motions from day to day, and, whether for his pleasure or his business, was always at his heels.

This was somewhat expensive, and such a fellow merited to be well paid, but he did his business so exquisitely punctual, that this poor man scarce went out of the house without my knowing the way he went, the company he kept, when he went abroad, and when he stayed at home.

By this extraordinary conduct I made myself safe, and so went out in public or stayed at home, as I found he was or was not in a possibility of being at Paris, at Versailles, or any place I had occasion to be at. This, though it was very chargeable, yet as I found it absolutely necessary,

so I took no thought about the expense of it, for I knew I could not purchase my safety too dear.

By this management I found an opportunity to see what a most insignificant, unthinking life the poor indolent wretch, who, by his unactive temper, had at first been my ruin, now lived; how he only rose in the morning to go to bed at night; that saving the necessary motion of the troops, which he was obliged to attend, he was a mere motionless animal, of no consequence in the world; that he seemed to be one who, though he was indeed alive, had no manner of business in life, but to stay to be called out of it; he neither kept any company, minded any sport, played at any game, or indeed did anything of moment; but in short sauntered about like one that was not two livres value, whether dead or alive; that when he was gone, would leave no remembrance behind him that ever he was here; that if ever he did anything in the world to be talked of, it was only to get five beggars and starve his wife. The journal of his life, which I had constantly sent me every week, was the least significant of anything of its kind that was ever seen; as it had really nothing of earnest in it, so it would make no jest to relate it. It was not important enough so much as to make the reader merry withal, and for that reason I omit it.

Yet this nothing-doing wretch was I obliged to watch and guard against, as the only thing that was capable of doing me hurt in the world. I was to shun him as we would shun a spectre, even the devil, if he was actually in our way; and it cost me after the rate of 150 livres a month, and very cheap too, to have this creature constantly kept in view; that is to say, my spy undertook never to let him be out of his sight an hour, but so as that he could give an account of him, which was much the easier to be done, considering his way of living; for he was sure that, for whole weeks together, he would be ten hours of the day half asleep on a bench at a tavern door where he quartered, or drunk within the house. Though this wicked life he led sometimes moved me to pity him, and to wonder how so well-bred and gentlemanly a man as he once was could degenerate into so useless a thing as he now appeared, yet at the same time it gave me most contemptible thoughts of him, and made me often say I was a warning for all the ladies of Europe against marrying of fools: a man of sense falls in the world and gets up again, and a woman has some chance for herself; but with a fool, once fallen and ever undone; once in the ditch and die in the ditch; once poor, and sure to starve.

But it is time to have done with him; once I had nothing to hope for but to see him again; now my only felicity was, if possible, never to see him, and, above all, to keep him from seeing me, which, as above, I took effectual care of.

I was now returned to Paris (my little son of honour, as I called him, was left at my last country seat) at the prince's request; thither he came to me as soon as I arrived, and told me he came to give me joy of my return, and to make his acknowledgement for having given him a son. I thought, indeed, he had been going to give me a present, and so he did the next day, but in what he said then he only jested with me. He

gave me his company all the evening, supped with me about midnight, and did me the honour, as I then called it, to lodge me in his arms all the night, telling me, in jest, that the best thanks for a son born was giving the pledge for another.

But as I hinted, so it was; the next morning he laid me down on my toilet a purse with three hundred pistoles. I saw him lay it down, and understood what he meant, but I took no notice of it till I came to it, as it were, casually; then I gave a great cry out, and fell a scolding in my way, for he gave me all possible freedom of speech on such occasions. I told him he was unkind, that he would never give me an opportunity to ask him for anything; that he forced me to blush by being too much obliged, and the like; all which I knew was very agreeable to him, for as he was bountiful beyond measure, so he was infinitely obliged by my being so backward to ask any favours; and I was even with him, for I never asked him for a farthing in my life.

Upon this rallying him, he told me I had either perfectly studied the art of humour, or else, what was the greatest difficulty to others was natural to me, adding, that nothing could be more obliging to a man of honour than not to be soliciting and craving.

I told him nothing could be craving upon him; that he left no room for it; that I hoped he did not give merely to avoid the trouble of being importuned; and that he might depend upon it, I should be reduced very low indeed before I offered to disturb him that way.

He said a man of honour ought always to know what he ought to do; and as he did nothing but what he knew was reasonable, he gave me leave to be free with him, if I wanted anything; that he had too much value for me to deny me anything, if I asked, but that it was infinitely agreeable to him to hear me say that what he did was to my satisfaction.

We strained compliments thus a great while, and as he had me in his arms most part of the time, so upon all my expressions of his bounty to me he put a stop to me with his kisses, and would admit me to go on no further.

I should in this place mention, that this prince was not a subject of France, though at that time he resided at Paris, and was much at court, where I suppose he had or expected some considerable employment. But I mention it on this account; that a few days after this, he came to me and told me he was come to bring me not the most welcome news that ever I had heard from him in his life. I looked at him a little surprised, but he returned, "Do not be uneasy; it is as unpleasant to me as to you, but I come to consult with you about it, and see if it cannot be made a little easy to us both."

I seemed still more concerned and surprised; at last he said it was that he believed he should be obliged to go into Italy, which, though otherwise it was very agreeable to him, yet his parting with me made it a very dull thing but to think of.

I sat mute, as one thunderstruck, for a good while; and it presently occurred to me, that I was going to lose him, which, indeed, I could but ill bear the thoughts of; and as he told me I turned pale. "What is the matter?" said he,

hastily, "I have surprised you indeed;" and stepping to the sideboard, fills a dram of cordial water, which was of his own bringing, and comes to me. "Be not surprised," said he, "I'll go nowhere without you," adding several other things so kind as nothing could exceed it.

I might indeed turn pale, for I was very much surprised at first, believing that this was, as it often happens in such cases, only a project to drop me, and break off an amour which he had now carried on so long; and a thousand thoughts whirled about my head in the few moments while I was kept in suspense, for they were but a few. I say I was indeed surprised, and might, perhaps, look pale; but I was not in any danger of fainting, that I knew of.

However, it not a little pleased me to see him so concerned and anxious about me; but I stopped a little when he put the cordial to my mouth, and taking the glass in my hand, I said, "My lord, your words are infinitely more of a cordial to me than this citron; for as nothing can be a greater affliction than to lose you, so nothing can be a greater satisfaction than the assurance that I shall not have that misfortune."

He made me sit down, and sat down by me, and after saying a thousand kind things to me, he turns upon me with a smile; "Why, will you venture yourself to Italy with me?" says he. I stopped awhile, and then answered that I wondered he would ask me that question, for I would go anywhere in the world, or all over the world, wherever he should desire me, and give me the felicity of his company.

Then he entered into a long account of the occasion of his journey, and how the king had engaged him to go, and some other circumstances which are not proper to enter into here; it being by no means proper to say anything that might lead the reader into the least guess at the person.

But to cut short this part of the story, and the history of our journey and stay abroad, which would almost fill up a volume of itself, I say, we spent all that evening in cheerful consultations about the manner of our travelling, the equipage and figure he should go in, and in what manner I should go. Several ways were proposed, but none seemed feasible, till at last I told him I thought it would be so troublesome, so expensive, and so public, that it would be many ways inconvenient to him; and though it was a kind of death to me to lose him, yet rather than very much perplex his affairs, I would submit to anything.

At the next visit I filled his head with the same difficulties, and then at last came over him with a proposal that I would stay in Paris, or where else he should direct; and when I heard of his safe arrival would come away by myself and place myself as near him as I could.

This gave him no satisfaction at all; nor would he hear any more of it; but if I durst venture myself, as he called it, such a journey, he would not lose the satisfaction of my company; and, as for the expense, that was not to be named, neither, indeed, was there room to name it, for I found that he travelled at the king's expense, as well for himself as for all his equipage, being on some secret service of the last importance.

But after several debates between ourselves he came to this resolution, namely, that he would travel incognito, and so should avoid all public notice, either of himself or who went with him; and that then he should not only carry me with him, but have a perfect leisure of enjoying my agreeable company (as he was pleased to call it) all the way.

This was so obliging that nothing could be more so; upon this foot, he immediately set to work to prepare things for his journey; and, by his directions, so did I too; but now I had a terrible difficulty upon me, and which way to get over it I knew not; and that was, in what manner to take care of what I had to leave behind me. I was rich, as I have said, very rich, and what to do with it I knew not, or who to leave in trust I knew not. I had nobody but Amy in the world, and to travel without Amy was very uncomfortable; or to leave all I had in the world with her, and, if she miscarried, be ruined at once, was still a frightful thought; for Amy might die, and whose hands the things might fall into I knew not. This gave me great uneasiness, and I knew not what to do; for I could not mention it to the prince, lest he should see that I was richer than he thought I was.

But the prince made all this easy to me; for, in concerting measures for our journey, he started the thing himself, and asked me merrily one evening who I would trust with all my wealth in my absence.

"My wealth, my lord," said I, "except what I owe to your goodness, is but small; but yet, that little, I confess, causes some thoughtfulness; because I have no acquaintance in Paris that I dare trust with it, nor anybody but my woman to leave in the house; and how to do without her upon the road I do not well know."

"As to the road, be not concerned," says the prince, "I'll provide you servants to your mind; and as to your woman, if you can trust her, leave her here, and I'll put you in a way how to secure things as well as if you were at home." I bowed and told him I could not be put into better hands than his own, and that, therefore, I would govern all my measures by his directions; so we talked no more of it that night.

The next day he sent me in a great iron chest, so large that it was as much as six lusty fellows could get up the steps into the house; and in this I put, indeed, all my wealth; and for my safety he ordered a good honest old man and his wife to be in the house with her, to keep her company, and a maid-servant and boy; so that there was a good family, and Amy was madam, the mistress of the house.

Things being thus secured, we set out incognito, as he called it; but we had two coaches and six horses, two chaises, and about eight men-servants on horseback, all very well armed.

Never was woman better used in this world that went upon no other account than I did. I had three women-servants to wait on me, one whereof was an old Madam ***, who thoroughly understood her business, and managed everything as if she had been major domo; so I had no trouble. They had one coach to themselves, and the prince and I in the other; only that sometimes, where he knew it necessary, I went into

their coach, and one particular gentleman of the retinue rode with him.

I shall say no more of the journey than that when we came to those frightful mountains, the Alps, there was no travelling in our coaches, so he ordered a horse-litter, but carried by mules, to be provided for me, and himself went on horseback to Lyons. The coaches went some other way back. Then we had coaches hired at Turin, which met us at Suza; so that we were accommodated again, and went by easy journeys afterwards to Rome, where his business, whatever it was, called him to stay some time, and from thence to Venice.

He was as good as his word, indeed; for I had the pleasure of his company, and, in a word, engrossed his conversation almost all the way. He took delight in showing me everything that was to be seen, and particularly in telling me something of the history of everything he showed me.

What valuable pains were here thrown away upon one whom he was sure, at last, to abandon with regret! How below himself did a man of quality and of a thousand accomplishments behave in all this! 'Tis one of my reasons for entering into this part, which would otherwise not be worth relating. Had I been a daughter or a wife, of whom it might be said that he had a just concern in their instruction or improvement, it had been an admirable step; but all this to a whore—to one whom he carried with him upon no account that could be rationally agreeable, and none but to gratify the meanest of human frailties—this was the wonder of it. But such is the power of a vicious inclination. Whoring was, in a word, his darling crime, the worst excursion he made, for he was otherwise one of the most excellent persons in the world. No passions, no furious execrations, no ostentatious pride; the most humble, courteous, affable person in the world. Not an oath, not an indecent word, or the least blemish in behaviour, was to be seen in all his conversation, except as before excepted; and it has given me occasion for many dark reflections since to look back and think that I should be the snare of such a person's life; that I should influence him to so much wickedness, and that I should be the instrument in the hand of the devil to do him so much prejudice.

We were near two years upon this grand tour, as it may be called, during most of which I resided at Rome or at Venice, having only been twice at Florence and once at Naples. I made some very diverting and useful observations in all these places, and particularly of the conduct of the ladies; for I had opportunity to converse very much among them, by the help of the old witch that travelled with us; she had been at Naples and at Venice, and had lived in the former several years, where, as I found, she had lived but a loose life, as indeed the women of Naples generally do; and, in short, I found she was fully acquainted with all the intriguing arts of that part of the world.

Here my lord bought me a little female Turkish slave, who, being taken at sea by a Maltese man of war, was brought in there, and of her I learnt the Turkish language, their way of dressing and dancing, and some Turkish, or rather Moorish, songs, of which I made use to my advantage, on

an extraordinary occasion, some years after, as you shall hear in its place. I need not say I learnt Italian too, for I got pretty well mistress of that before I had been there a year; and as I had leisure enough, and loved the language, I read all the Italian books I could come at.

I began to be so in love with Italy, especially with Naples and Venice, that I could have been very well satisfied to have sent for Amy and have taken up my residence there for life.

As to Rome, I did not like it all. The swarms of ecclesiastics of all kinds on one side, and the scoundrel rabbles of the common people on the other, make Rome the most unpleasant place in the world to live in; the innumerable number of valets, lacquies, and other servants is such, that they used to say that there are very few of the common people in Rome but what have been footmen, or porters, or grooms to cardinals or foreign ambassadors. In a word, they have an air of sharpening and cozening, quarrelling, and scolding upon their general behaviour; and when I was there, the footmen made such a broil between two great families in Rome, about which of their coaches (the ladies being in their coaches on either side) should give way to the other, that there was about thirty people wounded on both sides, five or six killed outright, and both the ladies frightened almost to death.

But I have no mind to write the history of my travels on this side of the world, at least not now—it would be too full of variety.

I must not, however, omit that the prince continued in all this journey the most kind, obliging person to me in the world, and so constant, that though we were in a country where it is well known all manner of liberties are taken, I am yet well assured he neither took the liberty he knew he might have, nor so much as desired it.

I have often thought of this noble person on that account; had he been but half so true, so faithful, and constant to the best lady in the world, I mean his princess, how glorious a virtue had it been in him! and how free had he been from those just reflections which touched him in her behalf when it was too late!

We had some very agreeable conversations upon this subject, and once he told me, with a kind of more than ordinary concern upon his thoughts, that he was greatly beholden to me for taking this hazardous and difficult journey, for that I had kept him honest. I looked up in his face, and coloured as red as fire: "Well, well," says he, "do not let that surprise you; I do say you have kept me honest."—"My lord," said I, "it is not for me to explain your words, but I wish I could turn them my own way; I hope," said I, "and believe we are both as honest as we can be in our circumstances."—"Ay, ay," said he, "and honestest than I doubt I should have been if you had not been with me. I cannot say but if you had not been here I should have wandered among the gay world here, in Naples, and in Venice too, for it is not such a crime here as it is in other places; but I protest," says he, "I have not touched a woman in Italy but yourself, and more than that, I have not so much as had any desire to it, so that, I say, you have kept me honest."

I was silent, and was glad that he interrupted

me, or kept me from speaking, with kissing me, for I really knew not what to say. I was once going to say, that if his lady, the princess, had been with him, she would, doubtless, have had the same influence upon his virtue, with infinitely more advantage to him; but I considered this might give him offence, and besides, such things might have been dangerous to the circumstance I stood in, so it passed off. But I must confess I saw that he was quite another man as to women, than I understood he had always been before; and it was a particular satisfaction to me, that I was thereby convinced that what he said was true, and that he was, as I may say, all my own.

I was with child again in this journey, and lay in at Venice but was not so happy as before. I brought him another son, and a very fine boy it was, but it lived not above two months; nor, after the first touches of affection (which are usual, I believe, to all mothers) were over, was I sorry the child did not live, the necessary difficulties attending it in our travelling being considered.

After these several perambulations, my lord told me his business began to close, and we would think of returning to France, which I was very glad of, but principally on account of my treasure I had there, which, as you have heard, was very considerable. It is true, I had letters very frequently from my maid Amy, with accounts that everything was very safe, and that was very much to my satisfaction. However, as the prince's negotiations were at an end, and he was obliged to return, I was very glad to go, so we returned from Venice to Turin, and in the way I saw the famous city of Milan. From Turin we went over the mountains again, as before, and our coaches met us at Pont a Voisin, between Chambery and Lyons; and so, by easy journies, we arrived safe at Paris, having been absent about two years, wanting about eleven days as before.

I found the little family we left just as we left them, and Amy cried for joy when she saw me, and I almost did the same.

The prince took his leave of me the night before, for, as he told me, he knew he should be met upon the road by several persons of quality, and perhaps by the princess herself, so we lay at two different inns that night, lest some should come quite to the place, as indeed it happened.

After this I saw him not for above twenty days, being taken up in his family, and also with business; but he sent me his gentleman to tell me the reason of it, and bid not be uneasy, and that satisfied me effectually.

In all this affluence of my good fortune, I did not forget that I had been rich and poor once already, alternately, and that I ought to know that the circumstances I was now in were not to be expected to last always; that I had one child, and expected another; and if I had bred often, it would something impair me in the great article that supported my interest, I mean what he called beauty; that as that declined, I might expect the fire would abate, and the warmth with which I was now so caressed would cool, and in time, like the other mistresses of great men, I might be dropped again; and that, therefore, it was my business to take care I should fall as softly as I could.

I say I did not forget, therefore, to make as good provision for myself as if I had had nothing to have subsisted upon but what I now gained; whereas I had not less than ten thousand pounds, as I said above, which I had amassed, or rather secured, out of the ruins of my faithful friend the jeweller, and which he, little thinking of what was so near him when he went out, told me, though in a kind of jest, was all my own, if he was knocked on the head, and which, upon that title, I took care to preserve.

My greatest difficulty now was how to secure my wealth, and to keep what I had got; for I had greatly added to this wealth by the generous bounty of the prince, and the more by the private retired manner of living, which he rather desired for privacy than parsimony; for he supplied me for a more magnificent way of life than I desired, if it had been proper.

I shall cut short the history of this prosperous wickedness with telling you I brought him a third son, within little more than eleven months after our return from Italy; that I now lived a little more openly, and went by a particular name which he gave me abroad, but which I must omit, namely, the Countess de ———; and had coaches and servants, suitable to the quality he had given me the appearance of; and which is more than usually happens in such cases, this held eight years from the beginning, during which time, as I had been very faithful to him, so I must say as above, that whereas he usually had two or three women, whom he kept privately, he had not in all that time meddled with any of them, but that I had so perfectly engrossed him that he dropped them all; not, perhaps, that he saved much by it, for I was a very chargeable mistress to him, but it was all owing to his particular affection to me, not to my extravagance, for, as I said, he never gave me leave to ask for anything, but forcing his favours and presents farther than I expected, and so fast that I could not have the assurance to make the least mention of desiring more. Nor did I speak this of my own guess, I mean about this constancy to me, and his quitting all other women; but the old harridan, as I may call her, whom he made the guide of our travelling, and who was a strange old creature, told me a thousand stories of his gallantry, as she called it, and how, as he had no less than three mistresses at one time, and as I found, all of her procuring, he had of a sudden dropped them all, and that he was entirely lost to both her and them; that they did believe he had fallen into some new hands, but she could never hear who, or where, till he sent for her to go this journey; and then the old hag complimented me upon his choice; that she did not wonder I had so engrossed him; so much beauty, &c., and there she stopped.

Upon the whole, I found by her, what was you may be sure to my particular satisfaction, viz., that, as above, I had him all my own. But the highest tide has its ebb; and in all things of this kind, there is a reflux which sometimes also is more impetuously violent than the first aggression. My prince was a man of vast fortune, though no sovereign, and therefore there was no probability that the expense of keeping a mistress could be injurious to him, as to his estate. He

had also several employments, both out of France as well as in it; for, as above, I say he was not a subject of France, though he lived in that court. He had a princess, a wife, with whom he had lived several years, and a woman (so the voice of fame reported) the most valuable of her sex, of birth equal to him, if not superior, and of fortune proportionable; but in beauty, wit, and a thousand good qualities, superior, not only to most women, but even to all her sex; and as to her virtue, the character which was most justly her due, was that of, not only the best of princesses, but even the best of women.

They lived in the utmost harmony (as with such a princess it was impossible to be otherwise) but yet the princess was not insensible that her lord had his foibles, that he did make some excursions, and particularly that he had one favourite mistress, who sometimes engrossed him more than she (the princess) could wish, or be easily satisfied with. However, she was so good, so generous, so truly kind a wife, that she never gave him any uneasiness on this account, except so much as must arise from his sense of her bearing the affront of it with such patience, and such a profound respect for him as was in itself enough to have reformed him, and did sometimes shock his generous mind, so as to keep him at home, as I may call it, a great while together; and it was not long before I not only perceived it by his absence, but really got a knowledge of the reason of it, and once or twice he even acknowledged it to me.

It was a point that lay not in me to manage. I made a kind of motion, once or twice, to him, to leave me, and keep himself to her, as he ought by the laws and rites of matrimony to do, and argued the generosity of the princess too, to persuade him; but I was a hypocrite, for had I prevailed with him really to be honest, I had lost him, which I could not bear the thoughts of; and he might easily see I was not in earnest. One time in particular, when I took upon me to talk at this rate, I found when I argued so much for the virtue and honour, the birth, and above all, the generous usage he found in the person of the princess with respect to his private amours, and how it should prevail upon him, &c., I found it began to affect him, and he returned, "And do you indeed," says he, "persuade me to leave you? Would you have me think you sincere?" I looked up in his face, smiling. "Not for any other favourite, my lord," said I; "that would break my heart; but for madam the princess!" said I, and then I could say no more, tears followed, and I sat silent awhile. "Well," said he, "if ever I do leave you, it shall be on the virtuous account, it shall be for the princess; I assure you it shall be for no other woman."—"That's enough, my lord," said I, "there I ought to submit; and while I am assured it shall be for no other mistress, I promise your highness I will not repine; or that, if I do, it shall be a silent grief; it shall not interrupt your felicity."

All this while I said I knew not what, and said what I was no more able to do than he was able to leave me, which, at that time, he owned he could not do, no, not for the princess herself.

But another turn of affairs determined this matter, for the princess was taken very ill, and

in the opinion of all her physicians, very dangerously so. In her sickness she desired to speak with her lord, and to take her leave of him. At this grievous parting, she said so many passionate kind things to him, lamented that she had left him no children (she had three, but they were dead), hinted to him that it was one of the chief things which gave her satisfaction in death, as to this world, that she should leave him room to have heirs to his family, by some princess that should supply her place; with all humility, but with a christian earnestness, recommended it to him to do justice to such princess, whoever it should be, from whom, to be sure, he would expect justice; that is to say, to keep to her singly, according to the solemnest part of the marriage covenant; humbly asked his highness's pardon, if she had any way offended him; and appealing to heaven, before whose tribunal she was to appear, that she had never violated her honour or her duty to him; and praying to Jesus and the Blessed Virgin for his highness; and thus, with the most moving and most passionate expressions of her affection to him, took her last leave of him, and died the next day.

This discourse, from a princess so valuable in herself and so dear to him, and the loss of her following so immediately after, made such deep impressions on him that he looked back with detestation upon the former part of his life, grew melancholy and reserved, changed his society and much of the general conduct of his life, resolved on a life regulated most strictly by the rules of virtue and piety, and, in a word, was quite another man.

The first part of his reformation was a storm upon me; for, about ten days after the princess's funeral, he sent a message to me by his gentleman, intimating, though in very civil terms, and with a short preamble or introduction, that he desired I would not take it ill that he was obliged to let me know that he could see me no more. His gentleman told me a long story of the new regulation of life his lord had taken up, and that he had been so afflicted for the loss of his princess, that he thought it would either shorten his life, or he would retire into some religious house, to end his days in solitude.

I need not direct anybody to suppose how I received this news. I was, indeed, exceedingly surprised at it, and had much ado to support myself when the first part of it was delivered, though the gentleman delivered his errand with great respect, and with all the regard to me that he was able, and with a great deal of ceremony; also telling me how much he was concerned to bring me such a message.

But when I heard the particulars of the story at large, and especially that of the lady's discourse to the prince, a little before her death, I was fully satisfied; I knew very well he had done nothing but what any man must do that had a true sense upon him of the justice of the princess's discourse to him, and of the necessity there was of his altering his course of life, if he intended to be either a Christian or an honest man. I say, when I heard this, I was perfectly easy; I confess it was a circumstance that might be reasonably expected should have wrought something upon me; I that had so much to reflect upon

more than the prince; that had now no more temptations of poverty, or of the powerful motive which Amy used with me, namely, comply and live, deny and starve. I say, I that had no poverty to introduce vice, but was grown, not only well supplied, but rich, and not only rich, but was very rich; in a word, richer than I knew how to think of, for the truth of it was, that thinking of it sometimes almost distracted me, for want of knowing how to dispose of it, and for fear of losing it all again by some cheat or trick, not knowing anybody that I could commit the trust of it to.

Besides I should add, at the close of this affair, that the prince did not, as I may say, turn me off rudely, and with disgust, but with all the decency and goodness peculiar to himself, and that could consist with a man reformed and struck with the sense of his having abused so good a lady as the late princess had been; nor did he send me away empty, but did everything like himself; and in particular, ordered his gentleman to pay the rent of the house and all the expense of his two sons; and to tell me how they were taken care of, and where; and also that I might at all times inspect the usage they had, and if I disliked anything, it should be rectified; and having thus finished everything, he retired into Lorraine, or somewhere that way, where he had an estate, and I never heard of him more, I mean not as a mistress.

Now I was at liberty to go to any part of the world, and take care of my money myself. The first thing that I resolved to do was to go directly to England, for there, I thought, being among my country-folks (for I esteemed myself an English woman though I was born in France) I could better manage things than in France; at least, that I should be in less danger of being circumvented and deceived; but how to get away with such a treasure as I had with me was a difficult point, and what I was greatly at a loss about.

There was a Dutch merchant in Paris that was a person of great reputation for a man of substance and of honesty, but I had no manner of acquaintance with him, nor did I know how to get acquainted with him, so as to discover my circumstances to him, but at last I employed my maid, Amy, such I must be allowed to call her, notwithstanding what has been said of her, because she was in the place of a maid servant, I say I employed my maid, Amy, to go to him, and she got a recommendation to him from somebody else, I knew not who, so that she got access to him well enough.

But now was my case as bad as before, for when I came to him what could I do? I had money and jewels to a vast value, and I might leave all those with him; that I might, indeed, do; and so I might with several other merchants in Paris, who would give me bills for it, payable at London, but then I ran a hazard of my money; and I had nobody at London to send the bills to, and so to stay till I had an account that they were accepted; for I had not one friend in London that I could have recourse to, so that, indeed, I knew not what to do.

In this case I had no remedy but that I must trust somebody; so I sent Amy to this Dutch merchant, as I said above. He was a little sur-

prised when Amy came to him, and talked to him of remitting a sum of about 12,000 pistoles to England, and began to think she came to put some cheat upon him; but when he found that Amy was but a servant, and that I came to him myself, the case was altered.

When I came to him myself I presently saw such a plainness in his dealing, and such honesty in his countenance, that I made no scruple to tell him my whole story; viz., that I was a widow, that I had some jewels to dispose of, and also some money, which I had a mind to send to England, and to follow there myself; but being but a woman, and having no correspondence in London, or anywhere else, I knew not what to do, or how to secure my effects.

He dealt very candidly with me, but advised me, when he knew my case so particularly, to take bills upon Amsterdam, and to go that way to England; for that I might lodge my treasure in the bank there, in the most secure manner in the world, and there he could recommend me to a man who perfectly understood jewels, and would deal faithfully with me in the disposing of them.

I thanked him, but scrupled very much the travelling so far in a strange country, and especially with such a treasure about me; that whether known or concealed I did not know how to venture with it. Then he told me he would try to dispose of them there, that is, at Paris, and convert them into money, and to get me bills for the whole. In a few days he brought a Jew to me, who pretended to buy the jewels. As soon as the Jew saw the jewels I saw my folly, and it was ten thousand to one but I had been ruined, and perhaps put to death in as cruel a manner as possible; and I was put in such a fright by it, that I was once upon the point of flying for my life, and leaving the jewels and money too, in the hands of the Dutchman, without any bills or anything else. The case was thus.

As soon as the Jew saw the jewels, he falls a jabbering, in Dutch or Portuguese, to the merchant, and I could presently perceive that they were in some great surprise. The Jew held his hands, looked at me with some horror, then talked Dutch again, and put himself into a thousand shapes, twisting his body, and wringing up his face this way and that way, in his discourse; stamping with his feet, and throwing abroad his hands, as if he was not in a rage only, but in a great fury. Then he would turn and give a look at me, like the devil. I thought I never saw any thing so frightful in my life.

At length I put in a word, "Sir," says I to the Dutch merchant, "what is all this discourse to my business? What is this gentleman in all these passions about? I wish, if he is to treat with me, he would speak that I may understand him; or if you have business of your own between you that is to be done first, let me withdraw, and I will come again when you are at leisure."

"No, no, madam," says the Dutchman, very kindly, "you must not go; all our discourse was about you and your jewels, and you shall hear it presently; it concerns you very much, I assure you."—"Concern me," says I, "what can it concern me so much as to put this gentleman into

such agonies, and what makes him give such devil's looks as he does? Why, he looks as if he would devour me."

The Jew understood me presently, continuing in a kind of rage, and spoke in French, "Yes, madam, it does concern you much, very much, very much," repeating the words, shaking his head; and then turning to the Dutchman, "Sir," says he, "pray tell her what is the case?"—"No," says the merchant, "not yet, let us talk a little further of it by ourselves;" upon which they withdrew into another room, where still they talked very high, but in a language I did not understand. I began to be a little surprised at what the Jew had said, you may be sure, and eager to know what he meant, and was very impatient till the Dutch merchant came back, and that so impatient, that I called one of his servants to let him know I desired to speak with him. When he came in, I asked his pardon for being so impatient, but told him I could not be easy till he had told me what the meaning of all this was. "Why, madam," says the Dutch merchant, "the meaning is what I am surprised at too. This man is a Jew, and understands jewels perfectly well, and that was the reason I sent for him, to dispose of them to him for you; but as soon as he saw them, he knew the jewels very distinctly, and flying out in a passion, as you see he did, told me that they were the very parcel of jewels which the English jeweller had about him, who was robbed going to Versailles, about eight years ago, to show them the Prince de —, and that it was for these very jewels that the poor gentleman was murdered; and he is in all this agony to make me ask you how you came by them; and he says you ought to be charged with the robbery and murder, and put to the question to discover who were the persons that did it, that they might be brought to justice." While he said this the Jew came impudently back into the room without calling, which a little surprised me again.

The Dutch merchant spoke very good English, and he knew that the Jew did not understand English at all, so he told me the latter part in English, at which I smiled, which put the Jew into his mad fit again, and, shaking his head and making his devil's faces again, he seemed to threaten me for laughing, saying in French this was an affair I should have little reason to laugh at, and the like. At this I laughed again, and flouted him, letting him see that I scorned him; and, turning to the Dutch merchant,—“Sir,” says I, “that these jewels were belonging to Mr ***, the English jeweller (naming his name readily); in that,” says I, “this person is right; but that I should be questioned how I came to have them, is a token of his ignorance, which, however, he might have managed with a little more manners till I had told him who I am; and both he and you too will be more easy in that part, when I should tell you that I am the unhappy widow of that Mr ***, who was so barbarously murdered going to Versailles; and that he was not robbed of these jewels, but of others; Mr *** having left these behind him with me lest he should be robbed. Had I, sir, come otherwise by them, I should not have been weak enough to have exposed them to sale here, where the thing was done, but have carried them further off.”

This was an agreeable surprise to the Dutch merchant, who, being an honest man himself, believed everything I said, which, indeed, being literally true, except the deficiency of my marriage, I spoke with such an unconcerned easiness, that it might plainly be seen I had no guilt upon me, as the Jew suggested.

The Jew was confounded when he heard that I was the jeweller's wife; but as I had raised his passion with saying he looked at me with the devil's face, he studied mischief in his heart, and answered, that should not serve my turn; so called the Dutchman out again, when he told him that he resolved to prosecute this matter further.

There was one kind chance in this affair, which, indeed, was my deliverance, and that was, that the fool could not restrain his passion, but must let it fly to the Dutch merchant, to whom, when they withdrew a second time, he told that he would bring a process against me for the murder, and that it should cost me dear for using him at that rate; and away he went, desiring the Dutch merchant to tell him when I would be there again. Had he suspected that the Dutchman would have communicated the particulars to me he would never have been so foolish as to have mentioned that part to him.

But the malice of his thoughts anticipated him, and the Dutch merchant was so good as to give me an account of his design, which, indeed, was wicked enough in its nature; but to me it would have been worse than otherwise it would to another; for, upon examination, I could not have proved myself to be the wife of the jeweller, so the suspicion might have been carried on with the better face; and then I should also have brought all his relations in England upon me, who, finding by the proceedings that I was not his wife, but a mistress, or, in English, a whore, would have immediately laid claim to the jewels, as I had owned them to be his.

This thought immediately rushed into my head as soon as the Dutch merchant had told me what wicked things were in the head of that cursed Jew, and the villain (for so I must call him) convinced the Dutch merchant that he was in earnest, by an expression which showed the rest of his design, and that was a plot to get the rest of the jewels into his hand.

When first he hinted to the Dutchman that the jewels were such a man's, meaning my husband, he made wonderful exclamations on account of their having been concealed so long; where must they have lain; and what was the woman that brought them? and that she (meaning me) ought to be immediately apprehended and put into the hands of justice; and this was the time that, as I said, he made such horrid gestures and looked at me so like a devil.

The merchant, hearing him talk at that rate, and seeing him in earnest, said to him,—“Hold your tongue a little, this is a thing of consequence; if it be so, let you and I go into the next room and consider of it there;” and so they withdrew, and left me.

Here, as before, I was uneasy, and called him out, and, having heard how it was, gave him that answer, that I was his wife, or widow, which the malicious Jew said should not serve my turn;

and then it was that the Jew called the merchant out again; and in this time of his withdrawing, the merchant, finding that he was really in earnest, counterfeited a little to be of his mind, and entered into proposals with him for the thing itself.

In this they agreed to go to an advocate, or counsel, for directions how to proceed, and to meet again the next day, against which time the merchant was to appoint me to come again with the jewels, in order to sell them: "No," says the merchant, "I will go further with her than so; I will desire her to leave the jewels with me, to show to another person, in order to get the better price for them." "That is right," says the Jew, "and I'll engage she shall never be mistress of them again; they shall either be seized by us, in the king's name, or she shall be glad to give them up to us to prevent her being put to the torture."

The merchant said yes to everything he offered, and they agreed to meet the next morning about it, and I was to be persuaded to leave the jewels with them, and come to them the next day at four o'clock, in order to make a good bargain for them, and on these conditions they parted; but the honest Dutchman, filled with indignation at the barbarous design, came directly to me, and told me the whole story:—"And now, madam," says he, "you are to consider immediately what you have to do."

I told him, if I was sure to have justice, I would not fear all that such a rogue could do to me; but how such things were carried on in France I knew not. I told him the greatest difficulty would be to prove our marriage, for that it was done in England, and in a remote part of England too, and, which was worse, it would be hard to produce authentic vouchers of it, because we were married in private. "But, as to the death of your husband, madam, what can be said to that?" said he. "Nay," said I, "what can they say to it? In England," added I, "if they would offer such an injury to any one, they must prove the fact, or give just reason for their suspicions. That my husband was murdered, that every one knows; but that he was robbed, or of what, or how much, that none knows, no, not myself; and why was I not questioned for it then? I have lived in Paris ever since, lived publicly, and no man had yet the impudence to suggest such a thing of me."

"I am fully satisfied of that," says the merchant; "but as this is a rogue, who will stick at nothing, what can we say? And who knows what he may swear? Suppose he should swear that he knows your husband had those particular jewels with him the morning when he went out, and that he showed them to him, to consider their value, and what price he should ask the Prince de *** for them."

"Nay, by the same rule," said I, "he may swear that I murdered my husband, if he finds it for his turn."—"That is true," said he, "and if he should do so, I do not see what could save you; but," added he, "I have found out his more immediate design; his design is to have you carried to the Châtelet, that the suspicion may appear just, and to get the jewels out of your hands, if possible; then, at last, to drop

the prosecution, on your consenting to quit the jewels to him; and how you will do to avoid this is the question which I would have you consider of."

"My misfortune, sir," said I, "is that I have no time to consider, and I have no person to consider with, or advise about it. I find that innocence may be oppressed by such an impudent fellow as this; he that does not value perjury has any man's life at his mercy; but, sir," said I, "is the justice such here, that while I may be in the hands of the public, and under prosecution, he may get hold of my effects, and get my jewels into his hands?"

"I don't know," says he, "what may be done in that case, but if not he, if the court of justice should get hold of them, I do not know but you may find it as difficult to get them out of their hands again as his, at least it may cost you half as much as they are worth; so I think it would be a much better way to prevent their coming at them at all."

"But what course can I take to do that," says I, "now they have got notice that I have them? If they get me into their hands, they will oblige me to produce them, or perhaps sentence me to prison till I do."

"Nay," says he, "as this brute says, too, put you to the question, that is to the torture, on the pretence of making you confess who were the murderers of your husband."

"Confess!" said I, "how can I confess what I know nothing of?"

"If they come to have you on the rack," said he, "they will make you confess you did it yourself whether you did it or no, and then you are cast."

The very rack frightened me to death almost, and I had no spirit left in me. "Did it myself," said I, "that's impossible!"

"No, madam," says he, "'tis far from impossible; the most innocent people in the world have been forced to confess themselves guilty of what they never heard of, much less had any hand in."

"What then must I do," said I, "what would you advise me to?"

"Why," says he, "I would advise you to be gone; you intended to go away in four or five days, and you may as well go in two days; and if you can do so, I shall manage it so that he shall not suspect your being gone for several days." Then he told me how the rogue would have me ordered to bring the jewels the next day for sale; and that then he would have me apprehended; how he made the Jew believe he would join with him in his design, and that he (the merchant) would get the jewels into his hands. "Now," says the merchant, "I will give you bills for the money you desired immediately, and such as shall not fail of being paid; take your jewels with you, and go this very evening to St Germain en Lay; I'll send a man thither with you, and from thence he shall guide you tomorrow to Rouen, where there lies a ship of mine, just ready to sail for Rotterdam; you shall have your passage in that ship on my account, and I will send orders for him to sail as soon as you are on board, and a letter to my

friend at Rotterdam to entertain and take care of you."

This was too kind an offer for me, as things stood, not to be accepted, and be thankful for; and as to going away I had prepared everything for parting, so that I had little to do but go back, take two or three boxes and bundles, and such things, and my maid Amy, and be gone.

Then the merchant told me the measures he had resolved to take to delude the Jew, while I made my escape, which were very well contrived indeed. "First," said he, "when he comes to-morrow I shall tell him that I proposed to you to leave the jewels with me, as we agreed, but that you said you would come and bring them in the afternoon, so that we must stay for you till four o'clock; but then, at that time, I will show a letter from you, as if just come in, wherein you shall excuse your not coming, for that some company came to visit you, and prevented you; but that you desire me to take care that the gentleman be ready to buy your jewels; and that you will come to-morrow at the same hour, without fail.

"When to-morrow comes, we shall wait at the time, but you not appearing, I shall seem most dissatisfied, and wonder what can be the reason; and so we shall agree to go the next day to get out a process against you; but the next day in the morning, I'll send to give him notice that you have been at my house, but he not being there you have made another appointment, and that I desire to speak with him. When he comes I'll tell him that you appear perfectly blind as to your danger, and that you appeared much disappointed that he did not come, though you could not meet the night before: and obliged me to have him here to-morrow at three o'clock. When to-morrow comes," says he, "you shall send word that you are taken so ill that you cannot come out for that day, but that you will not fail the next; and the next day you shall neither come nor send, nor let us ever hear any more of you; for by that time you shall be in Holland, if you please."

I could not but approve of all his measures, seeing they were so well contrived, and in so friendly a manner, for my benefit; and as he seemed to be so very sincere, I resolved to put my life in his hands. Immediately I went to my lodgings, and sent away Amy with such bundles as I had prepared for my travelling. I also sent several parcels of my fine furniture to the merchant's house to be laid up for me, and bringing the key of my lodgings with me, I came back to his house. Here we finished our matters of money, and I delivered into his hands seven thousand eight hundred pistoles in bills and money, a copy of an assignment on the town house of Paris, for four thousand pistoles, at 3 per cent. interest attested, and a procuration for receiving the interest half-yearly, but the original I kept myself.

I could have trusted all I had with him, for he was perfectly honest, and had not the least view of doing me any wrong. Indeed, after it was so apparent that he had, as it were, saved my life, or, at least, saved me from being exposed or ruined,—after this, I say, how could I doubt him anything?

When I came to him he had everything ready as I wanted, and as he had proposed. As to my money, he gave me first of all an accepted bill, payable at Rotterdam, for four thousand pistoles, and drawn from Genoa upon a merchant at Rotterdam, payable to a merchant at Paris, and endorsed by him to my merchant; this he assured me would be punctually paid, and so it was, to a day: the rest I had in other bills of exchange, drawn by himself upon other merchants in Holland. Having secured my jewels too, as well as I could, he sent me away the same evening in a friend's coach, which he had procured for me, to St Germain's, and the next morning to Rouen. He also sent a servant of his own, on horseback, with me, who provided everything for me, and who carried his orders to the captain of the ship, which lay about three miles below Rouen, on the river, and by his direction I went immediately on board. The third day after I was on board the ship went away, and we were out at sea the next day after that; and thus I took my leave of France, and got clear of an ugly business, which, had it gone on, might have ruined me, and sent me back as naked to England as I was a little before I left it.

And now Amy and I were at leisure to look upon the mischiefs that we had escaped; and had I had any religion, or any sense of a Supreme Power managing, directing, and governing both causes and events of this world, such a case as this would have given anybody room to have been very thankful to the Power who had not only put such a treasure into my hands, but given me such an escape from the ruin that threatened me; but I had none of those things about me; I had, indeed, a grateful sense upon my mind, of the generous friendship of my deliverer, the Dutch merchant, by whom I was so faithfully served, and by whom, as far as relates to second causes, I was preserved from destruction.

I say, I had a grateful sense upon my mind of his kindness and faithfulness to me, and I resolved to shew him some testimony of it, as soon as I came to the end of my rambles. I had paper indeed, for my money, and he had shewed himself very good to me, in conveying me away, as above; but I had not seen the end of things yet, for unless the bills were paid, I might still be a greater loser by my Dutchman, and he might, perhaps, have contrived all that affair of the Jew to put me in a fright, and get me to run away, and that, as if it were to save my life; that if the bills should be refused, I was cheated with a witness, and the like. But these were but surmises, and, indeed, were perfectly without cause, for the honest man acted as honest men always do, with an upright and disinterested principle, and with a sincerity not often to be found in the world. What gain he made by the exchange was just, and was nothing but what was his due, and was in the way of his business; but otherwise he made no advantage of me at all.

When I passed in the ship between Dover and Calais, and saw beloved England once more under my view; England, which I counted my native country, being the place I was bred in, though not born there; a strange kind of joy possessed my mind, and I had such a longing desire to be

there that I would have given the master of the ship twenty pistoles to have stood over and set me on shore in the Downs; and when he told me he could not do it, that is, that he durst not do it, if I would have given him an hundred pistoles, I secretly wished that a storm would rise that might drive the ship over to the coast of England, whether they would or not, that I might be set on shore anywhere upon English ground.

This wicked wish had not been out of my thoughts above two or three hours, but the master steering away to the north, as was his course to do, we lost sight of land on that side, and only had the Flemish shore in view on our right hand, or, as seamen call it, the starboard side; and then, with the loss of the sight, the wish for landing in England abated, and I considered how foolish it was to wish myself out of the way of my business; that if I had been on shore in England, I must go back to Holland on account of my bills, which were so considerable, and having no correspondence there, that I could not have managed it without going myself. But we had not been out of sight of England many hours before the weather began to change, the winds whistled and made a noise, and the seamen said to one another that it would blow hard at night. It was then about two hours before sunset, and we were passed by Dunkirk, and I think they said we were in sight of Ostend; but the wind grew high, and the sea swelled, and all things looked terrible, especially to us that understood nothing but just what we saw before us; in short, night came on, and very dark it was, the winds freshened and blew harder and harder, and about two hours within night it blew a terrible storm.

I was not quite a stranger to the sea, having come from Rochelle to England when I was a child, and gone from London, by the river Thames, to France afterwards, as I have said. But I began to be alarmed a little with the terrible clamour of the men over my head, for I had never been in a storm, and so had never seen the like, or heard it; and once offering to look out at the door of the steerage, as they called it, it struck me with such horror—the darkness, the fierceness of the wind, the dreadful height of the waves, and the hurry the Dutch sailors were in, whose language I did not understand one word of, neither when they cursed or when they prayed—I say, all these things together filled me with terror, and, in short, I began to be very much frightened.

When I was come back into the great cabin, there sat Amy, who was very sea-sick, and I had a little before given her a sup of cordial water to help her stomach. When Amy saw me come back and sit down without speaking, for so I did, she looked two or three times up at me, and at last she came running to me. "Dear madam," says she, "what is the matter? What makes you look so pale? Why, you an't well—what is the matter?" I said nothing still, but held up my hands two or three times. Amy doubled her importunities; upon that I said no more but "Step to the steerage door, and look out as I did;" so she went away immediately, and looked too, as I had bidden her, but the poor girl came back again in the greatest amazement and horror that ever I saw any poor creature in, wringing her hands

and crying out she was undone! She was undone! She should be drowned! They were all lost! Thus she ran about the cabin like a mad thing, and as perfectly out of her senses as any one in such a case could be supposed to be. I was frightened myself, but when I saw the girl in such a terrible agony, it brought me a little to myself, and I began to talk to her, and put her in a little hope. I told her there was many a ship in a storm that was not cast away, and I hoped we should not be drowned; that it was true the storm was very dreadful, but I did not see that the seamen were so much concerned as we were, and so I talked to her as well as I could, though my heart was full enough of it, as well as Amy's; and death began to stare me in my face, ay, and something else too, that was to say, conscience, and my mind was very much disturbed; but I had nobody to comfort me, but Amy, being in so much worse a condition, that is to say, so much more terrified at the storm than I was, I had something to do to comfort her. She was, as I have said, like one distracted, and went raving about the cabin, crying out she was undone! undone! she should be drowned, and the like; and at last, the ship giving a jerk, by the force, I suppose, of some violent wave, it threw poor Amy quite down, for she was weak enough before with being sea-sick, and as it threw her forward the poor girl struck her head against the bulk-head, as the seamen call it, of the cabin, and laid her as dead as a stone upon the floor or deck, that is to say, she was so to all appearance.

I cried out for help, but it had been all one to have cried out on the top of a mountain where nobody had been within five miles of me, for the seamen were so engaged, and made so much noise, that nobody heard me or came near me. I opened the great cabin door, and looked into the steerage to cry for help, but there, to increase my fright, were two seamen on their knees at prayers, and only one man who steered, and he made a groaning noise too, which I took to be saying his prayers, but it seems it was answering to those above, when they called to him to tell him which way to steer.

Here was no help for me, or for poor Amy, and there she lay so still and in such a condition that I did not know whether she was dead or alive. In this fright I went to her, and lifted her a little way up, setting her on the deck, with her back to the boards of the bulk-head; and I got a bottle out of my pocket, and I held it to her nose, rubbed her temples, and what else I could do, but still Amy shewed no signs of life, till I felt for her pulse, but could hardly distinguish her to be alive. However, after a great while, she began to revive, and in about half an hour she came to herself, but remembered nothing at first of what had happened to her for a good while more.

When she recovered more fully, she asked me where she was. I told her she was in the ship yet, but God knows how long it might be. "Why, madam," says she, "is not the storm over?" "No, no, Amy," says I. "Why, madam," says she, "it was calm just now," (meaning when she was in the swooning fit occasioned by her fall). "Calm, Amy," says I, "it is far from being calm; it may be it will be calm by and by, when we are all drowned, and gone to heaven." "Heaven, ma-

dam," says she, "what makes you talk of Heaven? I go to Heaven! No, no—if I am drowned I am damned! Don't you know what a wicked creature I have been? I have been a whore to two men, and have lived a wretched abominable life of vice and wickedness for fourteen years. O madam, you know it, and God knows it, and now I am to die—to be drowned! Oh! what will become of me? I am undone for ever! ay, madam, for ever! to all eternity! Oh! I am lost! I am lost! If I am drowned, I am lost for ever!"

All these, you will easily suppose, must be so many stabs into the very soul of one in my own case. It immediately occurred to me, Poor Amy! what art thou that I am not? What hast thou been that I have not been? Nay, I am guilty of my own sin and thine too. Then it came to my remembrance that I had not only been the same with Amy, but that I had been the devil's instrument to make her wicked; that I had stript her, and prostituted her to the very man that I had been naught with myself; that she had but followed me, I had been her wicked example; I had led her into all; and that as we had sinned together, now we were likely to sink together.

All this repeated itself to my thoughts at that very moment, and every one of Amy's cries sounded thus in my ears; "I am the wicked cause of it all! I have been thy ruin, Amy! I have brought thee to this, and now thou art to suffer for the sin I have enticed thee to; and if thou art lost for ever, what must I be? What must be my portion?"

It is true, this difference was between us, that I said all these things within myself, and sighed, and mourned inwardly; but Amy, as her temper was more violent, spoke aloud, and cried, and called out aloud like one in agony.

I had but small encouragement to give her, and indeed could say but very little, but I got her to compose herself a little, and not let any of the people of the ship understand what she meant or what she said; but even in her greatest composure she continued to express herself with the utmost dread and terror on account of the wicked life she had lived, and crying out she should be damned, and the like, which was very terrible to me, who knew what condition I was in myself.

Upon these serious considerations I was very penitent too for my former sins, and cried out, though softly, two or three times, "Lord have mercy upon me;" to this I added abundance of resolutions of what a life I would live, if it should please God but to spare my life but this one time; how I would live a single and virtuous life, and spend a great deal of what I had thus wickedly got, in acts of charity and doing good.

Under these dreadful apprehensions I looked back on the life I had led with the utmost contempt and abhorrence. I blushed, and wondered at myself how I could act thus, how I could divest myself of modesty and honour, and prostitute myself for gain, and I thought that if it should please God to spare me this one time from death, it could not be possible I should be the same creature again.

Amy went further—she prayed, she resolved, she vowed to lead a new life, if God would spare her but this time. It now began to be day-light, for the storm held all night long, and it was some

comfort to see the light of another day, which indeed none of us expected; but the sea went mountains high, and the noise of the water was as frightful to us as the sight of the waves; nor was any land to be seen, nor did the seamen know whereabouts they were. At last, to our great joy, they made land, which was in England, and on the coast of Suffolk; and the ship being in the utmost distress, they ran for the shore, at all hazards, and with great difficulty, got into Harwich, where they were safe, as to the danger of death; but the ship was so full of water, and so much damaged, that if they had not laid her on shore the same day, she would have sunk before night, according to the opinion of the seamen, and of the workmen on shore too, who were hired to assist them in stopping their leaks.

Amy was revived as soon as she heard they had espied land, and went out upon the deck, but she soon came in again to me: "Oh, Madam," says she, "there's the land indeed to be seen. It looks like a ridge of clouds, and may be all a cloud for aught I know; but if it be land, it is a great way off, and the sea is in such a combustion, we shall all perish before we can reach it. It is the most dreadful sight to look at the waves that ever was seen. Why, they are as high as mountains, we shall certainly be all swallowed up, for all the land is so near."

I had conceived some hope, that if they saw land we should be delivered; and I told her she did not understand things of that nature; that she might be sure if they saw land they would go directly towards it, and would make into some harbour; but it was, as Amy said, a frightful distance to it. The land looked like clouds, and the sea went as high as mountains, so that no hope appeared in the seeing the land, but we were in fear of foundering before we could reach it. This made Amy so desponding still, but as the wind, which blew from the east, or that way, drove us furiously towards the land, so when, about half an hour after, I stepped to the steerage door and looked out, I saw the land much nearer than Amy represented it, so I went in and encouraged Amy again, and indeed was encouraged myself.

In about half an hour, or something more, we saw, to our infinite satisfaction, the open harbour of Harwich, and the vessel standing directly towards it, and in a few minutes more the ship was in smooth water, and thus I had, though against my will, and contrary to my true interest, what I wished for, to be driven away to England, though it was by a storm.

Nor did this incident do either Amy or me much service, for the danger being over, the fears of death vanished with it, ay, and our fear of what was beyond death also. Our sense of the life we had lived went off, and with our return to life, our wicked taste of life returned, and we were both the same as before, if not worse. So certain it is, that the repentance which is brought about by the mere apprehensions of death, wears off as those apprehensions wear off, and death-bed repentance, or storm repentance, which is much the same, is seldom true.

However, I do not tell you that this was all at once neither; the fright we had at sea lasted a little while afterwards, at least the impression

was not quite blown off as soon as the storm, especially poor Amy, as soon as she set her foot on shore, she fell flat upon the ground and kissed it, and gave God thanks for her deliverance from the sea; and turning to me when she got up,—“I hope, madam,” says she, “you will never go upon the sea again.”

I know not what ailed me, not I; but Amy was much more penitent at sea, and much more sensible of her deliverance when she landed and was safe, than I was. I was in a kind of stupidity, I know not well what to call it; I had a mind full of horror in the time of the storm, and saw death before me as plainly as Amy, but my thoughts got no vent, as Amy's did. I had a silent, sullen kind of grief, which could not break out either in words or tears, and which was therefore much the worse to bear.

I had a terror upon me for my wicked life past, and firmly believed I was going to the bottom, launching into death, where I was to give an account of all my past actions; and in this state, and on that account, I looked back upon my wickedness with abhorrence, as I have said above; but I had no sense of repentance from the true motive of repentance; I saw nothing of the corruption of nature, the sin of my life, as an offence against God, as a thing odious to the holiness of his being, as abusing his mercy, and despising his goodness. In short, I had no thorough effectual repentance, no sight of my sins in their proper shape, no view of a Redeemer, or hope in him. I had only such a repentance as a criminal has at the place of execution, who is sorry, not that he has committed the crime, as it is a crime, but sorry that he is to be hanged for it.

It is true Amy's repentance wore off too, as well as mine, but not so soon. However, we were both very grave for a time.

As soon as we could get a boat from the town, we went on shore, and immediately went to a public-house in the town of Harwich, where we were to consider seriously what was to be done, and whether we should go up to London or stay till the ship was refitted, which, they said, would be a fortnight, and then go for Holland, as we intended, and as business required.

Reason directed that I should go to Holland, for there I had all my money to receive, and there I had persons of good reputation and character to apply to, having letters to them from the honest Dutch merchant at Paris, and they might perhaps give me a recommendation again to merchants in London, and so I should get acquainted with some people of figure, which was what I loved; whereas now I knew not one creature in the whole city of London, or anywhere else, that I could go and make myself known to. Upon these considerations I resolved to go to Holland, whatever came on it.

But Amy cried and trembled, and was ready to fall into fits when I did but mention going upon the sea again, and begged of me not to go, or if I would go, that I would leave her behind, though I was to send her a-begging. The people of the inn laughed at her, and jested with her, asked her if she had any sins to confess that she was ashamed should be heard, and whether she was troubled with an evil conscience; told her if she came to sea, to be in a storm, if she

had lain with her master she would certainly tell her mistress of it, and that it was a common thing for poor maids to confess all the young men they had lain with; that there was one poor girl that went over with her mistress, whose husband was a linen-draper in Gracechurch street, in the city of London, who confessed in the terror of a storm that she had lain with her master, and all the apprentices too, so often, and in such and such places, and made the poor mistress, when she returned to London, fly at her husband and make such a stir as was indeed the ruin of the whole family. Amy could bear all this well enough, for though she had indeed lain with her master, it was with her mistress's knowledge and consent, and which was worse, it was her mistress's own doing. I record it to the reproach of my own vice, and to expose the excesses of such wickedness as they deserve to be exposed.

I thought Amy's fear would have been over by the time the ship would be gotten ready, but I found the girl was rather worse and worse; and when I came to the point that we must go on board or lose the passage, Amy was so terrified that she fell into fits, so the ship went away without us.

But my going being absolutely necessary, as above, I was obliged to go in the packet-boat some time after, and leave Amy behind at Harwich, but with directions to go to London, and stay there to receive letters and orders from me what to do. Now I was become, from a lady of pleasure, a woman of business, and of great business too, I assure you.

I got me a servant at Harwich to go over with me, who had been at Rotterdam, knew the place, and spoke the language, which was a great help to me, and away I went. I had a very quick passage and pleasant weather, and, coming to Rotterdam, soon found out the merchant to whom I was recommended, who received me with extraordinary respect. And first he acknowledged the accepted bill for 4,000 pistoles, which he afterwards paid punctually; other bills that I had also payable at Amsterdam he procured to be received for me; and whereas one of the bills for 1,200 crowns was protested at Amsterdam, he paid it me himself for the honour of the indorser, as he called it, which was my friend the merchant at Paris.

There I entered into a negotiation by his means for my jewels, and he brought me several jewellers to look on them, and particularly one to value them, and to tell me what every particular was worth. This was a man who had great skill in jewels, but did not trade at that time, and he was desired by the gentleman that I was with to see that I might not be imposed upon.

All this work took me up near half a year, and by managing my business thus myself, and having large sums to do with, I became as expert in it as any she-merchant of them all. I had credit in the bank for a large sum of money, and bills and notes for much more.

After I had been here about three months my maid Amy writes me word that she had received a letter from her friend, as she called him, that, by the way, was the prince's gentleman, that had been Amy's extraordinary friend, indeed; for Amy owned to me he had lain with her a hundred

times, that is to say, as often as he pleased, and perhaps in the eight years that that affair lasted, it might be a great deal oftener. This was what she called her friend, whom she corresponded with upon this particular subject; and among other things sent her this particular news, that my extraordinary friend, my real husband, who rode in the *gens d'armes*, was dead, that he was killed in a rencounter, as they call it, or accidental scuffle among the troopers; and so the jade congratulated me upon my being now a real free woman. "And now, madam," says she at the end of her letter, "you have nothing to do but to come hither, and set up a coach and a good equipage, and if beauty and a good fortune won't make you a duchess, nothing will." But I had not fixed my measures yet. I had no inclination to be a wife again. I had had such bad luck with my first husband, I hated the thoughts of it. I found that a wife is treated with indifference, a mistress with a strong passion; a wife is looked upon as but an upper servant, a mistress is a sovereign; a wife must give up all she has, have every reserve she makes for herself be thought hard of, and be upbraided with her very pin-money; whereas a mistress makes the saying true, that what the man has is hers, and what she has is her own; the wife bears a thousand insults, and is forced to sit still and bear it, or part, and be undone; a mistress insulted helps herself immediately, and takes another.

These were my wicked arguments for whoring, for I never set against them the difference another way, I may say, every other way; how that, first, a wife appears boldly and honourably with her husband, lives at home and possesses his house, his servants, his equipages, and has a right to them all, and to call them her own; entertains his friends, owns his children, and has the return of duty and affection from them, as they are here her own, and claims upon his estate, by the custom of England, if he dies and leaves her a widow.

The whore sculks about in lodgings, is visited in the dark, disowned upon all occasions before God and man; is maintained, indeed, for a time, but is certainly condemned to be abandoned at last, and left to the miseries of fate, and her own just disaster. If she has any children, her endeavour is to get rid of them, and not maintain them; and if she lives, she is certain to see them all hate her, and be ashamed of her; while the vice rages, and the man is in the devil's hands, she has him; and while she has him, she makes a prey of him; but if he happens to fall sick, if any disaster befalls him, the cause of all lies upon her. He is sure to lay all his misfortunes at her door; and if once he comes to repentance, or makes but one step towards a reformation, he begins with her, leaves her, uses her as she deserves, hates her, abhors her, and sees her no more; and that with this never-failing addition, namely, that the more sincere and unfeigned his repentance is, the more earnestly he looks up and the more effectually he looks in, the more his aversion to her increases, and he curses her from the bottom of his soul; nay, it must be from a kind of excess of charity, if he so much as wishes God may forgive her.

The opposite circumstances of a wife and a

whore are such, and so many, and I have since seen the difference with such eyes, as I could dwell upon the subject a great while; but my business is history. I had a long scene of folly yet to run over. Perhaps the moral of all my story may bring me back again to this point; and if it does, I shall speak of it fully.

While I continued in Holland I received several letters from my friend (so I had good reason to call him), the merchant in Paris, in which he gave me a further account of the conduct of that rogue the Jew, and how he acted after I was gone; how impatient he was while the said merchant kept him in suspense, expecting me to come again; and how he raged when he found I came no more.

It seems, after he found I did not come, he found out, by his unwearied inquiry, where I had lived; and that I had been kept as a mistress to some great person, but he could never learn by whom, except that he learned the colour of his livery. In pursuit of this inquiry he guessed at the right person, but could not make it out, or offer any positive proof of it, but he found out the prince's gentleman, and talked so saucily to him of it, that the gentleman treated him, as the French call it, *a coup de baton*; that is to say, caned him very severely, as he deserved; and that not satisfying him, or curing his insolence, he was met one night late upon the Pont Neuf, in Paris, by two men, who muffling him up in a great cloak, carried him into a more private place, and cut off both his ears, telling him, it was for talking impudently of his superiors; adding, that he should take care to govern his tongue better, and behave with more manners, or the next time they would cut his tongue out of his head.

This put a check to his sauciness that way; but he comes back to the merchant, and threatened to begin a process against him for corresponding with me, and being accessory to the murder of the jeweller, &c.

The merchant found by his discourse, that he supposed I was protected by the said Prince de —, nay, the rogue said, he was sure I was in his lodgings at Versailles; for he never had so much as the least intimation of the way I was really gone; but that I was there he was certain, and certain that the merchant was privy to it. The merchant bade him defiance; however, he gave him a great deal of trouble, and put him to a great charge, and had like to have brought him in for a party to my escape, in which case he would have been obliged to have produced me, and that in the penalty of some capital sum of money.

But the merchant was too many for him another way, for he brought an information against him for a cheat; wherein, laying down the whole fact, how he intended falsely to accuse the widow of the jeweller for the supposed murder of her husband; that he did it purely to get the jewels from her; and that he offered to bring him (the merchant) in, to be confederate with him, and to share the jewels between them; proving also his design to get the jewels into his hands, and then to have dropped the prosecution, upon condition of my quitting the jewels to him. Upon this charge he got him laid by the heels, so he was sent to the Conciergerie, that is to say, to Bridewell, and the merchant cleared. He got out of

jail in a little while, though not without the help of money, and continued teasing the merchant a long while, and at last threatened to assassinate and murder him; so the merchant, who, having buried his wife about two months before, was now a single man, and not knowing what such a villain might do, thought fit to quit Paris, and come away to Holland also.

It is most certain, that speaking of originals, I was the source and spring of all that trouble and vexation to this honest gentleman; and as it was afterwards in my power to have made him full satisfaction, and did not, I cannot say but I added ingratitude to all the rest of my follies; but of that I shall give a fuller account presently.

I was surprised one morning, when being at the merchant's house whom he had recommended me to in Rotterdam, and being busy in his counting house, managing my bills, and preparing to write a letter to him to Paris, I heard a noise of horses at the door, which is not very common in a city where everybody passes by water; but he had, it seems, ferried over the Maze from Williamstadt, and so came to the very door, and I soon after saw a gentleman alight and come in at the gate. I knew nothing and expected nothing, to be sure, of the person; but, as I say, I was surprised, and indeed more than ordinarily surprised, when coming near to me, I saw it was my merchant of Paris, my benefactor, and indeed, my deliverer.

I confess it was an agreeable surprise to me, and I was exceeding glad to see him, who was so honourable and so kind to me, and who indeed had saved my life. As soon as he saw me he ran to me, took me in his arms, and kissed me with a freedom that he never offered to take with me before: "Dear madam," says he, "I am glad to see you safe in this country; if you had stayed two days longer in Paris you had been undone." I was so glad to see him that I could not speak a good while, and I burst out into tears without speaking a word for a minute, but I recovered that disorder, and said, "The more, sir, is my obligation to see you that had saved my life;" and added, "I am glad to see you here, that I may consider how to balance an account in which I am so much your debtor."—"You and I will adjust that matter easily," says he, "now we are so near together; pray, where do you lodge?" says he.

"In a very honest, good house," said I, "where that gentleman, your friend, recommended me," pointing to the merchant in whose house we then were.

"And where you may lodge too, sir," says the gentleman, "if it suits with your business, and your other conveniencies."

"With all my heart," says he; "then, madam," adds he, turning to me, "I shall be near you, and have time to tell you a story which will be very long, and yet many ways very pleasant to you; how troublesome that devilish fellow, the Jew has been to me on your account, and what a hellish snare he had laid for you, if he could have found you."

"I shall have leisure too, sir," said I, "to tell you all my adventures since that; which have not been a few, I assure you."

In short, he took up his lodgings in the same house where I lodged, and the room he lay in opened, as he was wishing it would, just to my lodging-room, so we could almost call out of bed to one another, and I was not at all shy of him on that score, for I believed him perfectly honest; and so indeed he was, and if he had not, that article was at present no part of my concern.

It was not till two or three days, and after his first hurry of business were over, that we began to enter into the history of our affairs on every side, but when we began, it took up all our conversation for almost a fortnight. First I gave him a particular account of everything that happened material upon my voyage, and how we were driven into Harwich by a very terrible storm, how I had left my woman behind me, so frightened with the danger she had been in, that she durst not venture to set her foot into a ship again, and that I had not come myself, if the bills I had of him had not been payable in Holland; but that money, he might see, would make a woman go anywhere.

He seemed to laugh at all our womanish fears upon the occasion of the storm, telling me it was nothing but what was very ordinary in those seas, but that they had harbours on every coast so near, that they were seldom in danger of being lost; "for indeed," says he, "if they cannot fetch one coast they can always stand away for another, and run afore it," as he called it, "for one side or other." But when I came to tell him what a crazy ship it was, and how, even when they had got into Harwich, and into smooth water, they were fain to run the ship on shore, or she would have sunk in the harbour; and that I looked out at the cabin door, and saw one Dutchman upon his knees here, and another there, at prayers, then indeed he acknowledged I had reason to be alarmed; but smiling, added, "but you, madam," says he, "are so good a lady, and so pious, you would but have gone to heaven a little the sooner. The difference had not been much to you."

I confess, when he said this, it made all the blood turn in my veins, and I thought I should have fainted. "Poor gentleman!" thought I, "you know little of me; what would I give to be really what you really think me to be!" He perceived the disorder, but said nothing till I spoke; when, shaking my head, "O, sir," said I, "death in any shape has some terror in it, but in the frightful figure of a storm at sea, and a sinking ship, it comes with a double, a treble, and indeed an inexpressible horror; and if I were that saint you think me to be (which God knows I am not), it is still very dismal; I desire to die in a calm, if I can." He said a great many good things, and very prettily ordered his discourse between serious reflection and compliment, but I had too much guilt to relish it as it was meant, so I turned it off to something else, and talked of the necessity I had on me to come to Holland, but I wished myself safe on shore in England again.

He said he was glad I had such an obligation upon me to come over into Holland, but hinted that he was so interested in my welfare, and besides had such further designs upon me, that if I had not so happily been found in Holland, he was resolved to have gone to England to see me,

and that it was one of the principal reasons for his leaving Paris.

I told him I was extremely obliged to him for so far interesting himself in my affairs, but that I had been so far his debtor before, that I knew not how anything could increase it; for I owed my life to him already, and I could not be in debt for anything more valuable than that. He answered in the most obliging manner possible, that he would put it in my power to pay that debt, and all the obligation besides that ever he had or should be able to lay upon me.

I began to understand him now, and to see plainly that he resolved to make love to me; but I would by no means seem to take the hint, and besides I knew that he had a wife with him in Paris; and I had just then, indeed, no gust for any more intriguing; however, he surprised me into a sudden notice of the thing a little while after, by saying something in his discourse that he did, as he said, in his wife's days. I started at that word—"What mean you by that, sir?" said I; "have you not a wife in Paris?"—"No, madam, indeed," said he, "my wife died the beginning of September last;" which it seems was but a little after I came away.

We lived in the same house all this while; and as we lodged not far off one another, opportunities were not wanting of as near an acquaintance as we might desire; nor have such opportunities the least agency in vicious minds to bring to pass even what they might not intend at first.

However, though he courted me at so much distance, yet his pretensions were very honourable; and as I had before found him a most disinterested friend, and perfectly honest in his dealings, even when I trusted him with all I had, so now I found him strictly virtuous, till I made him otherwise myself, even almost whether he would or no, as you shall hear.

It was not long after our former discourse when he repeated what he had insinuated before, namely that he had yet a design to lay before me, which, if I would agree to his proposals, would more than balance all accounts between us. I told him I could not reasonably deny him anything; and except one thing, which I hoped and believed he would not think of, I should think myself very ungrateful if I did not do everything for him that lay in my power.

He told me what he should desire of me would be fully in my power to grant, or else he should be very unfriendly to offer it, and still all this while he declined making the proposal, as he called it, and so for that time we ended our discourse, turning it off to other things; so that, in short, I began to think he might have met with some disaster in his business, and might have come away from Paris in some discredit, or had had some blow on his affairs in general; and as really I had kindness enough to have parted with a good sum to have helped him, and was in gratitude bound to have done so, he having so effectually saved to me all I had; so I resolved to make him the offer the first time I had an opportunity, which two or three days after offered itself very much to my satisfaction.

He had told me at large, though on several occasions, the treatment he had met with from

the Jew, and what expense he had put him to; how at length he had cast him, as above, and had recovered good damage of him, but that the rogue was unable to make him any considerable reparation. He had told me also how the Prince d'—'s gentleman had resented his treatment of his master; and how he had caused him to be used upon the Pont Neuf, &c. as I have mentioned above, which I laughed at most heartily.

"It is pity," said I, "that I should sit here and make that gentleman no amends; if you would direct me, sir," said I, "how to do it, I would make him a handsome present, and acknowledge the justice he had done to me as well as to the Prince, his master." He said he would do what I directed in it; so I told him I would send him 500 crowns. "That's too much," said he, "for you are but half interested in the usage of the Jew; it was on his master's account he corrected him, not on yours." Well, however, we were obliged to do nothing in it, for neither of us knew how to direct a letter to him, or to direct anybody to him; so I told him I would leave it till I came to England, for that my woman, Amy, corresponded with him, and that he had made love to her.

"Well but, sir," said I, "as in requital for his generous concern for me, I am careful to think of him; it is but just that what expense you have been obliged to be at, which was all on my account, should be repaid you, and therefore," said I, "let me see —" and there I paused and began to reckon up what I had observed from his own discourse it had cost him in the several disputes and hearings which he had with that dog of a Jew, and I cast them up at something above 2,130 crowns; so I pulled out some bills which I had upon a merchant in Amsterdam, and a particular account in bank, and was looking on them in order to give them to him.

When he seeing evidently what I was going about, interrupted me with some warmth, and told me he would have nothing of me on that account, and desired I would not pull out my bills and papers on that score; that he had not told me the story on that account, or with any such view; that it had been his misfortune first to bring that ugly rogue to me, which, though it was with a good design, yet he would punish himself with the expense he had been at, for his being so unlucky to me; that I could not think so hard of him as to suppose he would take money of me, a widow, for serving me, and doing acts of kindness to me in a strange country, and in distress too; but he said he would repeat what he had said before, that he kept me for a deeper reckoning, and that, as he had told me, he would put me into a posture to even all that favour, as I called it, at once, so we should talk it over another time, and balance all together.

Now I expected it would come out, but still he put it off, as before, from whence I concluded it could not be matter of love, for that those things are not usually delayed in such a manner, and therefore it must be matter of money; upon which thought I broke the silence, and told him that as he knew I had, by obligation, more kindness for him than to deny any favour to him that I could grant, and that he seemed backward to mention his case, I begged of him to give me

leave to ask him whether anything lay upon his mind with respect to his business and effects in the world; that if it did, he knew what I had in the world as well as I did; and that if he wanted money, I would let him have any sum for his occasion, as far as five or six thousand pistoles, and he should pay me as his own affairs would permit; and that if he never paid me I would never give him any trouble for it.

He rose up with ceremony, and gave me thanks in terms that sufficiently told me he had been bred among people more polite and more courteous than is esteemed the ordinary usage of the Dutch; and after his compliment was over he came nearer to me, and told me that he was obliged to assure me, though with repeated acknowledgments of my kind offer, that he was not in any want of money; that he had met with no uneasiness in any of his affairs, no, not of any kind whatever, except that of the loss of his wife and one of his children, which indeed had troubled him much; but that this was no part of what he had to offer to me, and by granting which I should balance all obligations; but that, in short, it was that, seeing Providence had (as it were for that purpose) taken his wife from him, I would make up the loss to him; and with that he held me fast in his arms, and, kissing me, would not give me leave to say no, and hardly to breathe.

At length, having got room to speak, I told him that, as I said before, I could deny him but one thing in the world, I was very sorry he should propose that thing only that I could not grant.

I could not but smile, however, to myself that he should make so many circles and roundabout motions to come to a discourse which had no such rarity at the bottom of it, if he had known all. But there was another reason why I resolved not to have him, when, at the same time, if he had courted me in a manner less honest or virtuous, I believe I should not have denied him; but I shall come to that part presently.

He was, as I have said, long a-bringing it out, but when he had brought it out he pursued it with such importunities as would admit of no denial, at least he intended they should not; but I resisted them obstinately, and yet with expressions of the utmost kindness and respect for him that could be imagined, often telling him there was nothing else in the world that I could deny him, and showing him all the respect, and upon all occasions treating him with intimacy and freedom, as if he had been my brother.

He tried all the ways imaginable to bring his design to pass, but I was inflexible; at last, he thought of a way, which, he flattered himself, would not fail; nor would he have been mistaken perhaps in any other woman in the world but me; this was, to try if he could take me at an advantage and get to bed to me, and then, as was most rational to think, I should willingly enough marry him afterwards.

We were so intimate together, that nothing but man and wife could, or at least ought, to be more; but still our freedoms kept within the bounds of modesty and decency. But one evening, above all the rest, we were very merry, and I fancied he pushed the mirth to watch for his

advantage; and I resolved that I would, at least, feign to be as merry as he; and that, in short, if he offered anything, he should have his will easily enough.

About one o'clock in the morning, for so long we sat up together, I said, "Come, 'tis one o'clock, I must go to bed."—"Well," says he, "I'll go with you."—"No, no," says I, "go to your own chamber;" he said he would go to bed with me. "Nay," says I, "if you will, I don't know what to say; if I can't help it, you must." However, I got from him, left him, and went into my chamber, but did not shut the door, and, as he could easily see that I was undressing myself he steps to his own room, which was but on the same floor, and in a few minutes undresses himself also, and returns to my door in his gown and slippers.

I thought he had been gone indeed, and so that he had been in jest; and, by the way, thought either he had no mind to the thing, or that he never intended it; so I shut my door, that is, latched it, for I seldom locked or bolted it, and went to bed. I had not been in bed a minute, but he comes in his gown to the door, and opens it a little way, but not enough to come in, or look in, and says softly, "What, are you really gone to bed?"—"Yes, yes," says I, "get you gone."—"No, indeed," says he, "I shall not be gone, you gave me leave before to come to bed, and you shan't say get you gone now." So he comes into my room, and then turns about, and fastens the door, and immediately comes to the bedside to me. I pretended to scold and struggle, and bid him begone, with more warmth than before; but it was all one; he had not a rag of clothes on but his gown and slippers and shirt, so he throws off his gown, and throws open the bed, and came in at once.

I made a seeming resistance, but it was no more indeed; for, as above, I resolved from the beginning he should lie with me if he would, and for the rest I left it to come after.

Well, he lay with me that night, and the two next, and very merry we were all the three days between; but the third night he began to be a little more grave. "Now, my dear," says he, "though I have pushed this matter farther than ever I intended, or than I believe you expected from me, who never made any pretences to you but what were very honest; yet to heal it all up and let you see how sincerely I meant at first, and how honest I will ever be to you, I am ready to marry you still, and desire you to let it be done to-morrow morning; and I will give you the same fair conditions of marriage as I would have done before."

This, it must be owned, was a testimony that he was very honest, and that he loved me sincerely; but I construed it quite another way, namely, that he aimed at the money. But how surprised did he look, and how was he confounded when he found me receive his proposal with coldness and indifference, and still tell him that it was the only thing I could not grant!

He was astonished. "What not take me now?" says he, "when I have been a-bed with you?" I answered coldly, though respectfully still, "It is true, to my shame be it spoken," says I, "that you have taken me by surprise, and have

had your will of me; but I hope you will not take it ill that I cannot consent to marry, for all that. If I am with child," said I, "care must be taken to manage that as you direct; I hope you won't expose me, for my having exposed myself to you, but I cannot go any farther." and at that point I stood, and would hear of no matrimony by any means.

Now because this may seem a little odd, I shall state the matter clearly; as I understood it myself. I knew that while I was a mistress, it is customary for the person kept to receive from them that keep; but if I should be a wife, all I had then was given up to the husband, and I was thenceforth to be under his authority only; and as I had money enough, and needed not fear being what they call a cast-off mistress, so I had no need to give him twenty thousand pounds to marry me, which had been buying my lodging too dear a great deal.

Thus his project of coming to bed to me was a bite upon himself, while he intended it for a bite upon me; and he was no nearer his aim of marrying me than he was before. All his arguments he could urge upon the subject of matrimony were at an end, for I positively declined marrying him; and as he had refused the thousand pistoles which I had offered him in compensation for his expenses and loss at Paris, with the Jew, and had done it upon the hopes he had of marrying me; so when he found his way difficult still, he was amazed, and I had some reason to believe, repented that he had refused the money.

But thus it is when men run into wicked measures to bring their designs about. I that was infinitely obliged to him before, began to talk to him as if I had balanced accounts with him now, and that the favour of lying with a whore was equal, not to the thousand pistoles only, but to all the debt I owed him, for saving my life and all my effects.

But he drew himself into it, and though it was a dear bargain, yet it was a bargain of his own making; he could not say I had tricked him into it; but as he projected and drew me into lie with him, depending that it was a sure game in order to a marriage, so I granted him the favour, as he called it, to balance the account of favours received from him, and keep the thousand pistoles with a good grace.

He was extremely disappointed in this article, and knew not how to manage for a great while; and as I dare say, if he had not expected to have made it an earnest for marrying me, he would never have attempted me the other way; so, I believed, if it had not been for the money, which he knew I had, he would never have desired to marry me after he had lain with me. For, where is the man that cares to marry a whore, though of his own making? And as I knew him to be no fool, so I did him no wrong, when I supposed that, but for the money, he would not have had any thoughts of me that way, especially after my yielding as I had done; in which it is to be remembered that I made no capitulation for marrying him, when I yielded to him, but let him do just what he pleased, without any previous bargain.

Well, hitherto we went upon guesses at one another's designs; but as he continued to im-

portune me to marry, though he had lain with me, and still did lay with me as often as he pleased, and I continued to refuse to marry him, though I let him lay with me whenever he desired it; I say, as these two circumstances made up our conversation, it could not continue long thus, but we must come to an explanation.

One morning, in the middle of our unlawful freedoms, that is to say, when we were in bed together he sighed, and told me, he desired my leave to ask me one question, and that I would give him an answer to it, with the same ingenuous freedom and honesty, that I had used to treat him with. I told him I would. Why then his question was, why I would not marry him, seeing I allowed him all the freedom of a husband? "Or," says he, "my dear, since you have been so kind as to take me to your bed, why will you not make me your own, and take me for good and all, that we may enjoy ourselves without any reproach to one another."

I told him, that as I confessed it was the only thing I could not comply with him in, so it was the only thing in all my actions, that I could not give him a reason for. That it was true I had let him come to bed to me, which was supposed to be the greatest favour a woman could grant; but it was evident, and he might see it, that as I was sensible of the obligation I was under to him for saving me from the worst circumstance it was possible for me to be brought to, I could deny him nothing; and if I had had any greater favour to yield him, I should have done it, that of matrimony only excepted, and he could not but see that I loved him to an extraordinary degree, in every part of my behaviour to him; but that as to marrying, which was giving up my liberty, it was what once he knew I had done, and he had seen how it had hurried me up and down in the world, and what it had exposed me to; that I had an aversion to it, and desired he would not insist upon it. He might easily see I had no aversion to him; and that if I was with child by him, he should see a testimony of my kindness to the father, for that I would settle all I had in the world upon the child.

He was mute a good while; at last, says he, "Come, my dear, you are the first woman in the world that ever lay with a man, and then refused to marry him, and therefore there must be some other reason for your refusal; and I have therefore one other request, and that is, if I guess at the true reason, and remove the objection, will you then yield to me?" I told him if he removed the objection I must needs comply, for I should certainly do everything that I had no objection against.

"Why then, my dear, it must be that either you are already engaged, and married to some other man, or you are not willing to dispose of your money to me, and expect to advance yourself higher with your fortune. Now, if it be the first of these, my mouth will be stopped, and I have no more to say; but if it be the last, I am prepared effectually to remove the objections, and answer all you can say on that subject."

I took him up short at the first of these, telling him he must have base thoughts of me indeed, to think that I could yield to him in such a manner as I had done, and continue it with so much free-

dom, as he found I did, if I had a husband, or were engaged to any other man; and that he might depend upon it that was not my case, nor any part of my case.

"Why then," said he, "as to the other, I have an offer to make to you that shall take off all the objection, viz., That I will not touch one pistole of your estate more than shall be with your own voluntary consent, neither now or at any other time, but you shall settle it as you please for your life, and upon whom you please after your death;" that I should see he was able to maintain me without it; and that it was not for that that he followed me from Paris.

I was indeed surprised at that part of his offer, and he might easily perceive it; it was not only what I did not expect, but it was that I knew not what answer to make to. He had, indeed, removed my principal objection, nay, all my objections, and it was not possible for me to give any answer; for if upon so generous an offer I should agree with him, I then did as good as confess that it was upon the account of my money that I refused him; and that though I could give up my virtue, and expose myself, yet I would not give up my money, which, though it was true, yet was really too gross for me to acknowledge, and I could not pretend to marry him upon that principle neither. Then as to having him, and make over all my estate out of his hands, so as not to give him the management of what I had, I thought it would be not only a little Gothic and inhuman, but it would be always a foundation of unkindness between us, and render us suspected one to another; so that upon the whole I was obliged to give a new turn to it, and talk upon a kind of an elevated strain, which really was not in my thoughts at first, at all; for I own, as above, the divesting myself of my estate and putting my money out of my hand, was the sum of the matter that made me refuse to marry; but, I say, I gave it a new turn upon this occasion, as follows:

I told him I had, perhaps, differing notions of matrimony from what the received custom had given us of it; that I thought a woman was a free agent, as well as a man, and was born free, and could she manage herself suitably, might enjoy that liberty to as much purpose as the men do; that the laws of matrimony were indeed otherwise, and mankind at this time acted quite upon other principles; and those such that a woman gave herself entirely away from herself, in marriage, and capitulated only to be, at best, but an upper servant, and from the time she took the man, she was no better or worse than the servant among the Israelites, who had his ears bored, that is, nailed to the door-post, who by that act gave himself up to be a servant during life.

That the very nature of the marriage contract was, in short, nothing but giving up liberty, estate, authority, and everything, to the man, and the woman was indeed a mere woman ever after, that is to say, a slave.

He replied, that though in some respects it was as I had said, yet I ought to consider that as an equivalent to this, the man had all the care of things devolved upon him; that the weight of business lay upon his shoulders, and

as he had the trust, so he had the toil of life upon him; his was the labour, his the anxiety of living; that the woman had nothing to do but to eat the fat and drink the sweet; to sit still and look round her, to be waited on and made much of, be served, and loved, and made easy, especially if the husband acted as became him; and that, in general, the labour of the man was appointed to make the woman live quiet and unconcerned in the world; that they had the name of subjection without the thing; and if, in inferior families, they had the drudgery of the house, and care of the provisions upon them, yet they had, indeed, much the easier part; for in general, the women had only the care of managing, that is, spending what their husbands get; and that a woman had the name of subjection, indeed, but that they generally commanded, not the men only, but all they had; managed all for themselves; and where the man did his duty, the woman's life was all ease and tranquillity, and that she had nothing to do but to be easy, and to make all that were about her both easy and merry.

I returned, that while a woman was single, she was a masculine in her politic capacity; that she had then the full command of what she had, and the full direction of what she did; that she was a man in her separated capacity, to all intents and purposes that a man could be so to himself; that she was controled by none, because unaccountable to none: so I sung these two lines of Mr ———'s.

"O! 'tis pleasant to be free,
The sweetest Miss is Liberty."

I added, that whoever the woman was that had an estate, and would give it up to be the slave of a great man, that woman was a fool, and must be fit for nothing but a beggar; that it was my opinion a woman was as fit to govern and enjoy her own estate, without a man, as a man was without a woman; and that, if she had a mind to gratify herself as to sexes, she might entertain a man, as a man does a mistress; that while she was thus single she was her own, and if she gave away that power, she merited to be as miserable as it was possible that any creature could be.

All he could say could not answer the force of this as to argument, only this, that the other way was the ordinary method that the world was guided by; that he had reason to expect I should be content with that which all the world was contented with; that he was of the opinion, that a sincere affection between a man and his wife answered all the objections that I had made about the being a slave, a servant, and the like, and where there was a mutual love there could be no bondage; but that there was but one interest, one aim, one design, and all conspired to make both very happy.

"Ay," said I, "that is the thing I complain of. The pretence of affection takes from a woman everything that can be called herself; she is to have no interest, no aim, no view; but all is the interest, aim, and view, of the husband; she is to be the passive creature you spoke of," said I. "She is to lead a life of perfect indolence, and living by faith (not in God, but) in her husband, she sinks or swims, as he is either fool or wise

man, unhappy or prosperous; and in the middle of what she thinks is her happiness and prosperity, she is engulfed in misery and beggary, which she had not the least notice, knowledge, or suspicion of. How often have I seen a woman living in all the splendor that a plentiful fortune ought to allow her! with her coaches and equipages, her family and rich furniture, her attendants and friends, her visitors and good company, all about her to-day; to-morrow surprised with a disaster, turned out of all by a commission of bankrupt, stripped—to the clothes on her back, her jointure, suppose she had it, is sacrificed to the creditors, so long as her husband lived, and she turned into the street, and left to live on the charity of her friends, if she has any, or follow the monarch, her husband, into the Mint, and live there on the wreck of his fortunes till he is forced to run away from her, even there; and then she sees her children starve, herself miserable, breaks her heart, and cries herself to death? This," says I, "is the state of many a lady that has had ten thousand pounds to her portion."

He did not know how feelingly I spoke this, and what extremities I had gone through of this kind; how near I was to the very last article above, viz. crying myself to death; and how I really starved for almost two years together.

But he shook his head, and said, "Where had I lived? and what dreadful families had I lived among, that had frightened me into such terrible apprehensions of things? that these things indeed might happen where men run into hazardous things in trade, and without prudence or due consideration, launch their fortunes in a degree beyond their strength, grasping at adventures beyond their stocks, and the like; but that, as he was stated in the world, if I would embark with him, he had a fortune equal with mine; that together we should have no occasion of engaging in business any more, but that in any part of the world where I had a mind to live, whether England, France, Holland, or where I would, we might settle, and live as happily as the world could make any one live; that if I desired the management of our estate, when put together, if I would not trust him with mine, he would trust me with his; that we would be upon one bottom, and I should steer.—"Ay," says I, "you'll allow me to steer, that is, hold the helm, but you'll con the ship, as they call it; that is, as at sea, a boy serves to stand at the helm, but but he that gives him the orders is pilot."

He laughed at my simile; "No," says he, "you shall be pilot then, you shall con the ship." "Ay," says I, "as long as you please, but you can take the helm out of my hand when you please, and bid me go spin. It is not you," says I, "that I suspect, but the laws of matrimony puts the power into your hands, and bids you do it; commands you to command; and binds me, forsooth, to obey; you, that are now upon even terms with me, and I with you," says I, "are the next hour set upon the throne, and the humble wife placed at your footstool: all the rest, all that you call oneness of interest, mutual affection, and the like, is courtesy and kindness then, and a woman is indeed infinitely obliged where she meets with it, but cannot help herself where it fails."

Well, he did not give it over yet, but came to the serious part, and there he thought he should be too many for me; he first hinted that marriage was decreed by heaven; that it was the fixed state of life, which God had appointed for man's felicity, and for establishing a legal posterity; and there could be no legal claim of estates by inheritance, but by children born in wedlock; that all the rest sunk under scandal and illegitimacy; and very well he talked upon that subject indeed.

But it would not do; I took him short there. "Look you, sir," said I, "you have the advantage of me there indeed, in my particular case; but it would not be generous to make use of it. I readily grant, that it were better for me to have married you, than to admit you to the liberty I have given you; but as I could not reconcile my judgment to marriage, for the reasons above, and had kindness enough for you, and obligation too much on me to resist you, I suffered your rudeness, and gave up my virtue; but I have two things before me to heal up that breach of honour without that desperate one of marriage, and those are, repentance for what is past, and putting an end to it for time to come."

He seemed to be concerned to think that I should take him in that manner; he assured me that I misunderstood him, that he had more manners as well as more kindness for me, and more justice than to reproach me with what he had been the aggressor in, and had surprised me into. That what he spoke referred to my words above, that the woman, if she thought fit, might entertain a man, as the man did a mistress; and that I seemed to mention that way of living as justifiable, and setting it as a lawful thing, and in the place of matrimony.

Well, we strained some compliments upon those points not worth repeating; and I added, I supposed when he got to bed to me he thought himself sure of me; and, indeed, in the ordinary course of things, after he had lain with me he ought to think so, but that, upon the same foot of argument which I had discoursed with him upon, it was just the contrary; and when a woman had been weak enough to yield up the last point before wedlock, it would be adding one weakness to another to take the man afterwards, to pin down the shame of it upon herself all the days of her life, and bind herself to live all her time with the only man that could upbraid her with it. That in yielding at first she must be a fool, but to take the man is to be sure to be called a fool; that to resist a man is to act with courage and vigour, and to cast off the reproach, which, in the course of things, drops out of knowledge and dies. The man goes one way and the woman another, as Fate and the circumstances of living direct; and if they keep one another's counsel, the folly is heard no more of; but to take the man," says I, "is the most preposterous thing in nature, and (saving your presence) is to befoul one's self, and live always in the smell of it. No, no," added I, "after a man has lain with me as a mistress, he ought never to lie with me as a wife. That's not only preserving the crime in memory, but it is recording it in the family; if the woman marries the man afterwards, she bears the reproach of it to the last

hour; if her husband is not a man of a hundred thousand, he sometime or other upbraids her with it; if he has children, they fail not one way or other to hear of it: if the children are virtuous, they do their mother the justice to hate her for it; if they are wicked, they give her the mortification of doing the like, and giving her for the example. On the other hand, if the man and the woman part, there is an end of the crime, and an end of the clamour; time wears out the memory of it, or a woman may remove but a few streets, and she soon outlives it, and hears no more of it."

He was confounded at this discourse, and told me he could not say but that I was right in the main. That as to that part relating to managing estates, it was arguing *à la cavalier*, it was in some sense right, if the women were able to carry it on so, but that in general the sex were not capable of it; their heads were not turned for it, and they had better choose a person capable and honest, that knew how to do them justice, as women, as well as to love them; and that then the trouble was all taken off of their hands.

I told him it was a dear way of purchasing their ease, for very often when the trouble was taken off their hands, so was their money too; and that I thought it was far safer for the sex not to be afraid of the trouble but to be really afraid of their money, and that if no body was trusted, nobody would be deceived; and the staff in their own hands was the best security in the world.

He replied, that I had started a new thing in the world; that however I might support it by subtle reasoning, yet it was a way of arguing that was contrary to the general practice, and that he confessed he was much disappointed in it; that had he known I would have made such an use of it, he would never attempted what he did, which he had no wicked design in, resolving to make me reparation, and that he was very sorry he had been so unhappy; that he was very sure he should never upbraid me with it hereafter, and had so good an opinion of me as to believe I did not suspect him; but seeing I was positive in refusing him, notwithstanding what had passed, he had nothing to do but to secure me from reproach, by going back again to Paris, that so, according to my own way of arguing, it might die out of memory, and I might never meet with it again to my disadvantage.

I was not pleased with this part at all, for I had no mind to let him go neither; and yet I had no mind to give him such hold of me as he would have had; and thus I was in a kind of suspense, irresolute, and doubtful what course to take.

I was in the house with him, as I have observed, and I saw evidently that he was preparing to go back to Paris; and particularly, I found he was remitting money to Paris, which was, as I understood afterwards, to pay for some wines, which he had given order to have bought for him at Troyes in Champagne; and I knew not what course to take; and besides that I was very loth to part with him, I found also that I was with child by him, which was what I had not yet told him of; and sometimes I thought not to tell him of it at all; but I was in a strange place, and had no acquaintance, though I had a

great deal of substance, which indeed, having no friends there, was the more dangerous to me.

This obliged me to take him one morning, when I saw him, as I thought, a little anxious about his going, and irresolute; says I to him, "I fancy you can hardly find in your heart to leave me now."—"The more unkind is it in you," said he, "severely unkind, to refuse a man that knows not how to part with you."

"I am so far from being unkind to you," said I, "that I will go over all the world with you, if you desire me, except to Paris, where you know I can't go."

"It is a pity so much love," said he, "on both sides should ever separate."

"Why, then," said I, "do you go away from me?"

"Because," said he, "you won't take me."

"But if I won't take you," said I, "you may take me anywhere but to Paris."

He was very loth to go anywhere, he said, without me; but he must go to Paris or to the East Indies.

I told him I did not use to court, but I durst venture myself to the East Indies with him, if there was a necessity of his going.

He told me, God be thanked, he was in no necessity of going any where, but that he had a tempting invitation to go to the Indies.

I answered, I would say nothing to that; but that I desired he would go anywhere but to Paris, because there he knew I must not go.

He said he had no remedy but to go where I could not go; for he could not bear to see me, if he must not have me.

I told him that was the unkindest thing he could say of me, and that I ought to take it very ill, seeing I knew how very well to oblige him to stay, without yielding to what he knew I could not yield to.

This amazed him, and he told me I was pleased to be mysterious; but that he was sure it was in nobody's power to hinder him going, if he resolved upon it, except me, who had influence enough upon him to make him do anything.

Yes, I told him, I could hinder him, because I knew he could no more do an unkind thing by me than he could do an unjust one; and to put him out of his pain, I told him I was with child.

He came to me, and taking me in his arms, and kissing me a thousand times almost, said, Why would I be so unkind not to tell him that before?

I told him 'twas hard, that to have him stay, I should be forced to do as criminals do to avoid the gallows, plead my belly; and that I thought I had given him testimonies enough of an affection equal to that of a wife, if I had not only lain with him; been with child by him, shown myself unwilling to part with him, but offered to go the East Indies with him; and except one thing that I could not grant, what could he ask more?

He stood mute a good while, but afterwards told me, he had a great deal more to say, if I could assure him that I would not take ill whatever freedom he might use me in his discourse.

I told him that he might use any freedom in words; for a woman who had given leave to such

other freedoms, as I had done, but left herself no room to take anything ill, let it be what it would.

"Why then," he said, "I hope you believe, madam, I was born a Christian, and that I have some sense of sacred things upon my mind. When I first broke in upon my own virtue and assaulted yours; when I surprised, and, as it were, forced you to that which neither you intended or I designed but a few hours before; it was upon a presumption that you would certainly marry me, if once I could go that length with you; and it was with an honest resolution to make you my wife.

"But I have been surprised with such a denial that no woman in such circumstances ever gave to a man; for certainly it was never known that any woman refused to marry a man that had first lain with her, much less a man that had gotten her with child; but you go upon different notions from all the world, and though you reason upon it so strongly that a man knows hardly what to answer, yet I must own there is something in it shocking to nature, and something very unkind to yourself: but above all, it is unkind to the child that is yet unborn, who, if we marry, will come into the world with advantage enough, but if not, is ruined before it is born; must bear the eternal reproach of what it is not guilty of; must be branded from its cradle with a mark of infamy; be loaded with the crimes and follies of its parents, and suffer for sins that it never committed. This I take to be very hard, and, indeed, cruel to the poor infant not yet born, whom you cannot think of with any patience, if you have the common affection of a mother, and not do that for it which should at once place it on a level with the rest of the world, and not leave it to curse its parents for what also we ought to be ashamed of. I cannot, therefore," says he, "but beg and intreat you, as you are a Christian and a mother, not to let the innocent lamb you go with be ruined before it is born, and leave it to curse and reproach us hereafter, for what may be so easily avoided.

"Then, dear madam," said he, with a world of tenderness (and I thought I saw tears in his eyes), "allow me to repeat it, that I am a Christian, and consequently I do not allow what I have rashly, and without due consideration, done; I say, I do not approve of it as lawful, and therefore, though I did, with the view I have mentioned, one unjustifiable action, I cannot say that I could satisfy myself to live in a continual practice of what in judgment we must both condemn; and though I love you above all the women in the world, and have done enough to convince you of it, by resolving to marry you after what has passed between us, and by offering to quit all pretensions to any part of your estate, so that I should, as it were, take a wife after I had lain with her, and without a farthing portion, which, as my circumstances are, I need not do; I say, notwithstanding my affection to you, which is inexpressible, yet I cannot give up my soul as well as body, the interest of this world, and the hopes of another; and you cannot call this my disrespect to you."

If ever any man in the world was truly valuable for the strictest honesty of intention, this was the man; and if ever a woman in her senses rejected a man of merit on so trivial and frivolous

a pretence, I was the woman: but surely it was the most preposterous thing that ever woman did.

He would have taken me as a wife, but would not entertain me as a whore. Was ever woman angry with any gentleman on that head? And was ever woman so stupid to choose to be a whore, where she might have been an honest wife? But infatuations are next to being possessed with the devil. I was inflexible, and pretended to argue upon the point of a woman's liberty as before, but he took me short, and with more warmth than he had yet used with me, though with the utmost respect, replied, "Dear madam, you argue for liberty, at the same time that you restrain yourself from that liberty which God and nature has directed you to take; and to supply the deficiency, propose a vicious liberty, which is neither honourable, no, nor religious. Will you propose liberty at the expense of modesty?"

I returned, that he mistook me: I did not propose it; I only said that those who could not be content without concerning the sexes in that affair, might do so indeed; might entertain a man as men do a mistress, if they thought fit, but he did not hear me say I would do so: and though, by what had passed, he might well censure me in that part, yet he should find, for the future, that I should freely converse with him without any inclination that way.

He told me he could not promise that for himself, and thought he ought not to trust himself with the opportunity, for that, as he had failed already, he was loth to lead himself into temptation of offending again, and that this was the true reason of his resolving to go back to Paris; not that he could willingly leave me, and would be very far from waiting my invitation; but if he could not stay upon terms that became him, either as a honest man or a christian, what could he do? And he hoped, he said, I could not blame him, that he was unwilling anything that was to call him father should upbraid him with leaving him in the world to be called bastard; adding, that he was astonished to think how I could satisfy myself to be so cruel to an innocent infant not yet born; professed he could never bear the thoughts of it, much less bear to see it, and hoped I would not take it ill that he could not stay to see me delivered, for that very reason.

I saw he spoke this with a disturbed mind, and that it was with some difficulty that he restrained his passion, so I declined any further discourse upon it; only said I hoped he would consider of it. "O madam," says he, "do not bid me consider, 'tis for you to consider:" and with that he went out of the room, in a strange kind of confusion, as was easy to be seen in his countenance.

If I had not been one of the foolishhest as well as wickedest creatures upon earth, I could never have acted thus. I had one of the honestest, completest gentleman upon earth, at my hand. He had in one sense saved my life, but had saved that life from ruin in a most remarkable manner. He loved me even to distraction, and had come from Paris to Rotterdam on purpose to seek me. He had offered me marriage, even after I was with child by him, and had offered to quit all his pretensions to my estate, and give it up to my own management, having a plentiful estate of his

own. Here I might have settled myself out of the reach even of disaster itself; his estate and mine would have purchased even then above two thousand pounds a year, and I might have lived like a queen, nay, far more happy than a queen; and, which was above all, I had now an opportunity to have quitted a life of crime and debauchery, which I had been given up to for several years, and to have sat down quiet in plenty and honour, and to have set myself apart to the great work, which I have since seen so much necessity and occasion for, I mean that of repentance.

But my measure of wickedness was not yet full. I continued obstinate against matrimony, and yet I could not bear the thoughts of his going away neither. As to the child, I was not very anxious about it. I told him I would promise him that it should never come to him to upbraid him with its being illegitimate; that if it was a boy, I would breed it up like the son of a gentleman, and use it well for his sake: and after a little more such talk as this, and seeing him resolved to go, I retired, but could not help letting him see the tears run down my cheeks. he came to me and kissed me, intreated me, conjured me by the kindness he had shewn me in my distress, by the justice he had done me in my bills and money affairs, by the respect which made him refuse a thousand pistoles from me for his expenses with that traitor the Jew, by the pledge of our misfortunes, so he called it, which I carried with me, and by all the sincerest affection could propose to do, that I would not drive him away.

But it would not: I was stupid and senseless, deaf to all his importunities, and continued so to the last. So we parted, only desiring me to promise that I would write him word when I was delivered, and how he might give me an answer; and this I engaged I would do. And upon his desiring to be informed which way I intended to dispose of myself, I told him I resolved to go directly to England, and to London, where I proposed to lie in; but since he resolved to leave me, I told him I supposed it would be of no consequence to him what became of me.

He lay in his lodgings that night, but went away early in the morning, leaving me a letter, in which he repeated all he had said, recommended the care of the child, and desired of me that as he had remitted to me the offer of a thousand pistoles, which I would have given him for the recompense of his charges and trouble with the Jew, and had given it me back; so he desired I would allow him to oblige me to set apart that thousand pistoles with its improvement for the child, and for its education, earnestly pressing me to secure that little portion for the abandoned orphan, when I should think fit, as he was sure I would, to throw away the rest upon something as worthless as my sincere friend at Paris. He concluded with moving me to reflect, with the same regret as he did, on our follies we had committed together; asked me forgiveness for being the aggressor in the fact, and forgave me everything, he said, but the cruelty of refusing him, which he owned he could not forgive me so heartily as he should do, because he was satisfied it was an injury to myself, would be an introduction to my ruin, and that I would

seriously repent of it. He foretold some fatal things, which, he said, he was well assured I should fall into, and that at last I should be ruined by a bad husband; bid me be the more wary, that I might render him a false prophet; but to remember, that if ever I came into distress, I had a fast friend at Paris, who would not upbraid me with the unkind things past, but would be always ready to return me good for evil.

This letter stunned me. I could not think it possible for any one that had not dealt with the devil to write such a letter, for he spoke of some particular things which afterwards were to befall me, with such an assurance that it frightened me beforehand; and when those things did come to pass, I was persuaded he had some more than human knowledge. In a word, his advices to me to repent were very affectionate, his warnings of evil to happen to me were very kind, and his promises of assistance, if I wanted him, were so generous, that I have seldom seen the like; and though I did not at first set much by that part, because I looked upon them as what might not happen, and as what was improbable to happen at that time, yet all the rest of his letter was so moving that it left me very melancholy, and I cried four-and-twenty hours after almost without ceasing about it; and yet even all this while, whatever it was that bewitched me, I had not one serious wish that I had taken him. I wished heartily, indeed, that I could have kept him with me, but I had a mortal aversion to marrying him, or, indeed, anybody else, but formed a thousand wild notions in my head that I was yet gay enough, and young and handsome enough to please a man of quality, and that I would try my fortune at London, come of it what would.

Thus blinded by my own vanity, I threw away the only opportunity I then had to have effectually settled my fortunes, and secured them for this world: and I am a memorial to all that shall read my story, a standing monument of the madness and distraction which pride and infatuations from hell run us into, how ill our passions guide us, and how dangerously we act when we follow the dictates of an ambitious mind.

I was rich, beautiful, and agreeable, and not yet old. I had known something of the influence I had had upon the fancies of men, even of the highest rank. I never forgot that the Prince de ——— had said with an ecstasy that I was the finest woman in France. I knew I could make a figure at London, and how well I could grace that figure. I was not at a loss how to behave, and having already been adored by princes, I thought of nothing less than of being mistress to the king himself. But I go back to my immediate circumstances at that time.

I got over the absence of my honest merchant but slowly at first: it was with infinite regret that I let him go at all; and when I read the letter he left I was quite confounded: as soon as he was out of call, and irrecoverable, I would have given half I had in the world for him back again, my notions of things changed in an instant, and I called myself a thousand fools for casting myself upon a life of scandal and hazard; when

after the shipwreck of virtue, honour, and principle, and sailing at the utmost risk in the stormy seas of crime, and abominable levity, I had a safe harbour presented, and no heart to cast anchor in it.

His predictions terrified me, his promises of kindness if I came to distress melted me into tears, but frightened me with the apprehensions of ever coming into such distress, and filled my head with a thousand anxieties and thoughts how it should be possible for me, who had now such a fortune, to sink again into misery.

Then the dreadful scene of my life, when I was left with my five children, &c. as I have related, represented itself again to me, and I sat considering what measures I might take to bring myself to such a state of desolation again, and how I should act to avoid it.

But these things wore off gradually. As to my friend, the merchant, he was gone, and gone irrecoverably, for I durst not follow him to Paris for the reasons mentioned above. Again, I was afraid to write to him to return lest he should have refused, as I verily believed he would; so I sat and cried intolerably for some days, nay, I may say, for some weeks; but I say, it wore off gradually, and as I had a pretty deal of business for managing my effects, the hurry of that particular part served to divert my thoughts, and in part to wear out the impressions which had been made upon my mind.

I had sold my jewels, all but the fine diamond ring, which my gentleman, the jeweller, used to wear, and this, at proper times, I wore myself; as also the diamond necklace which the prince had given me, and a pair of extraordinary earrings worth 600 pistoles; the other, which was a fine casket, he left with me at his going to Versailles, and a small case with some rubies and emeralds, &c. I say I sold them at the Hague for 7,600 pistoles. I had received all the bills which the merchant had helped me to at Paris, and with the money I brought with me, they made up 13,900 pistoles more; so that I had in ready money, and in account in the bank of Amsterdam, above one and twenty thousand pistoles, besides jewels; and how to get this treasure to England was my next care.

The business I had had now with a great many people for receiving such large sums, and selling jewels of such considerable value, gave me opportunity to know and converse with several of the best merchants of the place; so that I wanted no direction now how to get my money remitted to England. Applying therefore to several merchants, that I might neither risk it all on the credit of one merchant, nor suffer any single man to know the quantity of money I had; I say, applying myself to several merchants I got bills of exchange payable at London for all my money. The first bills I took with me, the second bills I left in trust (in case of any disaster at sea) in the hands of the first merchant, him to whom I was recommended by my friend from Paris.

Having thus spent nine months in Holland, refused the best offer ever woman in my circumstances had, parted unkindly, and indeed barbarously with the best friend and honestest man in the world, got all my money in my pocket, and a bastard in my belly, I took shipping at the

Briel in the packet-boat, and arrived safe at Harwich, where my woman, Amy, was come, by my direction, to meet me.

I would willingly have given ten thousand pounds of my money to have been rid of the burthen I had in my belly, as above; but it could not be, so I was obliged to bear with that part, and get rid of it by the ordinary method of patience, and a hard travail.

I was above the contemptible usage that women in my circumstances oftentimes meet with. I had considered all that fully; and having sent Amy beforehand, and remitted her money to do it, she had taken me a very handsome house in — street, near Charing cross; had hired me two maids and a footman, whom she had put in a good livery; and having hired a glass coach and four horses, she came with them and the man servant to Harwich to meet me, and had been there near a week before I came; so I had nothing to do but go away to London to my own house, where I arrived in very good health, and where I passed for a French lady, by the title of —.

My first business was to get all my bills accepted; which, to cut the story short, were all both accepted and currently paid; and I then resolved to take me a country lodging somewhere near the town, to be incognito, till I was brought to bed; which, appearing in such a figure, and having such an equipage, I easily managed without anybody's offering the usual insults of parish inquiries. I did not appear in my new house for some time, and afterwards I thought fit, for particular reasons to quit that house, and not come to it all, but take handsome large apartments in the Pall Mall, in a house, out of which was a private door into the king's garden, by permission of the chief gardener, who had lived in the house.

I had now all my effects secured; but my money being my great concern at that time, I found it a difficulty how to dispose of it so as to bring me in an annual interest. However, in some time I got a substantial safe mortgage for 14,000*l.* by the assistance of the famous Sir Robert Clayton, for which I had an estate of 1,800*l.* a-year bound to me; and had 700*l.* per annum interest for it.

This, with some other securities, made me a very handsome estate of above a thousand pounds a year; enough, one would think, to keep any woman in England from being a whore.

I lay in at —, about four miles from London, and brought a fine boy into the world, and according to my promise, sent an account of it to my friend at Paris, the father of it; and in the letter told him how sorry I was for his going away, and did as good as intimate that if he would come once more to see me I should use him better than I had done. He gave me a very kind and obliging answer, but took not the least notice of what I had said of his coming over, so I found my interest lost there for ever. He gave me joy of the child, and hinted that he hoped I would make good what he had begged for the poor infant as I had promised, and I sent him word that I would fulfil his order to a tittle; and such a fool, and so weak I was in this last letter, notwithstanding what I have said of his not

taking notice of my invitation, as to ask his pardon almost for the usage I gave him at Rotterdam, and stooped so low as to expostulate with him for not taking notice of my inviting him to come to me again, as I had done; and which was still more, went so far as to make a second sort of an offer to him, telling him almost in plain words that if he would come over now I would have him, but he never gave me the least reply to it at all, which was as absolutely a denial to me as he was ever able to give; so I sat down, I cannot say contented, but vexed heartily that I had made the offer at all, for he had, as I may say, his full revenge of me in scorning to answer, and to let me twice ask that of him, which he with so much importunity begged of me before.

I was now up again, and soon came to my city lodging in the Pall Mall, and here I began to make a figure suitable to my estate, which was very great; and I shall give you an account of my equipage in a few words, and of myself too.

I paid 60*l.* a year rent for my new apartments, for I took them by the year, but then they were handsome lodgings indeed, and very richly furnished. I kept my own servants to clean and look after them, found my own kitchenware and firing. My equipage was handsome but not very large; I had a coach, a coachman, a footman, my woman Amy, whom I now dressed like a gentlewoman, and made her my companion, and three maids, and thus I lived for a time. I dressed to the height of every mode, went extremely rich in clothes, and as for jewels, I wanted none. I gave a very good livery, laced with silver, and as rich as anybody below the nobility could be seen with; and thus I appeared, leaving the world to guess who or what I was, without offering to put myself forward.

I walked sometimes in the Mall with my woman Amy, but I kept no company, and made no acquaintances, only made as gay a show as I was able to do, and that upon all occasions. I found, however, the world was not altogether so unconcerned about me as I seemed to be about them; and first I understood that the neighbours began to be mighty inquisitive about me, as who I was? and what my circumstances were?

Amy was the only the person that could answer their curiosity, or give any account of me, and she, a tattling woman and a true gossip, took care to do that with all the art that she was mistress of. She let them know that I was the widow of a person of quality in France, that I was very rich, that I came over hither to look after an estate that fell to me by some of my relations who died here, that I was worth 40,000*l.* all in my own hands, and the like.

This was all wrong in Amy, and in me too, though we did not see it at first, for this recommended me indeed to those sort of gentlemen they call fortune-hunters, and who always besieged ladies, as they call it, on purpose to take them prisoners, as I called it, that is to say, to marry the women, and have the spending of their money. But if I was wrong in refusing the honourable proposals of the Dutch merchant, who offered me the disposal of my whole estate, and had as much of his own to maintain me with; I was right now in refusing those offers which came generally from gentlemen of good families

and good estates, but who living to the extent of them, were always needy and necessitous, and wanted a sum of money to make themselves easy, as they call it, that is to say, to pay off incumbrances, sisters' portions, and the like; and then the woman is prisoner for life, and may live as they please to give her leave. This life I had seen into clearly enough, and therefore I was not to be caught that way. However, as I said, the reputation of my money brought several of those sort of gentry about me, and they found means, by one stratagem or other, to get access to my ladyship; but in short, I answered them all well enough, that I lived single and was happy; that as I had no occasion to change my condition for an estate, so I did not see, that by the best offer that any of them could make me, I could mend my fortune; that I might be honoured with titles indeed, and in time rank on public occasion with the peeresses (I mention that, because one that offered at me was the eldest son of a peer), but that I was as well without the title as long as I had the estate, and while I had 2,000*l.* a year of my own, I was happier than I could be in being a prisoner of state to a nobleman, for I took the ladies of that rank to be little better.

As I have mentioned Sir Robert Clayton, with whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted, on account of the mortgage which he helped me to, it is necessary to take notice, that I had much advantage in my ordinary affairs by his advice, and therefore I called it my good fortune; for as he paid me so considerable an annual income as 700*l.* a year, so I am to acknowledge myself much a debtor, not only to the justice of his dealings with me, but to the prudence and conduct which he guided me to, by his advice, for the management of my estate; and as he found I was not inclined to marry, he frequently took occasion to hint how soon I might raise my fortune to a prodigious height, if I would but order my family economy so far within my revenue as to lay up every year something to add to the capital.

I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and agreed to the advantages of it. You are to take it as you go, that Sir Robert supposed by my own discourse, and especially by my woman Amy, that I had 2,000*l.* a year income. He judged, as he said, by my way of living, that I could not spend above one thousand; and so, he added, I might prudently lay by 1,000*l.* every year to add to the capital; and by adding every year the additional interest or income of the money to the capital, he proved to me, that in ten years I should double the 1,000*l.* per annum that I laid by; and he drew me out a table, as he called it, of the increase for me to judge by; and by which, he said, if the gentlemen of England would but act so, every family of them would increase their fortunes to a great degree, just as merchants do by trade; "whereas now," says Sir Robert, "by the humour of living up to the extent of their fortunes, and rather beyond, the gentlemen," says he, "ay, and the nobility too, are almost all of them borrowers, and all in necessitous circumstances."

As Sir Robert frequently visited me, and was (if may say so from his own mouth) very well

leased with my way of conversing with him, for he knew nothing, nor so much as guessed at what I had been; I say, as he came often to see me, so he always entertained me with this scheme of frugality; and one time he brought another paper, wherein he showed me much to the same purpose as the former, to what degree I should increase my estate if I would come into this method of contracting my expenses; and by this scheme of his, it appeared, that laying up a thousand pounds a year, and every year adding the interest to it, I should in twelve years' time have in bank one and twenty thousand and fifty-eight pounds, after which I might lay up two thousand pounds a year.

I objected that I was a young woman, that I had been used to live plentifully, and with a good appearance, and that I knew not how to be a miser.

He told me that if I thought I had enough it was well, but if I desired to have more, this was the way; that in another twelve years I should be too rich, so that I should not know what to do with it.

"Ay, sir," says I, "you are contriving how to make me a rich old woman, but that won't answer my end, I had rather have 20,000*l.* now than 60,000*l.* when I am fifty years old."

"Then, madam," says he, "I suppose your honour has no children?"

"None, Sir Robert," said I, "but what are provided for;" so I left him in the dark as much as I found him. However, I considered his scheme very well, though I said no more to him at that time, and I resolved, though I would make a very good figure, I say, I resolved to abate a little of my expense, and draw in, live closer; and save something, if not so much as he proposed to me. It was near the end of the year that Sir Robert made this proposal to me, and when the year was up, I went to his house in the city, and there I told him I came to thank him for his scheme of frugality; that I had been studying much upon it, and though I had not been able to mortify myself so much as to lay up a thousand pounds a-year, yet, as I had not come to him for my interest half-yearly as was usual, I was now come to let him to know that I had resolved to lay up that seven hundred pounds a year, and never use a penny of it, desiring him to help me to put it out to advantage.

Sir Robert, a man thoroughly versed in arts of improving money, but thoroughly honest, said to me, "Madam, I am glad you approve of the method that I proposed to you; but you have begun wrong, you should have come for your interest at the half year, and then you had had the money to put out; now you have lost half a year's interest of 35*l.* which is 9*l.*" for I had but 5 per cent. on the mortgage.

"Well, well, sir," says I, "can you put this out for me now?"

"Let it lie, madam," says he, "till the next year, and then I'll put out your 1,400*l.* together, and in the meantime I'll pay you interest for the 700*l.*" So he gave me his bill for the money which he told me should be no less than 6*l.* per cent. Sir Robert Clayton's bill was what nobody would refuse, so I thanked him and let it lie; and next year I did the same, and the third year Sir Ro-

bert got me a good mortgage for 2,200*l.* at 6*l.* per cent. interest; so I had 132*l.* a year added to my income, which was a very satisfying article.

But I return to my history. As I have said, I found that my measures were all wrong; the posture I set up in exposed me to innumerable visitors of the kind I have mentioned above. I was cried up for a vast fortune, and one that Sir Robert Clayton managed for; and Sir Robert Clayton was courted for me, as much as I was for myself. But I had given Sir Robert his cue; I had told him my opinion of matrimony, in just the same terms as I had done my merchant, and he came into it presently; he owned that my observation was just, and that if I valued my liberty, as I knew my fortune, and that it was in my own hands, I was to blame if I gave it away to any one.

But Sir Robert knew nothing of my design; that I aimed at being a kept mistress, and to have a handsome maintenance; and that I was still for getting money, and laying it up too, as much as he could desire me, only by a worse way.

However, Sir Robert came to me seriously one day, and told me he had an offer of matrimony to make to me that was beyond all that he had heard had offered themselves, and this was a merchant. Sir Robert and I agreed exactly in our notions of a merchant. Sir Robert said, and I found it to be true, that a true-bred merchant is the best gentleman in the nation; that in knowledge, in manners, in judgment of things, the merchant out-did many of the nobility; that having once mastered the world, and being above the demand of business, though no real estate, they were then superior to most gentlemen, even in estate; that a merchant in flush business, and a capital stock, is able to spend more money than a gentleman of 5,000*l.* a-year estate; that while a merchant spent, he only spent what he got, and not that; and that he laid up great sums every year.

That an estate is a pond; but that a trade is a spring; that if the first is once mortgaged, it seldom gets clear, but embarrassed the person for ever; but the merchant had his estate continually flowing, and upon this he named me merchants who lived in more real splendour, and spent more money than most of the noblemen in England could singly expend, and that they still grew immensely rich.

He went on to tell me that even the tradesmen in London, speaking of the better sorts of trades, could spend more money in their families, and give better fortunes to their children, than, generally speaking, the gentry of England from 1,000*l.* a-year downward could do, and yet grow rich too.

The upshot of all this was to recommend to me rather the bestowing my fortune upon some eminent merchant, who lived already in the first figure of a merchant, and who, not being in want or scarcity of money, but having a flourishing business and a flowing cash, would at the first word settle all my fortune on myself and children, and maintain me like a queen.

This was certainly right; and had I taken his advice I had really been happy; but my heart was bent upon an independency of fortune, and I

told him I knew no state of matrimony but what was, at best, a state of inferiority, if not of bondage; that I had no notion of it; that I lived a life of absolute liberty now, was free as I was born, and, having a plentiful fortune, I did not understand what coherence the words honour and obey had with the liberty of a free woman; that I knew no reason the men had to engross the whole liberty of the race, and make the women, notwithstanding any disparity of fortune, be subject to the laws of marriage, of their own making; that it was my misfortune to be a woman, but I was resolved it should not be made worse by the sex; and, seeing liberty seemed to be the men's property, I would be a man woman; for, as I was born free, I would die so.

Sir Robert smiled, and told me I talked a kind of Amazonian language; that he found few women of my mind, or that, if they were, they wanted resolution to go on with it; that notwithstanding all my notions, which he could not but say had once some weight in them, yet he understood I had broke in upon them, and had been married. I answered I had so; but he did not hear me say that I had any encouragement from what was past to make a second venture; that I was got well out of the toil, and if I came in again I should have nobody to blame but myself.

Sir Robert laughed heartily at me, but gave over offering any more arguments, only telling me he had pointed me out for some of the best merchants in London, but since I forbade him he would give me no disturbance of that kind; he applauded my way of managing my money, and told me I should soon be monstrous rich; but he neither knew nor mistrusted that, with all this wealth, I was yet a whore, and was not averse to adding to my estate at the further expense of my virtue.

But to go on with my story as to my way of living. I found, as above, that my living as I did would not answer; that it only brought the fortune-hunters and bites about me, as I have said before, to make a prey of me and my money; and in short, I was harassed with lovers, beaux, and fops of quality in abundance, but it would not do. I aimed at other things, and was possessed with so vain an opinion of my own beauty, that nothing less than the king himself was in my eye; and this vanity was raised by some words let fall by a person I conversed with, who was, perhaps, likely enough to have brought such a thing to pass, had it been sooner: but that game began to be pretty well over at court. However, the having mentioned such a thing, it seems a little too publicly, it brought abundance of people about me, upon a wicked account too.

And now I began to act in a new sphere. The court was exceeding gay and fine, though fuller of men than of women, the queen not affecting to be very much in public. On the other hand, it is no slander upon the courtiers to say, they were as wicked as anybody in reason could desire them. The king had several mistresses, who were prodigious fine, and there was a glorious show on that side indeed. If the sovereign gave himself aloose, it could not be expected the rest of the court should be all saints; so far was it from that, though I would not make it worse

than it was, that a woman that had anything agreeable in her appearance could never want followers.

I soon found myself thronged with admirers, and I received visits from some persons of very great figure, who always introduced themselves by the help of an old lady or two, who were now become my intimates; and one of them, I understood afterwards, was set to work on purpose to get into my favour, in order to introduce what followed.

The conversation we had was generally courtly, but civil: at length some gentlemen proposed to play, and made what they called a party. This, it seems, was a contrivance of one of my female hangers-on, for, as I said, I had two of them, who thought this was the way to introduce people as often as she pleased; and so indeed it was. They played high and stayed late, but begged my pardon, only asked leave to make an appointment for the next night. I was as gay and as well pleased as any of them, and one night told one of the gentleman, my Lord —, that seeing they were doing me the honour of diverting themselves at my apartment, and desired to be there sometimes, I did not keep a gaming table, but I would give them a little ball the next day, if they pleased, which they accepted very willingly.

Accordingly, in the evening, the gentlemen began to come, where I let them see that I understood very well what such things meant. I had a large dining room in my apartments, with five other rooms on the same floor, all which I made drawing-rooms for the occasion, having all the beds taken down for the day. In three of these I had tables placed covered with wine and sweetmeats, the fourth had a green table for play, and the fifth was my own room, where I sat, and where I received all the company that came to pay their compliments to me. I was dressed, you may be sure, to all the advantage possible, and had all the jewels on that I was mistress of. My Lord —, to whom I made the invitation, sent me a set of fine music from the playhouse, and the ladies danced, and we began to be very merry, when, about eleven o'clock, I had notice given me that there were some gentlemen coming in masquerade. I seemed a little surprised, and began to apprehend some disturbance, when, my Lord — perceiving it, spoke to me to be easy, for that there was a party of the guards at the door, which should be ready to prevent any rudeness; and another gentleman gave me a hint, as if the king was among the masks. I coloured as red as blood itself could make a face look, and expressed a great surprise; however, there was no going back, so I kept my station in my drawing-room, but with the folding doors wide open.

A while after, the masks came in, and began with a dance *a la comique*, performing wonderfully indeed. While they were dancing I withdrew, and left a lady to answer for me that I would return immediately. In less than half an hour I returned, dressed in the habit of a Turkish princess; the habit I got at Leghorn, when my foreign prince brought me a Turkish slave, as I have said. The Maltese man of war had, it seems, taken a Turkish vessel going from Con-

stantinople to Alexandria, in which were some ladies bound for Grand Cairo in Egypt; and as the ladies were made slaves, so their fine clothes were thus exposed; and with this Turkish slave I bought the rich clothes too. The dress was extraordinary fine indeed: I had bought it as a curiosity, having never seen the like. The robe was a fine Persian or Indian damask, the ground white, and the flowers blue and gold, and the train held five yards. The dress under it was a vest of the same, embroidered with gold, and set with some pearl in the work, and some Turquoise stones. To the vest was a girdle five or six inches wide, after the Turkish mode; and on both ends where it joined, or hooked, was set with diamonds, four eight inches either way, only they were not true diamonds, but nobody knew that but myself.

The turban or head-dress had a pinnacle on the top, but not above five inches, with a piece of loose sarsenet hanging from it; and on the front, just over the forehead, was a good jewel, which I had added to it.

This habit, as above, cost me about sixty pistoles in Italy, but cost much more in the country from whence it came: and little did I think, when I bought it, that I should put it to such a use as this, though I had dressed myself in it many times by the help of my little Turk, and afterwards between Amy and I, only to see how I looked in it. I had sent her up before to get it ready, and when I came up, I had nothing to do but to slip it on, and was down in my drawing-room in a little more than a quarter of an hour. When I came there, the room was full of company, but I ordered the folding doors to be shut for a minute or two, till I had received the compliments of the ladies that were in the room, and had given them a full view of my dress.

But my Lord ———, who happened to be in the room, slipped out at another door, and brought back with him one of the masks, a tall well-shaped person, but who had no name, being all masked, nor would it have been allowed to ask any person's name on such an occasion. The person spoke in French to me, that it was the finest dress he had ever seen; and asked me if he should have the honour to dance with me? I bowed, as giving my consent, but said, as I had been a Mahometan, I could not dance after the manner of this country; I supposed their music would not play *à la Moresque*. He answered merrily, I had a Christian's face, and he'd venture it that could dance like a Christian; adding, that so much beauty could not be Mahometan. Immediately the folding doors were flung open, and he led me into the room. The company were under the greatest surprise imaginable; the very music stopped awhile to gaze, for the dress was indeed exceedingly surprising, perfectly new, very agreeable, and wonderful rich.

The gentleman, whoever he was, for I never knew, led me only a courant, and then asked me, if I had a mind to dance an antic, that is to say, whether I would dance the antic as they had danced in masquerade, or anything by myself. I told him anything else rather, if he pleased; so we danced only two French dances, and he led me to the drawing-room door when he retired

to the rest of the masks. When he left me at my drawing-room door I did not go in, as he thought I would have done, but turned about, and showed myself to the whole room, and calling my woman to me, gave her some directions to the music, by which the company presently understood that I would give them a dance by myself. Immediately all the house rose up, and paid me a kind of compliment, by removing back every way to make me room, for the place was exceeding full. The music did not at first hit the tune that I directed which was a French tune, so I was forced to send my woman to them again, standing all this while at my drawing-room door; but as soon as my woman spoke to them again they played it right, and I, to let them see it was so, stepped forward to the middle of the room. Then they began it again, and I danced by myself a figure which I learnt in France, when the Prince de ——— desired I would dance for his diversion. It was indeed, a very fine figure, invented by a famous master at Paris, for a lady or a gentleman to dance single; but being perfectly new it pleased the company exceedingly, and they all thought it had been Turkish; nay, one gentleman had the folly to expose himself so much as to say, and I think swore too, that he had seen it danced at Constantinople, which was ridiculous enough.

At the finishing the dance the company clapped, and almost shouted; and one of the gentlemen cried out, "Roxana! Roxana! by ———," with an oath; upon which foolish accident I had the name of Roxana presently fixed upon me all over the court end of the town, as effectually as if I had been christened Roxana. I had it seems the felicity of pleasing everybody that night to an extreme; and my ball, but especially my dress, was the chat of the town for that week, and so the name Roxana was the toast at and about the court, no other health was to be named with it.

Now things began to work as I would have them, and I began to be very popular, as much as I could desire. The ball held till (as well as I was pleased with the show) I was sick of the night; the gentlemen masked went off about three o'clock in the morning, the other gentlemen sat down to play; the music held it out; and some of the ladies were dancing at six in the morning.

But I was mighty eager to know who it was that danced with me; some of the lords went so far as to tell me, I was very much honoured in my company; one of them spoke so broad as almost to say it was the king, but I was convinced afterwards it was not; and another replied, if he had been his majesty, he should have thought it no dishonour to lead up a Roxana, but to this hour I never knew positively who it was; and by his behaviour I thought he was too young, his majesty being at that time in an age that might be discovered from a young person, even in his dancing.

Be that as it would, I had five hundred guineas sent me the next morning, and the messenger was ordered to tell me that the persons who sent it desired a ball again at my lodgings on the next Tuesday, but that they would have leave to give the entertainment themselves. I was mighty well pleased with this (to be sure) but very in-

quisitive to know who the money came from, but the messenger was silent as death, as to that point; and bowing always at my inquiries, begged me to ask no questions which he could not give an obliging answer to.

I forgot to mention that the gentleman that played gave an hundred guineas to the box as they called it, and at the end of their play, they asked for my gentlewoman of the bedchamber, as they called her (Mrs Amy, forsooth) and gave it her, and gave twenty guineas more among the servants.

This magnificent doings equally both pleased and surprised me, and I hardly knew where I was; but especially that notion of the king being the person that danced with me, puffed me up to that degree, that I not only did not know anybody else, but indeed was very far from knowing myself.

I had now the next Tuesday to provide for the like company; but alas! it was all taken out of my hand: three gentlemen, who yet were it seems but servants, came on the Saturday, and bringing sufficient testimonies that they were right, for one was the same who brought the five hundred guineas; I say, three of them came, and brought bottles of all sorts of wines, and hampers of sweetmeats to such a quantity, it appeared they designed to hold the trade on more than once, and that they would furnish everything to a profusion.

However, as I found a deficiency in two things, I made provision of about twelve dozen of fine damask napkins, with tablecloths of the same, sufficient to cover all the tables, with three tablecloths upon every table, and sideboards in proportion; I also bought a handsome quantity of plate, necessary to have served all the sideboards, but the gentlemen would not suffer any of it to be used, telling me they had bought fine China dishes and plates for the whole service, and that in such public places they could not be answerable for the plate; so it was all set up in a large glass cupboard in the room I sat in, where it made a very good show indeed.

On Tuesday there came such an appearance of gentlemen and ladies that my apartments were by no means able to receive them; and those who in particular appeared as principals, gave order below to let no more company come up. The street was full of coaches with coronets, and fine glass chairs; and, in short, it was impossible to receive the company. I kept my little room as before, and the dancers filled the great room; all the drawing-rooms also were filled, and three rooms below stairs, which were not mine.

It was very well that there was a strong party of the guards brought to keep the door, for without that there had been such a promiscuous crowd, and some of them scandalous too, that we should have been all disorder and confusion; but the three head servants managed all that, and had a word to admit all the company by.

It was uncertain to me, and is to this day, who it was that danced with me the Wednesday before, when the ball was my own; but that the K—— was at this assembly was out of the question with me, by circumstances that I suppose I could not be deceived in; and particularly, that there were five persons who were not masked,

three of them had blue garters, and they appeared not to me till I came out to dance.

This meeting was managed just as the first, though with much more magnificence, because of the company. I placed myself (exceedingly rich in clothes and jewels) in the middle of my little room, as before, and made my compliment to all the company as they passed me, as I did before; but my Lord ——, who had spoken openly to me the first night, came to me, and unmasking told me the company had ordered him to tell me they hoped they should see me in the dress I had appeared in the first day, which had been so acceptable that it had been the occasion of this new meeting; "And, madam," says he, "there are some in this assembly, who it is worth your while to oblige."

I bowed to my Lord ——, and immediately withdrew. While I was above, a-dressing in my new habit, two ladies, perfectly unknown to me, were conveyed into my apartment below, by the order of a noble person who, with his whole family, had been in Persia; and here indeed I thought I should have been outdone, or perhaps balked.

One of these ladies was dressed most exquisitely fine indeed, in the habit of a virgin lady of quality of Georgia, and the other in the same habit of Armenia, with each of them a woman slave to attend them.

The ladies had their petticoats short to their ancles, but pleated all round, and before them short aprons, but of the finest point that could be seen, their gowns were made with long antic sleeves hanging down behind, and a train let down; they had no jewels, but their heads and breasts were dressed up with flowers, and they both came in veiled.

Their slaves were bare-headed, but their long black hair was braided in locks hanging down behind to their waists, and tied up with ribbons. They were dressed exceedingly rich, and were as beautiful as their mistresses; for none of them had any masks on. They waited in my room till I came down, and all paid their respects to me after the Persian manner, and sat down on a safra, that is to say, almost cross-legged on a couch made up of cushions laid on the ground.

This was admirably fine, and I was indeed startled at it. They made their compliment to me in French, and I replied in the same language. When the doors were opened they walked into the dancing-room, and danced such a dance as indeed nobody there had ever seen, and to an instrument like a guitar, with a small low-sounding trumpet, which indeed was very fine, and which my Lord —— had provided.

They danced three times all alone, for nobody indeed could dance with them. The novelty pleased, truly, but yet there was something wild and Bizarre in it, because they really acted to the life the barbarous country whence they came; but as mine had the French behaviour under the Mahometan dress, it was every way as new, and pleased much better indeed.

So soon as they had shown their Georgian and Armenian shapes, and danced, as I have said, three times, they withdrew, paid their compliment to me (for I was queen of the day), and went off to undress.

Some gentlemen then danced with ladies all in masks; and when they stopped, nobody rose up to dance, but all called out "Roxana, Roxana." In the interval, my Lord —— had brought another masked person into my room, whom I knew not, only that I could discern it was not the same person that led me out before. This noble person (for I afterwards understood it was the Duke of ——), after a short compliment, led me out into the middle of the room.

I was dressed in the same vest and girdle as before, but the robe had a mantle over it, which is usual in the Turkish habit, and it was of crimson and of green, the green brocaded with gold; and my tyhiaai, or head-dress, varied a little from that I had before, as it stood higher, and had some jewels about the rising part, which made it look like a turban crowned.

I had no mask, neither did I paint, and yet I had the day of all the ladies that appeared at the ball; I mean of those that appeared with faces on. As for those masked, nothing could be said of them, no doubt there might be many finer than I was; it must be confessed that the habit was infinitely advantageous to me, and everybody looked at me with a kind of pleasure, which gave me great advantage too.

After I had danced with that noble person I did not offer to dance by myself, as I had before; but they all called out "Roxana" again; and two of the gentlemen came into the drawing-room to entreat me to give them the Turkish dance, which I yielded to readily, so I came out and danced just as at first.

While I was dancing I perceived five persons standing altogether, and among them one only with his hat on. It was an immediate hint to me who it was, and had at first almost put me into some disorder; but I went on, received the applause of the house, as before, and retired into my own room. When I was there the five gentlemen came across the room to my side, and, coming in, followed by a throng of great persons, the person with his hat on said, "Madam Roxana, you perform to admiration." I was prepared, and offered to kneel to kiss his hand, but he declined it, and saluted me, and so, passing back again through the great room, went away.

I do not say here who this was, but I say I came afterwards to know something more plainly. I would have withdrawn and disrobed, being somewhat too thin in that dress, unlaced and open-breasted, as if I had been in my shift; but it could not be, and I was obliged to dance afterwards with six or eight gentlemen, most, if not all of them, of the first rank; and I was told afterwards that one of them was the D—— of M——th.

About two or three o'clock in the morning the company began to decrease, the number of women especially, and some dropped away one at a time; and the gentlemen retired down stairs, where they unmasked and went to play.

Amy waited at the room where they played, sat up all night to attend them, and in the morning when they broke up they swept the box into her lap, when she counted out to me sixty-two guineas and a half; and the other servants got in proportion. Amy came to me when they were all gone, "La, madam," says Amy, with a

long gaping cry, "what shall I do with this money? And indeed the poor creature was half mad with joy.

I was now in my element. I was as much talked off as any body could desire, and I did not doubt but something or other would come of it, but the report of my being so rich rather was a balk to my view than anything else; for the gentlemen that would, perhaps, have been troublesome enough otherwise, seemed to be kept off; for Roxana was too high for them.

There is a scene which came in here, which I must cover from human eyes or ears; for three years and about a month Roxana lived retired, having been obliged to make an excursion in a manner and with a person which duty and private vows obliges her not to reveal as yet.

At the end of this time I appeared again; but I must add, that as I had in this time of retreat made hay, &c. so I did not come abroad again with the same lustre, or shine with the same advantage as before; for as some people had got, at least a suspicion of where I had been, and who had had me all the while, it began to be public that Roxana was, in short, a mere Roxana, neither better nor worse, and not that woman of honour and virtue that was at first supposed.

You are now to suppose me about seven years come to town, and that I had not only suffered the old revenue, which I hinted was managed by Sir Robert Clayton, to grow, as was mentioned before, but I had laid up an incredible wealth, the time considered, and had I had the least thought of reforming, I had all the opportunity to do it with advantage that ever woman had; for the common vice of all whores, I mean money, was out of the question, nay, avarice itself seemed to be gluttoned; for, including what I had saved in reserving the interest of 14,000*l.* which, as before, I had left to grow; and including some very good presents I had made to me in mere compliment, upon these shining masquerade meetings, which I held up for about two years, and what I made of three years of the most glorious retreat, as I call it, that ever woman had, I had fully doubled my first substance, and had near 5,000*l.* in money, which I kept at home, besides abundance of plate and jewels, which I had either given me, or had bought to set myself out for public days.

In a word, I had now 35,000*l.* estate; and as I found ways to live without wasting either principal or interest, I laid up 2,000*l.* every year at least out of the mere interest, adding it to the principal, and thus I went on.

After the end of what I call my retreat, and out of which I brought a great deal of money, I appeared again, but I seemed like an old piece of plate that had been hoarded up some years and comes out tarnished and discoloured; so I came out blown, and looked like a cast-off mistress, nor indeed was I any better; though I was not at all impaired in beauty, except that I was a little fatter than I was formerly, and always regarding that I was four years older.

However, I preserved the youth of my temper, was always bright, pleasant in company, and agreeable to everybody, or else everybody flattered me; and in this condition I came abroad to the world again; and though I was not so popu-

lar as before, and indeed did not seek it, because I knew it could not be; yet I was far from being without company, and that of the greatest quality of subjects; I mean, who frequently visited me, and sometimes we had meetings of mirth and play at my apartments, where I failed not to divert them in the most agreeable manner possible.

Nor could any of them make the least particular application to me, from the notion they had of my excessive wealth, which, as they thought, placed me above the meanness of a maintenance, and so left no room to come easily about me.

But at last I was very handsomely attacked by a person of honour, and which recommended him particularly to me, a person of very great estate. He made a long introduction to me upon the subject of my wealth. "Ignorant creature!" said I to myself, considering him as a lord, was there ever a woman in the world that could stoop to the baseness of being a whore, and was above taking the reward of her vice? No, no, depend upon it if your lordship obtains anything of me you must pay for it? and the notions of my being so rich, serves only to make it cost you the dearer, seeing you cannot offer a small matter to a woman of 2,000*l.* a year estate."

After he had harangued upon that subject a good while, and had assured me he had no design upon me, that he did not come to make a prize of me, or to pick my pocket, which by the way I was in no fear of, for I took too much care of my money to part with any of it that way; he then turned his discourse to the subject of love, a point so ridiculous to me without the main thing, I mean the money, that I had no patience to hear him make so long a story of it.

I received him civilly, and let him see I could bear to hear a wicked proposal without being affronted, and yet I was not to be brought into it too easily. He visited me a long while, and, in short, courted me as closely and assiduously as if he had been wooing me to matrimony. He made me several valuable presents, which I suffered myself to be prevailed with to accept, but not without great difficulty.

Gradually I suffered all his other importunities, and when he made a proposal of a compliment or appointment to me for a settlement, he said that though I was rich, yet there was not the less due from him to acknowledge the favours he received; and that if I was to be his, I should not live at my own expense, cost what it would. I told him I was far from being extravagant, yet I did not live at the expense of less than 500*l.* a year out of my own pocket; that, however, I was not covetous of settled allowances, for I looked upon that as a kind of golden chain, something like matrimony; that though I knew how to be true to a man of honour, as I knew his lordship to be, yet I had a kind of aversion to the bonds; and though I was not so rich as the world talked me up to be, yet I was not so poor as to bind myself to hardships for a pension.

He told me he expected to make my life perfectly easy, and intended it so; that he knew of no bondage there could be in a private engagement between us; that the bonds of honour he knew I would be tied by, and think them no burden, and for other obligations, he scorned to expect anything from me but what he knew, as a

woman of honour I could grant. Then as to maintenance, he told me he would soon show me that he valued me infinitely above 500*l.* a year; and upon this foot we began.

I seemed kinder to him after this discourse; and as time and private conversation made us very intimate, we began to come nearer as to the main article, namely, of the 500*l.* a year. He offered that at the first word, and to acknowledge it as an infinite favour to have it be accepted of; and I, that thought it was too much by all the money, suffered myself to be mastered, or prevailed with to yield, even on but a bare engagement upon parole.

When he had obtained his end that way, I told him my mind: "Now you see, my lord, how weakly I have acted, to yield to you without any capitulation, or anything secured to me but what you may cease to allow when you please; if I am the less valued for such a confidence, I shall be injured in a manner that I will endeavour not to deserve."

He told me, that he would make it evident to me, that he did not seek me by way of bargain, as such things were often done; that as I had treated him with a generous confidence, so I should find I was in the hands of a man of honour, and one that knew how to value the obligation; and upon this he pulled out a goldsmith's bill for 300*l.* which (putting it into my hand) he said he gave me as a pledge that I should not be a loser by my not having made a bargain with him.

This was engaging indeed, and gave me a good idea of our future correspondence, and, in short, as I could not refrain treating him with more kindness than I had done before, so one thing begetting another, I gave him several testimonies that I was entirely his own by inclination as well as by the common obligation of a mistress, and this pleased him exceedingly.

Soon after this private engagement, I began to consider whether it were not more suitable to the manner of life I now led, to be a little less public; and, as I told my lord, it would rid me of the importunities of others, and of continual visits from a sort of people whom he knew of, and who, by the way, having now got the notion of me which I really deserved, began to talk of the old game, love and gallantry, and to offer at what was rude enough; things as nauseous to me now as if I had been married, and as virtuous as other people. The visits of these people began indeed to be uneasy to me, and particularly as they were always very tedious and impertinent; nor could my Lord — be pleased with them at all if they had gone on. It would be diverting to set down here in what manner I repulsed those sort of people; how in some I resented it as an affront, and told them that I was sorry they should oblige me to vindicate myself from the scandal of such suggestions, by telling them that I could see them no more, and by deterring them by telling them not to give themselves the trouble of visiting me, who (though I was not willing to be uncivil), yet thought myself obliged never to receive a visit from any gentleman after he had made such proposals as those to me. But these things would be too tedious to bring in here; it was on this account I proposed to his lordship my taking new

lodgings for privacy; besides I considered, that I might live very handsomely, and yet not so publicly, so I needed not spend so much money by a great deal; and if I made 500*l.* a year of this generous person, it was more than I had any occasion to spend by a great deal.

My lord came readily into this proposal, and went farther than I expected, for he found out a lodging for me in a very handsome house, where yet he was not known; I suppose he had employed somebody to find it for him; and where he had a convenient way to come into the garden, by a door that opened into the Park, a thing very rarely allowed in those times.

By this key he could come in at what time of night or day he pleased; and as we had also a little door in the lower part of the house, which was always left upon the lock, and his was the master-key, so if it was twelve, one, or two o'clock at night, he could come directly into my bedchamber.—N.B. I was not afraid I should be found abed with anybody else, for in a word I conversed with nobody at all.

It happened pleasantly enough one night, his lordship had stayed late, and I not expecting him home that night, had taken Amy to bed with me, and when my lord came into the chamber we were both fast asleep. I think it was near three o'clock when he came in, and a little merry, but not at all fuddled, or what they call in drink; and he came at once into the room.

Amy was frightened out of her wits, and cried out; I said calmly, "Indeed, my lord, I did not expect you to-night, and we have been a little frightened to-night with fire." "O!" says he, "I see you have got a bedfellow with you." I began to make an apology: "No, no," says my lord, "you need no excuse, 'tis not a man bedfellow I see; but then," talking merrily enough, "hark ye," says he, "now I think on't, how shall I be satisfied it is not a man bedfellow?" "O," says I, "I dare say your lordship is satisfied 'tis poor Amy;" "yes," says he, "'tis Mrs Amy, but how do I know what Amy is? It may be Mr Amy, for ought I know; I hope you'll give me leave to be satisfied." I told him, "yes, by all means, I would have his lordship satisfied, but I supposed he knew who she was."

Well, he fell foul of poor Amy, and indeed I thought once he would have carried the jest on before my face, as was once done in a like case; but his lordship was not so hot neither, but he would know whether Amy was Mr Amy or Mrs Amy, and so I suppose he did, and then being satisfied in that doubtful case, he walked to the farther end of the room, and went into a little closet and sat down.

In the meantime Amy and I got up, and I bid her run and make the bed in another chamber for my lord, and I gave her sheets to put into it; which she did immediately, and I put my lord to bed there; and when I had done, at his desire, went to bed to him. I was backward at first to come to bed to him, and made my excuse because I had been in bed with Amy, and had not shifted me, but he was past those niceties at that time; and as long as he was sure it was Mrs Amy and not Mr Amy, he was very well satisfied, and so the jest passed over; but Amy appeared no more all that night, or the next day, and when she

did my lord was so merry with her upon his *éclaircissement*, as he called it, that Amy did not know what to do with herself.

Not that Amy was such a nice lady in the main, if she had been fairly dealt with, as has appeared in the former part of this work; but now she was surprised, and a little hurried, that she scarce knew where she was; and besides, she was, as to his lordship, as nice a lady as any in the world, and for anything he knew of her, she appeared as such. The rest was to us only that knew of it.

I held this wicked scene of life out eight years, reckoning from my first coming to England; and though my lord found no fault, yet I found without much examining, that any one who looked in my face might see I was above twenty years old, and yet without flattering myself, I carried my age, which was above fifty, very well too.

I may venture to say that no woman ever lived a life like me, of six and twenty years of wickedness, without the least signals of remorse, without any signs of repentance, or without so much as a wish to put an end to it; I had so long habituated myself to a life of vice, that really it appeared no vice to me. I went on smooth and pleasant, I wallowed in wealth, and it flowed in upon me at such a rate, having taken the frugal measures that the good knight directed, that I had at the end of the eight years 2,800*l.* coming yearly in, of which I did not spend one penny, being maintained by my allowance from my lord —, and more than maintained by above 200*l.* per annum; for though he did not contract for 500*l.* a-year, as I made dumb signs to have it be, yet he gave me money so often, and that in such large parcels, that I had seldom so little as seven to eight hundred pounds a-year of him, one year with another.

I must go back here, after telling openly the wicked things I did, to mention something, which, however, had the face of doing good; I remembered that when I went from England, which was fifteen years before, I had left five little children, turned out as it were to the wide world, and the charity of their father's relations; the eldest was not six years old, for we had not been married full seven years when their father went away.

After my coming to England, I was greatly desirous to hear how things stood with them; and whether they were all alive or not, and in what manner they had been maintained; and yet I resolved not to discover myself to them in the least, or to let any of the people that had the breeding of them up know that there was such a body left in the world as their mother.

Amy was the only body I could trust with such a commission, and I sent her into Spitalfields, to the old aunt, and the poor woman that were so instrumental in disposing the relations to take some care of the children, but they were both gone, dead and buried some years. The next inquiry she made was at the house where she carried the poor children, and turned them in at the door; when she came there she found the house inhabited by other people, so that she could make little or nothing of her inquiries, and came back with an answer, that indeed was no answer to me, for it gave me no satisfaction

at all. I sent her back to inquire in the neighbourhood, what was become of the family that lived in that house? and if they were removed, where they lived? and what circumstances they were in? and withal, if she could, what became of the poor children, and how they lived, and where? how they had been treated? and the like.

She brought me back word upon this second going that she heard, as to the family, that the husband, who, though but uncle-in-law to the children, had yet been kindest to them, was dead; and that the widow was left but in mean circumstances, that is to say, she did not want, but that she was not so well in the world as she was thought to be when her husband was alive.

That, as to the poor children, two of them, it seems, had been kept by her, that is to say, by her husband, while he lived, for that it was against her will, that we all knew; but the honest neighbours pitied the poor children, they said, heartily; for that their aunt used them barbarously, and made them little better than servants in the house to wait upon her and her children, and scarce allowed them clothes fit to wear.

These were, it seems, my eldest and third, which were daughters; the second was a son, the fourth a daughter, and the youngest a son.

To finish the melancholly part of this history of my two unhappy girls, she brought me word that so soon as they were able to go out and get any work they went from her, and some said she had turned them out of doors; but it seems she had not done so, but she used them so cruelly that they left her, and one of them went to service to a neighbour's a little way off, who knew her, an honest substantial weaver's wife, to whom she was chamber-maid, and in a little time she took her sister out of the Bridewell of her aunt's house, and got her a place too.

This was all melancholly and dull. I sent her then to the weaver's house, where the eldest had lived, but found that, her mistress being dead, she was gone, and nobody knew there whither she went, only that they heard she had lived with a great lady at the other end of the town; but they did not know who that lady was.

These inquiries took us up three or four weeks, and I was not one jot the better for it, for I could hear nothing to my satisfaction. I sent her next to find out the honest man, who, as in the beginning of my story I observed, made them be entertained, and caused the youngest to be fetched from the town where we lived, and where the parish officers had taken care of them. This gentleman was still alive; and there she heard that my youngest daughter and eldest son were dead also; but that my youngest son was alive, and was at that time about seventeen years old, and that he was put out apprentice by the kindness and charity of his uncle, but to a mean trade, at which he was obliged to work very hard.

Amy was so curious in this part that she went immediately to see him, and found him all dirty, and hard at work. She had no remembrance at all of the youth, for she had not seen him since he was about two years old; and it was evident he could have no knowledge of her.

However, she talked with him, and found him a good, sensible, mannerly youth; that he knew

little of the story of his father or mother, and had no view of anything but to work hard for his living; and she did not think fit to put any great things into his head, lest it should take him off his business, and perhaps make him turn giddy-headed, and be good for nothing; but she went and found out that kind man, his benefactor, who had put him out; and finding him a plain, well-meaning, honest, and kind-hearted man, she opened her tale to him the easier. She made a long story, how she had a prodigious kindness for the child, because she had the same for his father and mother; told him that she was the servant-maid that brought all of them to their aunt's door, and run away and left them; that their poor mother wanted bread, and what came of her after she would have been glad to know. She added that her circumstances had happened to mend in the world, and that, as she was in condition, so she was disposed to show some kindness to the children if she could find them out.

He received her with all the civility that so kind a proposal demanded, gave her an account of what he had done for the child, how he had maintained him, fed and clothed him, put him to school, and at last put him out to a trade. She said he had indeed been a father to the child. "But, sir," says she, "'tis a very laborious hard-working trade, and he is but a thin weak boy." "That's true," says he; "but the boy chose the trade, and I assure you I gave 20*l.* with him, and am to find him clothes all his apprenticeship; and as to its being a hard trade," says he, "that's the fate of his circumstances, poor boy; I could not well do better for him."

"Well, sir, as you did all for him in charity," says she, "it was exceedingly well; but, as my resolution is to do something for him, I desire you will, if possible, take him away again from that place, where he works so hard, for I cannot bear to see the child work so very hard for his bread, and I will do something for him that shall make him live without such hard labour."

He smiled at that. "I can, indeed," says he, "take him away, but then I must lose my 20*l.* that I gave with him."

"Well, sir," said Amy, "I'll enable you to lose that 20*l.* immediately," and so she put her hand in her pocket and pulls out her purse.

He begun to be a little amazed at her, and looked her hard in the face, and that so very much that she took notice of it, and said, "Sir, I fancy by your looking at me you think you know me, but I am assured you do not, for I never saw your face before; I think you have done enough for the child, and that you ought to be acknowledged as a father to him; but you ought not to lose by your kindness to him, more than the kindness of bringing him up obliges you to; and therefore there's the 20*l.*," added she, "and pray let him be fetched away."

"Well, madam," says he, "I will thank you for the boy, as well as for myself; but will you please to tell me what I must do with him?"

"Sir," says Amy, "as you have been so kind as to keep him so many years, I beg you will take him home again one year more, and I'll bring you 100*l.* more, which I will desire you to lay out in schooling and clothes for him, and to

pay you for his board ; perhaps I may put him in a condition to return your kindness."

He looked pleased, but surprised very much, and inquired of Amy, but with very great respect, what he should go to school to learn, and what trade she would please to put him out to.

Amy said she should put him to learn a little Latin, and then merchants' accounts, and to write a good hand, for she would have him be put to a Turkey merchant.

"Madam," says he, "I am glad for his sake to hear you talk so ; but do you know that a Turkey merchant will not take him under 400*l.* or 500*l.* ?"

"Yes, sir," says Amy, "I know it very well."

"And," says he, "that it will require as many thousands to set him up?"

"Yes, sir," says Amy, "I know that very well too ;" and, resolving to talk very big, she added, "I have no children of my own, and I resolve to make him my heir ; and if 10,000*l.* be required to set him up, he shall not want it. I was but his mother's servant when he was born, and I mourned heartily for the disaster of the family ; and I always said if ever I was worth anything in the world I would take the child for my own, and I'll be as good as my word now, though I did not then foresee that it would be with me as it has been since." And so Amy told him a long story how she was troubled for me, and what she would give to hear whether I was dead or alive, and what circumstances I was in ; that if she could but find me, if I was ever so poor, she would take care of me, and make a gentlewoman of me again.

He told her that, as to the child's mother, she had been reduced to the last extremity, and was obliged (as he supposed she knew) to send the children all among her husband's friends ; and if it had not been for him they had been all sent to the parish ; but that he obliged the other relations to share the charge among them ; that he had taken two, whereof he had lost the eldest, who died of the small-pox ; but that he had been as careful of this as of his own, and had made very little difference in their breeding up, only that when he came to put him out he thought it best for the boy to put him to a trade which he might set up in without a stock, for otherwise his time would be lost ; and that, as to his mother, he had never been able to hear one word of her, no, not though he had made the utmost inquiry after her ; that there went a report that she had drowned herself ; but that he could never meet with anybody that could give him a certain account of it.

Amy counterfeited a cry for her poor mistress ; told him, she would give anything in the world to see her, if she was alive ; and a great deal more such like talk they had about that ; then they returned to speak of the boy.

He inquired of her, why she did not seek after the child before, that he might have been brought up from a younger age, suitable to what she designed to do for him.

She told him, she had been out of England, and was but newly returned from the East Indies. That she had been out of England, and was but newly returned, was true, but the latter was false, and was put in to blind him, and to pro-

vide against farther inquiries ; for it was not a strange for young women to go away poor to the East Indies and come home vastly rich ; so she went on with directions about him, and both agreed in this, that the boy should by no means be told what was intended for him, but only that he should be taken home again to his uncle's, that his uncle thought the trade too hard for him, and the like.

About three days after this, Amy goes again, and carried him the 100*l.* she promised him, but then Amy made quite another figure than she did before ; for she went in my coach, with two footmen after her, and dressed very fine also, with jewels and a gold watch ; and there was indeed no great difficulty to make Amy look like a lady, for she was a very handsome well-shaped woman, and genteel enough ; the coachmen and servants were particularly ordered to show her the same respect as they would do me, and to call her Madame Collins, if they were asked any questions about her.

When the gentleman saw what a figure she made, it added to the former surprise, and he entertained her in the most respectful manner possible ; congratulated her advancement in fortune, and particularly rejoiced that it should fall to the poor child's lot to be so provided for, contrary to all expectation.

Well, Amy talked big, but very free and familiar ; told them she had no pride in her good fortune ; (that was true enough, for to give Amy her due, she was far from it, and was as good humoured a creature as ever lived) ; that she was the same as ever, and that she always loved this boy, and was resolved to do something extraordinary for him.

Then she pulled out her money, and paid down 120*l.*, which, she said, she paid him that he might be sure he should be no loser by taking him home again, and that she would come and see him again, and talk farther about things with him, that so all might be settled for him, in such a manner as the accidents, such as mortality or anything else, should make no alteration to the child's prejudice.

At this meeting, the uncle brought his wife out, a good motherly, comely, grave woman, who spoke very tenderly of the youth, and as it appeared, had been very good to him, though she had several children of her own. After a long discourse, she put in a word of her own. "Madam," says she, "I am heartily glad of the good intentions you have for this poor orphan, and I rejoice sincerely in it for his sake ; but madam, you know, (I suppose) that there are two sisters alive too ; may we not speak a word for them ? poor girls," says she, "they have not been so kindly used as he has, and are turned out to the wide world."

"Where are they, madam," says Amy.

"Poor creatures," says the gentlewoman, "they are out at service ; nobody knows where but themselves ; their case is very hard."

"Well, madam," said Amy, "though if I could but find them, I would assist them ; yet my concern is for my boy, as I call him, and I'll put him in a condition to take care of his sisters."

"But madam," says the good compassionate creature, "he may not be so charitable, perhaps

by his own inclination, for brothers are not fathers; and they have been cruelly used already, poor girls; we have often relieved them, both with victuals and clothes too, even while they were pretended to be kept by their barbarous aunt."

"Well, madam," says Amy, "what can I do for them; they are gone, it seems, and cannot be heard of? When I see them, 'tis time enough."

She pressed Amy then to oblige their brother, out of the plentiful fortune he was like to have, to do something for his sisters when he should be able.

Amy spoke coldly of that still, but said she would consider of it; and so they parted for that time; they had several meetings after this, for Amy went to see her adopted son, and ordered his schooling, clothes, and other things, but enjoined them not to tell the young man anything, but that they thought the trade he was at too hard for him, and they would keep him at home a little longer, and give him some schooling, to fit him for better business; and Amy appeared to him as she did before, only as one that had known his mother, and had some kindness for him.

Thus this matter passed on for near a twelvemonth, when it happened that one of my maid-servants having asked Amy leave, for Amy was mistress of the servants, and took in and put out such as she pleased; I say, having asked leave to go into the city to see some friends, came home crying bitterly, and in a most grievous agony she was, and continued so several days, till Amy, perceiving the excess, and that the maid would certainly cry herself sick, she took an opportunity with her, and examined her about it.

The maid told her a long story that she had been to see her brother, the only brother she had in the world, and that she knew he was put out an apprentice to a —; but there had come a lady in a coach to his uncle —, who had brought him up, and made him take him home again; and so the wench run on with the whole story, just as 'tis told above, till she came to that part that belonged to herself, and there, says she, "I had not let them know where I lived, and the lady would have taken me, and they say, would have provided for me too, as she has done for my brother, but nobody could tell where to find me, and so I have lost it all, and all the hopes of being anything but a poor servant all my days:" and then the girl fell a crying.

Amy said, "what's all this story? who could this lady be? it must be some trick sure."—"No," she said, "'twas not a trick, for she had made them take her brother home from apprentice, and bought him new clothes, and put him to have more learning; and the gentlewoman said she would make him her heir."

"Her heir," says Amy, "what does that amount to? it may be she has nothing to leave him; she might make anybody her heir."

"No, no;" says the girl, "she came in a fine coach and horses, and I don't know how many footmen to attend her, and brought a great bag of gold, and gave it to my uncle —, he that brought up my brother, to buy him clothes, and to pay for his schooling and board."

"He that brought up your brother?" says Amy; "why didn't he bring you up too, as well as your brother? Pray who brought you up?"

Here the poor girl told a melancholy story, how an aunt had brought up her and her sister, and how barbarously she had used them, as we have heard.

By this time Amy had her head full enough, and her heart too; and did not know how to hold it, or what to do, for she was satisfied that this was no other than my own daughter; for she told her all the history of her father and mother, and how she was carried by their maid to her aunt's door, just as is related in the beginning of my story.

Amy did not tell me this story for a great while, nor did she well know what course to take in it; but as she had authority to manage everything in the family, she took occasion some time after, without letting me know anything of it, to find some fault with the maid, and turn her away.

Her reasons were good, though at first I was not pleased when I heard of it, but I was convinced afterwards, that she was in the right; for if she had told me of it, I should have been in great perplexity between the difficulty of concealing myself from my own child, and the inconvenience of having my way of living be known among my first husband's relations, and even to my husband himself; for as to his being dead at Paris, Amy seeing me resolved against marrying any more, had told me that she had formed that story only to make me easy, when I was in Holland, if any thing should offer to my liking.

However, I was too tender a mother still, notwithstanding what I had done, to let this poor girl go about the world drudging, as it were for bread, and slaving at the fire, and in the kitchen, as a cook maid; besides it came into my head, that she might marry some poor devil of a footman, or a coachman, or some such thing, and be undone that way, or, which was worse, be drawn in to lie with some of that coarse cursed kind, and be with child, and be utterly ruined that way; and in the midst of all my prosperity this gave me great uneasiness.

As to sending Amy to her, there was no doing that now; for as she had been servant in the house, she knew Amy as well as Amy knew me; and no doubt, though I was much out of her sight, yet she might have had the curiosity to have peeped at me, and seen me enough to know me again, if I had discovered myself to her; so that, in short, there was nothing to be done that way.

However, Amy, a diligent indefatigable creature, found out another woman and gave her her errand, and sent her to the honest man's house in Spitalfields, whither she supposed the girl would go, after she was out of her place; and bade her talk with her, and tell her at a distance that as something had been done for her brother, so something would be done for her too; and that she should not be discouraged, she carried her 20*l.* to buy her clothes, and bid her not go to service any more, but think of other things; that she should take a lodging in some good family, and she should soon hear further.

The girl was overjoyed with this news, you

may be sure, and at first a little too much elevated with it, and dressed herself very handsomely indeed, and as soon as she had done so, came and paid a visit to Madam Amy, to let her see how fine she was. Amy congratulated her, and wished it might be all as she expected; but admonished her not to be elevated with it too much; told her, humility was the best ornament of a gentlewoman; and a great deal of good advice she gave her, but discovered nothing.

All this was acted in the first years of my setting up my new figure in the town, and while the masks and balls were in agitation; and Amy carried the affair of setting out my son into the world, which we were assisted in by the sage advice of my faithful counsellor Sir Robert Clayton, who procured us a master for him, by whom he was afterwards sent abroad to Italy, as you shall hear in its place; and Amy managed my daughter too very well, though by a third hand.

My amour with my Lord — began now to draw to an end, and indeed, notwithstanding his money, it had lasted so long, that I was much more sick of his lordship than he could be of me; he grew old, and fretful, and captious, and I must add, which made the vice itself begin to grow surfeiting and nauseous to me, he grew worse and wicked, the older he grew, and that to such degree, as it is not fit to write of, and made me so weary of him, that upon one of his capricious humours, which he often took occasion to trouble me with, I took occasion to be much less complaisant to him than I used to be; and, as I knew him to be hasty, I first took care to put him into a little passion, and then to resent it, and this brought us to words, in which I told him I thought he grew sick of me; and he answered in a heat, that truly so he was. I answered, that I found his lordship was endeavouring to make me sick too; that I had met with several such rubs from him of late, and that he did not use me as he was wont to do, and I begged his lordship he would make himself easy. This I spoke with an air of coldness and indifference, such as I knew he could not bear; but I did not downright quarrel with him, and tell him I was sick of him too, and desire him to quit me, for I knew that would come of itself; besides, I had received a great deal of handsome usage from him, and I was loth to have the breach be on my side, that he might not be able to say I was ungrateful.

But he put the occasion into my hands, for he came no more to me for two months; indeed, I expected a fit of absence, for such I had had several times before, but not for above a fortnight or three weeks at most; but after I had staid a month, which was longer than ever he kept away yet, I took a new method with him, for I was resolved now it should be in my power to continue or not, as I thought fit. At the end of a month therefore I removed, and took lodgings at Kensington Gravel Pits, and that part next to the road to Acton, and left nobody in my lodgings but Amy and the footman, with proper instructions how to behave, when his lordship, being come to himself, should think fit to come again, which I knew he would.

About the end of two months he came in the dusk of the evening as usual; the footman an-

swered him, and told him his lady was not at home, but there was Mrs Amy above; so he did not order her to be called down, but went upstairs into the dining-room, and Mrs Amy came to him; he asked where I was? "My lord," said she, "my mistress has been removed a good while hence, and lives at Kensington."—"Ay, Mrs Amy! how come you to be here then?"—"My lord," said she, "we are here till the quarter-day, because the goods are not removed, and to give answers, if any one comes to ask for my lady."—"Well, and what answer are you to give to me?"—"Indeed, my lord," says Amy, "I have no particular answer to your lordship, but to tell you, and everybody else, where my lady lives, that they may not think she's run away."—"No, Mrs Amy," says he, "I don't think she's run away, but indeed, I can't go after her so far as that." Amy said nothing to that, but made a curtesy, and said, "she believed I would be there again for a week or two in a little time."—"How little time, Mrs Amy?" says my lord. "She comes next Tuesday," says Amy. "Very well," says my lord, "I will call and see her then;" and so he went away.

Accordingly I came on the Tuesday, and stayed a fortnight, but he came not; so I went back to Kensington, and after that I had very few of his lordship's visits, which I was very glad of, and in little time after was more glad of it than I was at first, and upon a better account too.

For now I began not to be sick of his lordship only, but really I began to be sick of the vice; and as I had good leisure now to divert and enjoy myself in the world, as much as it was possible for any woman to do that ever lived in it; so I found that my judgment began to prevail upon me to fix my delight upon nobler objects than I had formerly done, and the very beginning of this brought some just reflection upon me relating to things past, and to the former manner of my living; and though there was not the least hint in all this from what may be called religion or conscience, and far from anything of repentance, or anything that was akin to it, especially at first; yet the sense of things, and the knowledge I had of the world, and the vast variety of scenes that I had acted my part in, began to work upon my senses, and it came so very strong upon my mind one morning when I had been lying awake some time in my bed, as if somebody had asked me the question, What was I a whore for now? It occurred naturally upon this inquiry, that at first I yielded to the importunity of my circumstances, the misery of which the devil dismally aggravated, to draw me to comply; for I confess I had strong natural aversions to the crime at first, partly owing to a virtuous education, and partly to a sense of religion; but the devil, and that greater devil of poverty prevailed; and the person who laid siege to me, did it in such an obliging, and I may almost say, irresistible manner, all still managed by the evil spirit, for I must be allowed to believe that he has a share in all such things, if not the whole management of them. But, I say, it was carried on by that person in such an irresistible manner, that (as I said) when I related the fact, there was no withstanding it: these circumstances, I say, the devil managed not only to bring me to comply, but he continued them as

arguments to fortify my mind against all reflections, and to keep me in that horrid course I had engaged in, as if it were honest and lawful.

But not to dwell upon that now; this was a pretence, and here was something to be said, though I acknowledge it ought not to have been sufficient to me at all; but I say to leave that, all this was out of doors; the devil himself could not form one argument, or put one reason into my head now, that could serve for an answer, no, not so much as a pretended answer to this question, Why I should be a whore now?

It had for a while been a little kind of excuse to me that I was engaged with this wicked old lord, and that I could not in honour forsake him; but how foolish and absurd did it look to repeat the word honour on so vile an occasion? as if a woman should prostitute her honour in point of honour; horrid inconsistency! Honour called upon me to detest the crime and the man too, and to have resisted all the attacks which, from the beginning, had been made upon my virtue; and honour, had it been consulted, would have preserved me honest from the beginning.

"For HONESTY and HONOUR are the same."

This, however, shows us with what faint excuses, and with what trifles we pretend to satisfy ourselves, and suppress the attempts of conscience in the pursuit of an agreeable crime, and in the possessing those pleasures which we are loth to part with.

But this objection would now serve no longer, for my lord had, in some sort, broke his engagements (I won't call it honour again) with me, and had so far slighted me as fairly to justify my entire quitting of him now; and so as the objection was fully answered, the question remained still unanswered, Why am I a whore now? Nor indeed had I anything to say for myself, even to myself; I could not, without blushing, as wicked as I was, answer, that I loved it for the sake of the vice, and that I delighted in being a whore, as such; I say, I could not say this, even to myself, and all alone, nor indeed would it have been true. I was never able in justice, and with truth, to say I was so wicked as that; but as necessity first debauched me, and poverty made me a whore at the beginning, so excess of avarice for getting money, and excess of vanity, continued me in the crime, not being able to resist the flatteries of great persons; being called the finest woman in France; being caressed by a prince; and afterwards I had pride enough to expect, and folly enough to believe, though indeed without ground, by a great monarch. These were my baits, these the chains by which the devil held me bound, and by which I was indeed so fast held for any reasoning that I was then mistress of to deliver me from.

But this was all over now, avarice could have no pretence; I was out of the reach of all that fate could do to reduce me; now I was so far from poor, or the danger of it, that I had 50,000*l.* in my pocket at least; nay, I had the income of 50,000*l.*, for I had 2,500*l.* a-year coming in upon very good land security, besides three or four thousand pounds in money, which I kept by me for ordinary occasions, and besides jewels and plate, and goods, which were worth near 5,600*l.*

more; these put together, when I ruminated on it all in my thoughts, as you may be sure I did often, added weight still to the question, as above, and it sounded continually in my head, what's next? What am I a whore for now?

It is true, this was, as I say, seldom out of my thoughts, but yet it made no impressions upon me of that kind which might be expected from a reflection of so important a nature, and which had so much of substance and seriousness in it.

But, however, it was not without some little consequences even at that time, and which gave a little turn to my way of living at first, as you shall hear in its place.

But one particular thing intervened besides this, which gave me some uneasiness at this time, and made way for other things that followed. I have mentioned in several little digressions, the concern I had upon me for my children, and in what manner I had directed that affair; I must go on a little with that part, in order to bring the subsequent parts of my story together.

My boy, the only son I had left I had a legal right to call son, was, as I have said, rescued from the unhappy circumstances of being apprentice to a mechanic, and was brought up upon a new foot; but though this was infinitely to his advantage, yet it put him back near three years in his coming into the world, for he had been near a year at the drudgery he was first put to, and it took up two years more to form him for what he had hopes given him he should hereafter be, so that he was fully nineteen years old, or rather twenty years, before he came to be put out as I intended; at the end of which time I put him to a very flourishing Italian merchant, and he again sent him to Messina, in the island of Sicily; and a little before the juncture I am now speaking of, I had letters from him, that is to say, Mrs Amy had letters from him, intimating that he was out of his time, and that he had an opportunity to be taken into an English house there, on very good terms, if his support from hence might answer what he was bid to hope for; and so begged that what would be done for him might be so ordered that he might have it for his present advancement, referring for the particulars to his master, the merchant in London, whom he had been apprentice to here; who, to cut the story short, gave such a satisfactory account of it, and of my young man, to my steady and faithful counsellor, Sir Robert Clayton, that I made no scruple to pay 4,000*l.* which was 1,000*l.* more than he demanded, or rather proposed, that he might have encouragement to enter into the world better than he expected.

His master remitted the money very faithfully to him, and finding, by Sir Robert Clayton, that the young gentleman, for so he called him, was well supported, wrote such letters on his account, as gave him a credit at Messina equal in value to the money itself.

I could not digest it very well, that I should all this while conceal myself thus from my own child, and make all this favour due, in his opinion, to a stranger; and yet I could not find in my heart to let my son know what a mother he had, and what a life she lived; when, at the same time, that he must think himself infinitely obliged

to me, he must be obliged, if he was a man of virtue, to hate his mother, and abhor the way of living, by which all the bounty he enjoyed was raised.

This is the reason of mentioning this part of my son's story, which is otherwise no ways concerned in my history, but as it put me upon thinking how to put an end to that wicked course I was in, that my own child, when he should afterwards come to England in a good figure, and with the appearance of a merchant, should not be ashamed to own me.

But there was another difficulty, which lay heavier upon me a great deal, and that was, my daughter; who, as before, I had relieved by the hands of another instrument, which Amy had procured. The girl, as I have mentioned, was directed to put herself into a good garb, take lodgings, and entertain a maid to wait upon her, to give herself some breeding, that is to say, to learn to dance, and fit herself to appear as a gentlewoman; being made to hope, that she should, sometime or other, find that she should be put into a condition to support her character, and to make herself amends for all her former troubles; she was only charged not to be drawn into matrimony, till she was secured of a fortune that might assist to dispose of herself suitable not to what then she was, but what she was to be.

The girl was too sensible of her circumstances not to give all possible satisfaction of that kind, and indeed she was mistress of too much understanding not to see how much she should be obliged to that part for her own interest.

It was not long after this, but being well equipped, and in every thing well set out, as she was directed, she came as I have related above, and paid a visit to Mrs Amy, and to tell her of her good fortune. Amy pretended to be much surprised at the alteration, and overjoyed for her sake, and began to treat her very well, entertained her handsomely, and when she would have gone away pretended to ask my leave, and sent my coach home with her; and, in short, learning from her where she lodged, which was in the city, Amy promised to return her visit, and did so; and, in a word, Amy and Susan (for she was my own name) began an intimate acquaintance together.

There was an inexpressible difficulty in the poor girl's way, or else I should not have been able to have forborne discovering myself to her, and this was, her having been a servant in my particular family; and I could by no means think of ever letting the children know what a kind of creature they owed their being to, or giving them an occasion to upbraid their mother with her scandalous life, much less to justify the like practice from my example.

Thus it was with me; and thus, no doubt, considering parents always find it, that their own children are a restraint to them in their worst courses, when the sense of a Superior Power has not the same influence. But of that hereafter.

There happened, however, one good circumstance in the case of this poor girl, which brought about a discovery sooner than otherwise it would have been, and it was thus: after she and Amy had been intimate for some time, and had ex-

changed several visits, the girl now grown a woman, talking to Amy of the gay things that used to fall out when she was servant in my family, spoke of it with a kind of concern, that she could not see (me) her lady; and at last she adds, "'twas very strange, madam," says she to Amy, "but though I lived near two years in the house, I never saw my mistress in my life, except it was that public night when she danced in the fine Turkish habit, and then she was so disguised that I knew nothing of her afterwards."

Amy was glad to hear this; but as she was a cunning girl from the beginning, she was not to be bit, and so she laid no stress upon that at first, but gave me an account of it; and I must confess it gave me a secret joy to think that I was not known to her; and that, by virtue of that only accident, I might, when other circumstances made room for it, discover myself to her, and let her know that she had a mother in a condition fit to be owned.

It was a dreadful restraint to me before, and this gave me some very sad reflections, and made way for the great question I have mentioned above; and by how much the circumstance was bitter to, by so much the more agreeable it was to understand that the girl had never seen me, and consequently, did not know me again if she was to be told who I was.

However, the next time she came to visit Amy I was resolved to put it to a trial, and to come into the room and let her see me, and to see by that, whether she knew me or no; but Amy put me by, lest indeed, as there was reason enough to question, I should not be able to contain, or forbear discovering myself to her; so it went off for that time.

But both these circumstances, and that is the reason of my mentioning them, brought me to consider of the life I lived, and to resolve to put myself into some figure of life, in which I might not be scandalous to my own family, and be afraid to make myself known to my own children, who were my own flesh and blood.

There was another daughter I had, which, with all our inquiries we could not hear of, high nor low, for several years after the first. But I return to my own story.

Being now in part removed from my old station, I seemed to be in a fair way of retiring from my old acquaintances, and consequently from the vile abominable trade I had driven so long; so that the door seemed to be, as it were, particularly opened to my reformation, if I had any mind to it in earnest; but, for all that, some of my old friends, as I used to call them, inquired me out, and came to visit me at Kensington, and that more frequently than I wished they would do; but it being once known where I was, there was no avoiding it, unless I would have downright refused and affronted them; and I was not yet in earnest enough with my resolutions to go that length.

The best of it was, my old lewd favourite, whom I now heartily hated, entirely dropped me; he came once to visit me, but I caused Amy to deny me, and say I was gone out; she did it so oddly too, that when his lordship went away, he said coldly to her, "Well, well, Mrs Amy, I find your mistress does not desire to be seen;

tell her I won't trouble her any more," repeating the words any more two or three times over, just at his going away.

I reflected a little on it at first, as unkind to him, having had so many considerable presents from him, but, as I have said, I was sick of him, and that on some accounts, which if I could suffer myself to publish them, would fully justify my conduct; but that part of the story will not bear telling, so I must leave it and proceed.

I had begun a little, as I have said above, to reflect upon my manner of living, and to think of putting a new face upon it; and nothing moved me to it more than the consideration of my having three children, who were now grown up; and yet, that while I was in that station of life I could not converse with them, or make myself known to them; and this gave me a great deal of uneasiness; at last I entered into a talk on this part of it with my woman Amy.

We lived at Kensington, as I have said, and though I had done with my old wicked L——, as above, yet I was frequently visited, as I said, by some others, so that, in a word, I began to be known in the town, not by name only, but my character too, which was worse.

It was one morning when Amy was in bed with me, and I had some of my dullest thoughts about me, that Amy hearing me sigh pretty often, asked me if I was not well? "Yes, Amy, I am well enough," says I, "but my mind is oppressed with heavy thoughts, and has been so a good while; and then I told her how it grieved me that I could not make myself known to my own children, or form any acquaintances in the world.—"Why so?" says Amy. "Why, prithee," says I, "what will my children say to themselves, and to one another, when they find their mother, however rich she may be, is at best but a whore, a common whore? And as for acquaintance, prithee Amy, what sober lady, or what family of any character will visit or be acquainted with a whore?"

"Why, all that's true, madam," says Amy; "but how can it be remedied now?"—"Tis true, Amy," said I, "the thing cannot be remedied now, but the scandal of it, I fancy, may be thrown off."

"Truly," says Amy, "I don't see how, unless you will go abroad again, and live in some other nation, where nobody has known us, or seen us, so that they cannot say they ever saw us before."

That very thought of Amy put what follows into my head; and I returned, "Why, Amy," says I, "is it not possible for me to shift my being, from this part of the town, and go and live in another part of the city, or another part of the country, and be as entirely concealed as if I had never been known?"

"Yes," says Amy, "I believe it might; but then you must put off all your equipages, and servants, coaches and horses; change your liveries, nay, your own clothes, and if it was possible your very face."

"Well," says I, "and that's the way, Amy, and that I'll do, and that forthwith; for I am not able to live in this manner any longer." Amy came into this with a kind of pleasure particular to herself, that is to say, with an eagerness not to be resisted; for Amy was apt to be precipitant

in her motions, and was for doing it immediately. "Well," says I, "Amy, as soon as you will, but what course must we take to do it? we cannot put off servants and coach and horses, and every thing, leave off housekeeping, and transform ourselves into a new shape all in a moment; servants must have warning, and the goods must be sold off, and a thousand things," and this began to perplex us, and in particular took us up two or three days' consideration.

At last, Amy, who was a clever manager in such cases, came to me with a scheme, as she called it. "I have found it out, madam," says she, "I have found a scheme how you shall, if you have a mind to it, begin and finish a perfect, entire change of your figure and circumstances in one day, and shall be as much unknown, madam, in twenty-four hours, as you would be in so many years."

"Come, Amy," says I, "let us hear it, for you please me mightily with the thoughts of it." "Why, then," says Amy, "let me go into the city this afternoon, and I'll inquire out some honest, plain, sober family, where I will take lodgings for you, as for a country-gentlewoman that desires to be in London for about half a year, and to board yourself and a kinswoman, that is half a servant, half a companion, meaning myself; and so agree with them by the month."

"To this lodging (if I hit upon one to your mind) you may go to-morrow morning in a hackney-coach, with nobody but me, and leave such clothes and linen as you think fit; but to be sure, the plainest you have; and then you are removed at once, you need never so much as set your foot in this house again (meaning where we then were) or see anybody belonging to it; in the meantime I'll let the servants know that you are going over to Holland upon extraordinary business, and will leave off your equipages, and so I'll give them warning, or, if they will accept of it, give them a month's wages; and then I will sell off your furniture as well as I can; as to your coach, it is but having it new painted, and the lining changed, and getting new harness and hammercloths, and you may keep it still, or dispose of it as you think fit; and only take care to let this lodging be in some remote part of the town, and you may be as perfectly unknown, as if you had never been in England in your life."

This was Amy's scheme, and it pleased me so well, that I resolved not only to let her go, but was resolved to go with her myself; but Amy put me off of that, because, she said, she should have occasion to hurry up and down so long, that if I was with her it would rather hinder than further her; so I waved it.

In a word, Amy went, and was gone five long hours; but when she came back, I could see by her countenance that her success had been suitable to her pains, for she came laughing and gaping. "O madam!" says she, "I have pleased you to the life;" and with that, she tells me how she had fixed upon a house in a court in the Minories; that she was directed to it merely by accident; that it was a female family, the master of the house being gone to New England, and that the woman had four children, kept two maids, and lived very handsomely, but wanted company

to divert her; and that on that very account she had agreed to take boarders.

Amy agreed for a good handsome price, because she was resolved I should be used well; so she bargained to give her 35*l.* for the half year, and 50*l.* if we took a maid, leaving that to my choice; and that we might be satisfied we should meet with nothing very gay, the people were Quakers, and I liked them the better.

I was so pleased that I resolved to go with Amy the next day to see the lodgings, and to see the woman of the house, and see how I liked them; but if I was pleased with the general, I was much more pleased with the particulars; for the gentlewoman, I must call her so, though she was a Quaker, was a most courteous, obliging, mannerly person; perfectly well-bred, and perfectly well-humoured, and in short, the most agreeable conversation that ever I met with; and, which was worth all, so grave, and yet so pleasant and so merry, that 'tis scarce possible for me to express how I was pleased and delighted with her company; and particularly, I was so pleased that I would go away no more; so I e'en took up my lodging there the very first night.

In the meantime, though it took up Amy almost a month so entirely, to put off all the appearances of housekeeping, as above, it need take me up no time to relate it; 'tis enough to say, that Amy quitted all that part of the world, and came pack and package to me, and here we took up our abode.

I was now in a perfect retreat indeed; remote from the eyes of all that ever had seen me, and as much out of the way of ever being seen or heard of by any of the gang that used to follow me, as if I had been among the mountains in Lancashire; for when did a blue garter, or a coach-and-six, come into a little narrow passage in the Minories, or Goodman's fields? And as there was no fear of them, so I really had no desire to see them, or so much as to hear from them any more as long as I lived.

I seemed in a little hurry while Amy came and went so every day at first; but when that was over I lived here perfectly retired, and with a most pleasant and agreeable lady; I must call her so, for though a Quaker, she had a full share of good breeding sufficient to her if she had been a duchess; in a word, she was the most agreeable creature in her conversation, as I said before, that ever I met with.

I pretended, after I had been there some time, to be extremely in love with the dress of the Quakers, and this pleased her so much, that she would needs dress me up one day in a suit of her own clothes; but my real design was, to see whether it would pass upon me for a disguise.

Amy was struck with the novelty, though I had not mentioned my design to her, and when the Quaker was gone out of the room, says Amy, "I guess your meaning; it is a perfect disguise to you; why you look quite another body, I should not have known you myself; nay," says Amy, "more than that, it makes you look ten years younger than you did."

Nothing could please me better than that, and when Amy repeated it, I was so fond of it, that I asked my Quaker (I won't call her landlady, 'tis

indeed too coarse a word for her, and she deserved a much better) I say, I asked her if she would sell it; I told her I was so fond of it, that I would give her enough to buy her a better suit; she declined it at first, but I soon perceived that it was chiefly in good manners, because I should not dishonour myself, as she called it, to put on her old clothes; but if I pleased to accept of them, she would give me them for my dressing-clothes, and go with me, and buy a suit for me, that might be better worth my wearing.

But as I conversed in a very frank open manner with her, I bid her do the like with me; that I made no scruple of such things, but that if she would let me have them I would satisfy her; so she let me know what they cost, and to make her amends, I gave her three guineas more than they cost her.

This good (though unhappy) Quaker had the misfortune to have had a bad husband, and he was gone beyond sea; she had a good house and well-furnished, and had some jointure of her own estate, which supported her and her children, so that she did not want; but she was not above such a help, as my being there was to her; so she was as glad of me as I was of her.

However, as I knew there was no way to fix this new acquaintance like making myself a friend to her, I began with making her some handsome presents, and the like to her children. And first, opening my bundles one day in my chamber, I heard her in another room, and called her in with a kind of familiar way; there I showed her some of my fine clothes, and having among the rest of my things a piece of very fine new holland, which I had bought a little before, worth about 9*s.* an ell, I pulled it out, "Here, my friend," says I, "I will make you a present, if you will accept of it;" and with that I laid the piece of holland in her lap.

I could see she was surprised, and that she could hardly speak. "What dost thou mean?" says she; "indeed, I cannot have the face to accept so fine a present as this;" adding, "'tis fit for thy own use, but 'tis above my wear, indeed." I thought she had meant she must not wear it so fine, because she was a Quaker; so I returned, "Why, do not you Quakers wear fine linen neither?" — "Yes," says she, "we wear fine linen when we can afford it, but this is too good for me." However, I made her take it, and she was very thankful too; but my end was answered another way, for by this I engaged her so, that as I found her a woman of understanding, and of honesty too, I might, upon any occasion, have a confidence in her, which was, indeed, what I very much wanted.

By accustoming myself to converse with her, I had not only learned to dress like a Quaker, but so used myself to thee and thou, that I talked like a Quaker too, as ready and naturally as if I had been born among them; and, in a word, I passed for a Quaker among all people that did not know me. I went but little abroad, but I was so used to a coach, that I knew not how well to go without one; besides, I thought it would be a farther disguise to me, so I told my Quaker friend one day, that I thought I lived too close, that I wanted air; she proposed taking a

hackney-coach sometimes, or a boat; but I told her I had always had a coach of my own till now, and I could find in my heart to have one again.

She seemed to think it strange at first, considering how close I lived, but had nothing to say when she found I did not value the expense; so, in short, I resolved I would have a coach. When we came to talk of equipages, she extolled the having all things plain. I said so too; so I left it to her direction, and a coachmaker was sent for, and he provided me a plain coach, no gilding or painting, lined with a light grey cloth, and my coachman had a coat of the same, and no lace on his hat.

When all was ready I dressed myself in the dress I bought of her, and said, "Come, I'll be a Quaker to day, and you and I'll go abroad," which we did; and there was not a Quaker in the town that looked less like a counterfeit than I did. But all this was my particular plot, to be the more completely concealed, and that I might depend upon being not known, and yet need not be confined like a prisoner and be always in fear; so that all the rest was grimace.

We lived there very easy and quiet, and yet I cannot say I was so in my mind; I was like a fish out of water; I was as gay, and as young in my disposition, as I was at five-and-twenty; and as I had always been courted, flattered, and used to love it, so I missed it in my conversation; and this put me many times upon looking back upon things past.

I had very few moments in my life which, in their reflection, afforded me anything but regret; but of all the foolish actions I had to look back upon in my life, none looked so preposterous, and so like distraction, nor left so much melancholy on my mind, as my parting with my friend, the merchant of Paris, and the refusing him upon such honourable and just conditions as he had offered; and though on his just (which I called unkind) rejecting my invitation to come to him again, I had looked on him with some disgust, yet now my mind run upon him continually, and the ridiculous conduct of my refusing him, and I could never be satisfied about him; I flattered myself that if I could see him, I could yet master him, and that he would presently forget all that had passed that might be thought unkind; but as there was no room to imagine anything like that to be possible, I threw those thoughts off again as much as I could.

However, they continually returned, and I had no rest night or day for thinking of him, whom I had forgot above eleven years. I told Amy of it, and we talked it over sometimes in bed, almost whole nights together. At last Amy started a thing of her own head, which put it in a way of management, though a wild one too. "You are uneasy, madam," says she, "about this Mr ———, the merchant at Paris; come," says she, "if you'll give me leave, I'll go over and see what's become of him."

"Not for ten thousand pounds," said I; "no, nor if you met him in the street, not to offer to speak to him on my account."—"No," says Amy, "I would not speak to him at all, or if I did, I warrant you it shall not look to be on your account; I will only inquire after him, and if he

is in being, you shall hear of him; if not, you shall hear of him still, and that may be enough."

"Why," says I, "if you will promise me not to enter into anything relating to me with him, not to begin any discourse at all, unless he begins it with you, I could almost be persuaded to let you go and try."

Amy promised me all that I desired; and, in a word, to cut the story short, I let her go; but tied her up to so many particulars, that it was almost impossible her going could signify anything; and had she intended to observe them, she might as well have staid at home as have gone; for I charged her, if she came to see him, she should not so much as take notice that she knew him again; and if he spoke to her, she should tell him she was come away from me a great many years ago, and knew nothing what was become of me; that she had been come over to France six years ago, and was married there, and lived at Calais, or to that purpose.

Amy promised me nothing, indeed, for, as she said, it was impossible for her to resolve what would be fit to do, or not to do, till she was there upon the spot, and had found out the gentleman or heard of him; but that then, if I would trust her, as I had always done, she would answer for it that she would do nothing but what should be for my interest, and what she would hope I should be very well pleased with.

With this general commission, Amy, notwithstanding she had been so frightened at the sea, ventured her carcass once more by water, and away she goes to France; she had four articles of confidence in charge to inquire after for me, and, as I found by her, she had one for herself; I say, four for me, because, though her first and principal errand was to inform herself of the Dutch merchant, yet I gave her in charge to inquire, second, after my husband, whom I left a trooper in the gens d'armes; third, after that rogue of a Jew, whose very name I hated, and of whose face I had such a frightful idea, that Satan himself could not counterfeit a worse; and, lastly, after my foreign prince. And she discharged herself very well of them all, though not so successfully as I wished.

Amy had a very good passage over the sea, and I had a letter from her, from Calais, in three days after she went from London. When she came to Paris, she wrote me an account, that as to her first and most important inquiry, which was after the Dutch merchant; her account was, that he had returned to Paris, lived three years there, and, quitting that city, went to live at Rouen: so away goes Amy for Rouen.

But as she was going to bespeak a place in the coach to Rouen, she meets very accidentally in the street with her gentleman, as she called him; that is to say, the Prince de ———'s gentleman, who had been her favourite, as above.

You may be sure there were several other kind things happened between Amy and him, as you shall hear afterwards: but the two main things were, first, that Amy inquired about his lord, and had a full account of him, of which presently; and, in the next place, telling him whither she was going, and for what. He bade her not go yet, for that he would have a parti-

cular account of it the next day from a merchant that knew him; and accordingly he brought her word the next day, that he had been for six years before that gone for Holland, and that he lived there still.

This, I say, was the first news from Amy for some time, I mean about my merchant. In the mean time Amy, as I have said, inquired about the other persons she had in her instructions. As for the prince, the gentleman told her he was gone into Germany, where his estate lay, and that he lived there; that he had made great inquiry after me; that he (his gentleman) had made all the search he had been able for me, but that he could not hear of me; that he believed, if his lord had known I had been in England, he would have gone over to me; but that, after long inquiry, he was obliged to give it over; but that he verily believed, if he could have found me, he would have married me; and that he was extremely concerned that he could hear nothing of me.

I was not at all satisfied with Amy's account, but ordered her to go to Rouen herself; which she did, and there with much difficulty (the person she was directed to being dead), I say, with much difficulty, she came to be informed that my merchant had lived there two years, or something more; but that having met with a very great misfortune, he had gone back to Holland, as the French merchant said, where he staid two years; but with this addition, viz. that he came back again to Rouen, and lived in good reputation there another year; and afterwards, he was gone to England, and that he lived in London. But Amy could by no means learn how to write to him there, till, by great accident, an old Dutch skipper, who had formerly served him, coming to Rouen, Amy was told of it; and he told her that he lodged in St Laurence Pountney lane, in London, but was to be seen every day upon the Exchange, in the French walk.

This Amy thought it was time enough to tell me of when she came over; and besides, she did not find this Dutch skipper till she had spent four or five months, and been again at Paris, and then come back to Rouen for farther information. But in the mean time she wrote me from Paris, that he was not to be found by any means; that he had been gone from Paris seven or eight years; that she was told that he had lived at Rouen, and she was a going thither to inquire, but that she had heard afterwards that he was gone also from thence to Holland, so she did not go.

This, I say, was Amy's first account; and I, not satisfied with it, had sent her an order to go to Rouen, to inquire there also, as above.

While this was negotiating, and I received these accounts from Amy at several times, a strange adventure happened to me, which I must mention just here; I had been abroad to take the air, as usual, with my Quaker as far as Epping Forest, and we were driving back towards London, when on the road between Bow and Mile End, two gentlemen on horseback came riding by, having overtaken the coach and passed it, and went forward towards London.

They did not ride apace, though they passed

the coach, for we went very softly, nor did they look into the coach at all, but rode side by side, earnestly talking to one another, and inclining their faces side-ways a little towards one another, he that went nearest the coach, with his face from it, and he that was farthest from the coach, with his face towards it, and passing in the very next tract to the coach, I could hear them talk Dutch very distinctly; but it is impossible to describe the confusion I was in, when I plainly saw that the farthest of the two, him whose face looked towards the coach, was my friend, the Dutch merchant of Paris.

If it had been possible to conceal my disorder from my friend the Quaker I would have done it, but I found that she was too well acquainted with such things not to take the hint. "Dost thou understand Dutch?" said she. "Why?" said I. "Why," says she, "it is easy to suppose that thou art a little concerned at somewhat those men say; I suppose they are talking of thee." "Indeed, my good friend," said I, "thou art mistaken this time, for I know very well what they are talking of, but it is all about ships and trading affairs." "Well," says she, "then one of them is a man friend of thine, or somewhat is the case; for though thy tongue will not confess it, thy face does."

I was going to have told a bold lie, and said I knew nothing of them, but I found it was impossible to conceal it, so I said, "Indeed, I think I know the farthest of them; but I have neither spoken to him, or so much as seen him for above eleven years." "Well, then," says she, "thou hast seen him with more than common eyes when thou didst see him; or else seeing him now would not be such a surprise to thee." "Indeed," said I, "it is true I am a little surprised at seeing him just now, for I thought he had been in quite another part of the world; and I can assure you I never saw him in England in my life." "Well, then, it is the more likely he is come over now on purpose to seek thee." "No, no," said I, "knight errantry is over, women are not so hard to come at, that men should not be able to please themselves without running from one kingdom to another." "Well, well," says she, "I would have him see thee for all that, as plainly as thou hast seen him." "No, but he sha'n't," says I, "for I am sure he don't know me in this dress, and I'll take care he sha'n't see my face, if I can help it;" so I held up my fan before my face, and she saw me resolute in that, so she pressed me no farther.

We had several discourses upon the subject, but still I let her know I was resolved he should not know me; but, at last, I confessed so much, that though I would not let him know who I was, or where I lived, I did not care if I knew where he lived, and how I might inquire about him. She took the hint immediately, and her servant being behind the coach, she called him to the coach-side, and bade him keep his eye upon that gentleman, and as soon as the coach came to the end of Whitechapel, he should get down, and follow him closely, so as to see where he put up his horse, and then to go into the inn and inquire, if he could, who he was and where he lived.

The fellow followed diligently to the gate of

an inn in Bishopsgate street, and seeing him go in, made no doubt but he had him fast, but was confounded when, upon inquiry, he found the inn was a thoroughfare into another street, and that the two gentlemen had only rode through the inn, as the way to the street where they were going, and so, in short, came back no wiser than he went.

My kind Quaker was more vexed at the disappointment, at least apparently so, than I was; and asking the fellow if he was sure he knew the gentleman again if he saw him, the fellow said, "He had followed him so close, and took so much notice of him, in order to do his errand as it ought to be done, that he was very sure he should know him again; and that besides, he was sure he should know his horse."

This part was, indeed, likely enough; and the kind Quaker, without telling me anything of the matter, caused her man to place himself just at the corner of Whitechapel church wall every Saturday in the afternoon, that being the day when the citizens chiefly ride abroad to take the air; and there to watch all the afternoon and look for him.

It was not till the fifth Saturday that her man came, with a great deal of joy, and gave her an account that he had found out the gentleman; that he was a Dutchman, but a French merchant; that he came from Rouen, and his name was ———, and that he lodged at Mr ———'s, on Laurence Pountney hill. I was surprised, you may be sure, when she came and told me one evening all the particulars, except that of having set her man to watch. "I have found out thy Dutch friend," says she, "and can tell thee how to find him too." I coloured again as red as fire. "Then thou hast dealt with the evil one, friend," said I, very gravely.—"No, no," says she, "I have no familiar; but, I tell thee, I have found him for thee, and his name is so and so, and he lives as above recited."

I was surprised again at this, not being able to imagine how she should come to know all this. However, to put me out of pain, she told me what she had done. "Well," said I, "thou art very kind, but this is not worth thy pains; for I know it, 'tis only to satisfy my curiosity, for I shall not send to him upon any account."—"Be that as thou wilt," says she; "besides," added she, "thou art in the right to say so to me, for why should I be trusted with it? though if I were, I assure thee I should not betray thee."—"That is very kind," said I, "and I believe thee; and assure thyself, if I do send to him, thou shalt know it, and be trusted with it too."

During this interval of five weeks I suffered a hundred thousand perplexities of mind. I was thoroughly convinced I was right as to the person, that it was the man: I knew him so well, and saw him so plain, I could not be deceived. I drove out again in the coach (on pretence of air) almost every day, in hopes of seeing him again, but was never so lucky as to see him; and now I had made the discovery, I was as far to seek what measures to take as I was before.

To send to him, or speak to him first, if I should see him, so as to be known to him, that I resolved not to do, if I died for it; to watch him about his lodging, that was as much below my

spirit as the other; so that, in a word, I was at a perfect loss how to act, or what to do.

At length came Amy's letter, with the last account which she had at Rouen, from the Dutch skipper, which, confirming the other, left me out of doubt that this was my man; but still, no human invention could bring me to the speech of him, in such a manner as would suit with my resolutions; for, after all, how did I know what his circumstances were? whether married or single? and if he had a wife, I knew he was so honest a man, he would not so much as converse with me, or so much as know me, if he met me in the street.

In the next place, as he had entirely neglected me, which, in short, is the worst way of slighting a woman, and had given no answer to my letters, I did not know but he might be the same man still; so I resolved, that I could do nothing in it, unless some fairer opportunity presented, which might make my way clearer to me; for I was determined he should have no room to put any more slights upon me.

In these thoughts I passed away near three months; till at last, being impatient, I resolved to send for Amy to come over, and tell her how things stood, and that I would do nothing till she came. Amy, in answer, sent me word she would come away with all speed, but begged of me that I would enter into no engagement with him, or anybody, till she arrived; but still keeping me in the dark, as to the thing itself which she had to say, at which I was heartily vexed, for many reasons.

But while all these things were transacting, and letters and answers passed between Amy and I a little slower than usual, at which I was not so well pleased as I used to be with Amy's dispatch; I say, in this time the following scene opened.

It was one afternoon, about four o'clock, my friendly Quaker and I sitting in her chamber up stairs, and very cheerful, chatting together (for she was the best company in the world), when somebody ringing hastily at the door, and no servant just then in the way, she ran down herself to the door, when a gentleman appears, with a footman attending, and making some apologies, which she did not thoroughly understand, he speaking but broken English; he asked to speak with me, by the very same name that I went by in her house, which, by the way, was not the name that he had known me by.

She, with very civil language, in her way, brought him into a very handsome parlour below stairs, and said she would go and see whether the person who lodged in her house owned that name, and he should hear farther.

I was a little surprised, even before I knew anything of who it was, my mind foreboding the thing as it happened (whence that arises, let the naturalists explain to us); but I was frightened, and ready to die, when my Quaker came up all gay and crowing. "There," says she, "is the Dutch French merchant come to see thee." I could not speak one word to her, nor stir off my chair, but sat as motionless as a statue. She talked a thousand pleasant things to me, but they made no impression on me; at last she pulled me and teased me, "Come, come," says

she, "be thyself, and rouse up, I must go down again to him; what shall I say to him?"—"Say," said I, "that you have no such body in the house."—"That I cannot do," says she, "because it is not the truth; besides, I have owned thou art above; come, come, go down with me."—"Not for a thousand guineas," said I.—"Well," says she, "I'll go and tell him thou wilt come quickly." So, without giving me time to answer her, away she goes.

A million of thoughts circulated in my head while she was gone, and what to do I could not tell; I saw no remedy but I must speak with him, but would have given 500*l.* to have shunned it; yet had I shunned it, perhaps then I would have given 500*l.* again that I had seen him. Thus fluctuating and unconcluding were my thoughts, what I so earnestly desired I declined when it offered itself; and what now I pretended to decline, was nothing but what I had been at the expense of 40*l.* or 50*l.* to send Amy to France for; and even without any view, or indeed any rational expectation of bringing it to pass; and what for half a year before I was so uneasy about that I could not be quiet night or day, till Amy proposed to go over to inquire after him. In short, my thoughts were all confused, and in the utmost disorder. I had once refused and rejected him, and I repented it heartily; then I had taken ill his silence, and in my mind rejected him again, but had repented that too. Now I had stooped so low as to send after him into France, which if he had known, perhaps, he had never come after me; and should I reject him a third time! On the other hand, he had repented too in his turn, perhaps, and not knowing how I had acted either in stooping to send in search after him, or in the wickeder part of my life, was come over hither to seek me again; and I might take him, perhaps, with the same advantages as I might have done before, and would I now be backward to see him! Well, while I was in this hurry, my friend the Quaker comes up again, and perceiving the confusion I was in, she runs to her closet, and fetched me a little pleasant cordial, but I would not taste it. "O," says she, "I understand thee, be not uneasy, I'll give thee something shall take off all the smell of it; if he kisses thee a thousand times, he shall be no wiser." I thought with myself, thou art perfectly acquainted with affairs of this nature, I think you must govern me now, so I began to incline to go down with her; upon that I took the cordial, and she gave me a kind of spicy preserve after it, whose flavour was so strong, and yet so deliciously pleasant, that it would cheat the nicest smelling, and it left not the least taint of the cordial on the breath.

Well, after this (though with some hesitation still) I went down a pair of back stairs with her, and into a dining room, next to the parlour in which he was; but there I halted, and desired she would let me consider of it a little. "Well, do so," says she, and left me with more readiness than she did before; "do consider, and I'll come to thee again."

Though I hung back with an awkwardness that was really unfeigned, yet when she so readily left me, I thought it was not so kind, and I began to think she should have pressed me still on to it;

so foolishly backward are we to the thing which of all the world we most desire; mocking ourselves with a feigned reluctance, when the negative would be death to us; but she was too cunning for me, for while I, as it were, blamed her in my mind, for not carrying me to him, though at the same time I appeared backward to see him; on a sudden she unlocks the folding doors, which looked into the next parlour, and throwing them open, "There," says she (ushering him in) "is the same person who, I suppose, thou inquirest for;" and the same moment, with a kind of decency, she retired, and that so swift, that she would not give us leave hardly to know which way she went.

I stood up, but was confounded with a sudden inquiry in my thoughts, how I should receive him? and with a resolution as swift as lightning, in answer to it, said to myself, it shall be coldly; so, on a sudden, I put on an air of stiffness and ceremony, and held it for about two minutes; but it was with great difficulty.

He restrained himself too, on the other hand, came towards me gravely, and saluted me in form; but it was, it seems, upon his supposing the Quaker was behind him, whereas she, as I said, understood things too well, and had retired, as if she had vanished, that we might have full freedom; for, as she said afterwards, she supposed we had seen one another before, though it might have been a great while ago.

Whatever stiffness I had put on my behaviour to him, I was surprised in my mind, and angry at his, and began to wonder what kind of a ceremonious meeting it was to be. However, after he perceived the woman was gone, he made a kind of a hesitation, looking a little round him, "Indeed," said he, "I thought the gentlewoman was not withdrawn," and with that he took me in his arms, and kissed me three or four times; but I, that was prejudiced to the last degree with the coldness of his first salutes, when I did not know the cause of it, could not be thoroughly cleared of the prejudice, though I did know the cause; and thought that even his return, and taking me in his arms, did not seem to have the same ardour with which he used to receive me, and this made me behave to him awkwardly; and I know not how, for a good while; but this by the way.

He began with a kind of an ecstasy upon the subject of his finding me out; how it was possible that he should have been four years in England, and had used all the ways imaginable, and could never so much as have the least intimation of me, or of any one like me; and that it was now above two years that he had despaired of it, and had given over all inquiry; and that now he should chop upon me, as it were, unlooked and unsought for.

I could easily have accounted for his not finding me, if I but set down the detail of my real retirement; but I gave it a new, and indeed a truly hypocritical turn. I told him that any one that knew the manner of life I led might account for his not finding me; and that the retreat I had taken up would have rendered it a hundred thousand to one odds that he ever found me at all; that as I had abandoned all conversation, taken up another name, lived remote from Lon-

don, and had not preserved one acquaintance in it, it was no wonder he had not met with me; that even my dress would let him see that I did not desire to be known by anybody.

Then he asked if I had not received some letters from him? I told him, No, he had not thought fit to give me the civility of an answer to the last I wrote to him; and he could not suppose I should expect a return, after a silence in a case where I had laid myself so low, and exposed myself in a manner I had never been used to; that indeed I had never sent for any letters after that to the place where I had ordered his to be directed; and that being so justly, as I thought, punished for my weakness, I had nothing to do but to repent of being a fool, after I had strictly adhered to a just principle before. That however, as what I did was rather from motives of gratitude than from real weakness, however it might be construed by him, I had the satisfaction in myself of having fully discharged the debt. I added, that I had not wanted occasions of all the seeming advancements which the pretended felicity of a marriage life was usually set off with, and might have been what I desired not to name; but that however low I had stooped to him, I had maintained the dignity of female liberty against all the attacks, either of pride or avarice; and that I had been infinitely obliged to him for giving me an opportunity to discharge the only obligation that endangered me without subjecting me to the consequence; and that I hoped he was satisfied I had paid the debt, by offering myself to be chained, but was infinitely debtor to him another way for letting me remain free.

He was so confounded at this discourse that he knew not what to say, and for a good while he stood mute indeed; but recovering himself a little, he said, "I run out into a discourse he hoped was over and forgotten, and he did not intend to revive it; that he knew I had not had his letters, for that when he first came to England he had been at the place to which they were directed, and found them all lying there but one; and that the people had not known how to deliver them; that he thought to have had a direction there how to find me, but had the mortification to be told that they did not so much as know who I was; that he was under a great disappointment, and that I ought to know, in answer to all my resentments, that he had done a long and (he hoped) a sufficient penance for the slight that I had supposed he had put upon me; that it was true (and I could not suppose any other) that upon the repulse I had given him in a case so circumstanced as his was, and after such earnest entreaties, and such offers as he had made me, he went away with a mind heartily grieved and full of resentment; that he had looked back on the crime he had committed with some regret, but on the cruelty of my treatment of the poor infant I went with at that time with the utmost detestation; and that this made him unable to send an agreeable answer to me; for which reason he had sent none at all for some time; but that in about six or seven months those resentments wearing off by the return of his affection to me, and his concern for the poor child—" there he stopped, and indeed tears stood in his eyes, while in a parenthesis he only added, and to this minute he did

not know whether it was dead or alive; he then went on—" Those resentments wearing off, he sent me several letters, I think he said seven or eight, but received no answer; that then his business obliging him to go to Holland, he came to England as in his way, but found, as above, that his letters had not been called for, but that he left them at the house after paying the postage of them; and going then back to France, he was yet uneasy, and could not refrain the knight-errantry of coming to England again to seek me, though he knew neither where, or of who, to inquire for me, being disappointed in all his inquiries before; that he had yet taken up his residence here, firmly believing that one time or other he should meet me, or hear of me, and that some kind chance would at last throw him in my way; that he had lived thus above four years, and though his hopes were vanished, yet he had not any thoughts of removing any more in the world, unless it should be at last, as it is with other old men, he might have some inclination to go home to die in his own country, but that he had not thought of it yet; that if I would consider all these steps, I would find some reasons to forget his first resentments, and to think that penance, as he called it, which he had undergone in search of me an *amende honorable*, in reparation of the affront given to the kindness of my letter of invitation; and that we might at last make ourselves some satisfaction on both sides for the mortification past."

I confess I could not hear all this without being moved very much, and yet I continued a little stiff and formal, too, a good while. I told him that before I could give him any reply to the rest of his discourse, I ought to give him the satisfaction of telling him that his son was alive, and that indeed, since I saw him so concerned about it, and mention it with such affection, I was sorry that I had not found out some way or other to let him know it sooner; but that I thought, after his slighting the mother, as above, he had summed up his affection to the child, in the letter he had wrote to me about providing for it; and that he had, as other fathers often do, looked upon it as a birth which, being out of the way, was to be forgotten, as its beginning was to be repented of; that in providing sufficiently for it, he had done more than all such fathers used to do, and might be well satisfied with it.

He answered me, that he should have been very glad if I had been so good but to have given him the satisfaction of knowing the poor unfortunate creature was yet alive, and he would have taken some care of it upon himself, and particularly, by owning it for a legitimate child, which, where nobody had known to the contrary, would have taken off the infamy which would otherwise cleave to it; and so the child should not, itself, have known anything of its own disaster, but that he feared it was now too late.

He added, that I might see by all his conduct since that what unhappy mistake drew him into the thing at first; and that he would have been very far from doing the injury to me, or being instrumental to add *une miserable* (that was his word) to the world, if he had not been drawn into it by the hopes he had of making me his own; but that, if it was possible to rescue the

child from the consequences of its unhappy birth, he hoped I would give him leave to do it, and he would let me see that he had both means and affection still to do it; and that, notwithstanding all the misfortunes that had befallen him, nothing that belonged to him, especially by a mother he had such a concern for as he had for me, should ever want what he was in a condition to do for it.

I could not hear this without being sensibly touched with it; I was ashamed that he should show that he had more real affection for the child, though he had never seen it in his life, than I that bore it, for indeed I did not love the child, nor love to see it; and though I had provided for it, yet I did it by Amy's hand, and had not seen it above twice in four years, being privately resolved that when it grew up it should not be able to call me mother.

However I told him the child was taken care of, and that he need not be anxious about it, unless he suspected that I had less affection for it than he that had never seen it in his life; that he knew what I had promised him to do for it, namely, to give it the 1,000 pistoles which I had offered him, and which he had declined; that I assured him I had made my will, and that I had left it 5,000*l.* and the interest of it till he should come of age, if I died before that time; that I would still be as good as that to it; but if he had a mind to take it from me into his government I would not be against it; and to satisfy him that I would perform what I said, I would cause the child to be delivered to him, and the 5,000*l.* also for its support, depending upon it that he should show himself a father to it by what I saw of his affection to it now.

I had observed that he had hinted two or three times in his discourse his having had misfortunes in the world, and I was a little surprised at the expression, especially at the repeating it so often, but I took no notice of that part yet.

He thanked me for my kindness to the child with a tenderness which showed the sincerity of all he had said before, and which increased the regret with which, as I said, I looked back on the little affection I had shown to the poor child. He told me he did not desire to take him from me, but so as to introduce him into the world as his own, which he could still do, having lived absent from his other children (for he had two sons and a daughter which were brought up at Nimeguen in Holland with a sister of his) so long that he might very well send another son of ten years old to be bred up with them, and suppose his mother to be dead or alive as he found occasion; and that as I had resolved to do so handsomely for the child, he would add to it something considerable, though, having had some great disappointments (repeating the words), he could not do for it as he would otherwise have done.

I then thought myself obliged to take notice of his having so often mentioned his having met with disappointments. I told him I was very sorry to hear he had met with anything afflicting to him in the world; that I would not have anything belonging to me add to his loss, or weaken him in what he might do for his other children; and that I would not agree to his having the

child away, though the proposal was infinitely to the child's advantage, unless he would promise me that the whole expense should be mine, and that if he did not think 5,000*l.* enough for the child I would give it more.

We had so much discourse upon this and the old affairs, that it took up all our time at his first visit. I was a little importunate with him to tell me how he came to find me out, but he put it off for that time, and only obtaining my leave to visit me again, he went away; and indeed my heart was so full of what he had said already that I was glad when he went away. Sometimes I was full of tenderness and affection for him, and especially when he expressed himself so earnestly and passionately about the child; other times I was crowded with doubts about his circumstances; sometimes I was terrified with apprehensions lest if I should come into a close correspondence with him he should in any way come to hear what kind of life I had led at Pallmall and in other places, and it might make me miserable afterwards; from which last thought I concluded that I had better repulse him again than receive him. All these thoughts and many more crowded in so fast, I say, upon me, that I wanted to give vent to them and get rid of him, and was very glad when he was gone away.

We had several meetings after this, in which still we had so many preliminaries to go through that we scarce ever bordered upon the main subject; once, indeed, he said something of it, and I put it off with a kind of jest. "Alas!" says I, "those things are out of the question now; 'tis almost two ages since those things were talked between us," says I. "You see I am grown an old woman since that." Another time he gave a little push at it again, and I laughed again. "Why, what dost thou talk of?" said I, in a formal way, "Dost thou not see I am turned Quaker? I cannot speak of those things now." "Why," says he, "the Quakers marry as well as other people, and love one another as well; besides," says he, "the Quaker's dress does not ill become you," and so jested with me again, and so it went on for a third time; however, I began to be kind to him in process of time, as they call it, and we grew very intimate; and had not the following accident unluckily intervened I had certainly married him, or consented to marry him, the very next time he had asked me.

I had long waited for a letter from Amy, who, it seems, was just at that time gone to Rouen the second time to make her inquiries about him; and I received a letter from her at this unhappy juncture, which gave me the following account of my business.

I. That for my gentleman whom I had now, as I may say, in my arms, she said he had been gone from Paris, as I have hinted, having met with some great losses and misfortunes; that he had been in Holland on that very account, whither he had also carried his children; that he was after that settled for some time at Rouen; that she had been at Rouen, and found there (by a mere accident), from a Dutch skipper, that he was at London, and had been there above three years; that he was to be found upon the Exchange, on the French Walk, and that he lodged at St Lawrence Pountney's lane, and the like; so Amy

said she supposed I might soon find him out, but that she doubted he was poor, and not worth looking after. This she did because of the next clause, which the jade had most mind to on many accounts.

II. That as to the Prince ———; that, as above, he was gone into Germany, where his estate lay; that he had quitted the French service, and lived retired; that she had seen his gentleman, who remained at Paris to solicit his arrears, &c.; that he had given her an account how his lord had employed him to inquire for me, and find me out, as above, and told her what pains he had taken to find me; that he had understood that I was gone to England; that he once had orders to go to England to find me; that his lord had resolved, if he could have found me, to have called me a countess, and so have married me and carried me into Germany with him; and that his commission was still to assure me that the prince would marry me if I would come to him, and that he would send him an account that he had found me, and did not doubt but he would have orders to come over to England to attend me in a figure suitable to my quality.

Amy, an ambitious jade, who knew my weakest part, namely, that I loved great things, and that I loved to be flattered and courted, said abundance of kind things upon this occasion, which she knew were suitable to me, and would prompt my vanity; and talked big of the prince's gentleman having orders to come over to me, with a procuration to marry me by proxy (as princes usually do in like cases), and to furnish me with an equipage, and I know not how many fine things; but told me withal that she had not yet let him know that she belonged to me still, or that she knew where to find me, or to write me; because she was willing to see the bottom of it, and whether it was a reality or a gasconade. She had indeed told him that if he had any such commission she would endeavour to find me out, but no more.

III. For the Jew, she assured me, that she had not been able to come at a certainty what was become of him, or in what part of the world he was; but that thus much she had learned from good hands, that he had committed a crime, in being concerned in a design to rob a rich banker at Paris; and that he was fled, and had not being heard of there for above six years.

IV. For that of my husband the brewer, she learned that being commanded into the field upon an occasion of some action in Flanders, he was wounded at the battle of Mons, and died of his wounds in the hospital of the Invalids; so there was an end of my four inquiries, which I sent her over to make.

This account of the Prince, and the return of his affection to me, with all the flattering great things which seemed to come along with it; and especially as they came gilded, and set out by my maid Amy; I say this account of the Prince came to me in a very unlucky hour, and in the very crisis of my affairs.

The merchant and I had entered into close conferences upon the grand affair. I had left off talking my platonic, and of my independency, and being a free woman as before; and he having

cleared up my doubts too, as to his circumstances, and the misfortunes he had spoken of, I had gone so far, that we had begun to consider where we should live, and in what figure, what equipage, what house, and the like.

I had made some harangues upon the delightful retirement of a country life, and how we might enjoy ourselves effectually without the incumbrances of business and the world; but all this was grimace, and purely because I was afraid to make any public appearance in the world, for fear some impertinent person of quality should chop upon me again, and cry out, "Roxana, Roxana, by —," with an oath, as had been done before.

My merchant, bred to business, and used to converse among men of business, could hardly tell how to live without it; at least it appeared he would be like a fish out of water, uneasy and dying; but however he joined with me, only argued that we might live as near London as we could, that he might sometimes come to 'Change, and hear how the world should go abroad, and how it fared with his friends and his children.

I answered, that if he chose still to embarrass himself with business, I supposed it would be more to his satisfaction to be in his own country, where his family was so well known, and where his children also were.

He smiled at the thoughts of that, and let me know, that he should be very willing to embrace such an offer, but that he could not expect it of me, to whom England was, to be sure, so naturalized now, as that it would be carrying me out of my native country, which he would not desire by any means, however agreeable it might be to him.

I told him he was mistaken in me; that as I had told him so much of a married state being a captivity, and the family being a house of bondage, that when I married I expected to be but an upper-servant; so if I did, notwithstanding, submit to it, I hoped he should see I knew how to act the servant's part, and do everything to oblige my master; that if I did not resolve to go with him wherever he desired to go, he might depend I would never leave him; "and did I not," said I, "offer myself to go with you to the East Indies?"

All this while this was indeed but a copy of my countenance; for as my circumstances would not admit my stay at London, at least not so as to appear publicly, I resolved, if I took him, to live remote in the country, or go out of England with him.

But in an evil hour, just now came Amy's letter, in the very middle of all these discourses; and the fine things she had said about the prince, began to make strange work with me; the notion of being a princess, and going over to live where all that happened here would have been quite sunk out of knowledge as well as out of memory (conscience excepted) was mighty taking; the thoughts of being surrounded with domestics, honoured with titles, be called her Highness, and live in all the splendour of a court, and what was still more, in the arms of a man of such rank, and who I knew loved and valued me; all this, in a word, dazzled my eyes, turned my head, and I was as truly crazed and distracted for about a

fortnight as most of the people in Bedlam, though perhaps not quite so far gone.

When my gentleman came to me the next time, I had no notion of him, I wished I had never received him at all; in short, I resolved to have no more to say to him, so I feigned myself indisposed; and though I did come down to him, and speak to him a little, yet I let him see that I was so ill that I was (as we say) no company, and that it would be kind in him to give me leave to quit him for that time.

The next morning he sent a footman to inquire how I did; and I let him know I had a violent cold, and was very ill with it; two days after he came again, and I let him see me again, but feigned myself so hoarse that I could not speak to be heard, and that it was painful to me but to whisper; and, in a word, I held him in this suspense near three weeks.

During this time I had a strange elevation upon my mind; and the prince, or the spirit of him, had such a possession of me, that I spent most of this time in the realizing all the great things of a life with the prince to my mind, pleasing my fancy with the grandeur I was supposing myself to enjoy, and withall, wickedly studying in what manner to put off this gentleman, and be rid of him for ever.

I cannot but say that sometimes the baseness of the action struck hard with me; the honour and sincerity with which he had always treated me, and, above all, the fidelity he had shewed me at Paris, and that I owed my life to him; I say, all these stared in my face, and I frequently argued with myself upon the obligation I was under to him, and how base would it be, now too, after many obligations and engagements, to cast him off.

But the title of highness, and of a princess, and all those fine things, as they came in, weighed down all this; and the sense of gratitude vanished as if it had been a shadow.

At other times I considered the wealth I was mistress of; that I was able to live like a princess, though not a princess; and that my merchant (for he had told me all the affair of his misfortunes) was far from being poor, or even mean; that together, we were able to make up an estate of between three and four thousand pounds a year, which was in itself equal to some princes abroad. But though this was true, yet the name of princess, and the flutter of it, in a word, the pride weighed them down; and all these arguings generally ended to the disadvantage of my merchant; so that, in short, I resolved to drop him, and give him final answer at his next coming; namely, that something had happened in my affairs, which had caused me to alter my measures unexpected; and, in a word, to desire him to trouble himself no further.

I think verily this rude treatment of him, was for some time the effect of a violent fermentation in my blood; for the very motion which the steady contemplation of my fancied greatness had put my spirits into, had thrown me into a kind of fever, and I scarce knew what I did.

I have wondered since that it did not make me mad; nor do I now think it strange to hear of those who have been quite lunatic with their

pride, that fancied themselves queens and empresses, and have made their attendants serve them upon the knee, given visitors their hand to kiss, and the like; for certainly if pride will not turn the brain nothing can.

However, the next time my gentleman came I had not courage enough, or not ill-nature enough, to treat him in the rude manner I had resolved to do, and it was very well I did not; for soon after I had another letter from Amy, in which was the mortifying news, and indeed surprising to me, that my prince (as I with a secret pleasure had called him) was very much hurt by a bruise he had received in hunting and engaging with a wild boar; a cruel and desperate sport, which the noblemen in Germany, it seems, much delight in.

This alarmed me indeed, and the more, because Amy wrote me word that his gentleman was gone away express to him, not without apprehensions that he should find his master was dead before his coming home; but that he (the gentleman) had promised her that so soon as he arrived he would send back the same courier to her with an account of his master's health, and of the main affair; and that he had obliged Amy to stay at Paris fourteen days for his return; she having promised him before to make it her business to go to England and to find me out for his lord if he sent her such orders; and he was to send her a bill for fifty pistoles for her journey. So Amy told me she waited for the answer.

This was a blow to me several ways; for, first, I was in a state of uncertainty as to his person, whether he was alive or dead; and I was not unconcerned in that part, I assure you; for I had an inexpressible affection remaining for his person, besides the degree to which it was revived by the view of a firmer interest in him; but this was not all, for in losing him I for ever lost the prospect of all the gaiety and glory that had made such an impression upon my imagination.

In this state of uncertainty, I say, by Amy's letter, I was like still to remain another fortnight; and had I now continued the resolution of using my merchant in the rude manner I once intended, I had made perhaps a sorry piece of work of it indeed, and it was very well my heart failed me, as it did.

However, I treated him with a great many shuffles, and feigned stories to keep him off from any closer conferences than we had already had, that I might act afterwards as occasion might offer, one way or other; but that which mortified me most was, that Amy did not write, though the fourteen days were expired. At last, to my great surprise, when I was with the utmost impatience looking out at the window, expecting the postman that usually brought the foreign letters, I say, I was agreeably surprised to see a coach come to the yard-gate where we lived, and my woman, Amy, alight out of it and come towards the door, having the coachman bringing several bundles after her.

I flew like lightning down stairs to speak to her, but was soon damped with her news. "Is the prince alive or dead, Amy?" says I. She spoke coldly and slightly: "He is alive, Madam," said she, but it is not much matter; I had as liev

he had been dead." So we went up stairs again to my chamber, and there we began a serious discourse of the whole matter.

First, she told me a long story of his being hurt by a wild boar, and of the condition he was reduced to, so that every one expected he should die, the anguish of the wound having thrown him into a fever, with abundance of circumstances too long to relate here; how he recovered of that extreme danger, but continued very weak; how the gentleman had been *homme de parole*, and had sent back the courier as punctually as if it had been to the king; that he had given a long account of his lord, and of his illness and recovery; but the sum of the matter, as to me, was, that as to the lady, his lord was turned penitent, was under some vows for his recovery, and could not think any more on that affair; and especially, the lady being gone, and that it had not been offered to her, so there was no breach of honour, but that his lord was sensible of the good offices of Mrs Amy, and had sent her the fifty pistoles for her trouble, as if she had really gone the journey.

I was, I confess, hardly able to bear the first surprise of this disappointment. Amy saw it, and gapes out (as was her way), "Law, madam! never be concerned at it; you see he is gotten among the priests, and I suppose they have saucily imposed some penance upon him, and it may be, sent him of an errand barefoot to some Madonna or Notredame, or other; and he is off of his amours for the present. I'll warrant you he'll be as wicked again as ever he was when he is got thorough well, and gets but out of their hands again. I hate this out-o'-season repentance; what occasion had he, in his repentance, to be off of taking a good wife? I should have been glad to see you have been a princess, and all that; but if it can't be, never afflict yourself; you are rich enough to be a princess to yourself; you don't want him, that's the best of it."

Well, I cried for all that, and was heartily vexed, and that a great while; but as Amy was always at my elbow, and always jogging it out of my head with her mirth and her wit, it wore off again.

Then I told Amy all the story of my merchant, and how he had found me out when I was in such a concern to find him; how it was true that he lodged in St Lawrence Pountney's lane; and how I had had all the story of his misfortunes, which she had heard of, in which he had lost above 8,000*l.* sterling; and that he had told me frankly of it before she had sent me any account of it, or at least before I had taken any notice that I had heard of it.

Amy was very joyful at that part. "Well, madam, then," says Amy, "what need you value the story of the prince; and going I know not whither into Germany to lay your bones in another world, and learn the devil's language called High Dutch? You are better here by half," says Amy. "Law, madam," says she, "why, are you not as rich as Crassus?"

Well, it was a great while still before I could bring myself off of this fancied sovereignty; and I that was so willing once to be mistress to a king, was now ten thousand times more fond of being wife to a prince.

So fast a hold has pride and ambition upon our minds that when once it gets admission, nothing is so chimerical, but, under this possession, we can form ideas in our fancy, and realize them to our imagination. Nothing can be so ridiculous as the simple steps we take in such cases; a man or a woman becomes a mere *malade imaginaire*, and I believe may as easily die with grief, or run mad with joy (as the affair in his fancy appears right or wrong), as if all was real, and actually under the management of the person.

I had indeed two assistants to deliver me from this snare, and these were, first, Amy, who knew my disease, but was able to do nothing as to the remedy; the second, the merchant, who really brought the remedy, but knew nothing of the distemper.

I remember when all these disorders were upon my thoughts, in one of the visits my friend the merchant made me, he took notice that he perceived I was under some unusual disorder; he believed, he said, that my distemper, whatever it was, lay much in my head, and it being summer weather, and very hot, proposed to me to go a little way into the air.

I started at his expression: "What," says I, "do you think then that I am crazed? You should then propose a madhouse for my cure." "No, no," says he, "I do not mean anything like that; I hope the head may be distempered and not the brain." Well, I was too sensible that he was right, for I knew I had acted a strange wild kind of part with him; but he insisted upon it, and pressed me to go into the country. I took him short again, "What need you," says I, "send me out of your way? It is in your power to be less troubled with me, and with less inconvenience to us both."

He took that ill, and told me I used to have a better opinion of his sincerity; and desired to know what he had done to forfeit my charity. I mention this only to let you see how far I had gone in my measures of quitting him, that is to say, how near I was of showing him how base, ungrateful, and how vilely I could act; but I found I had carried the jest far enough, and that a little matter might have made him sick of me again, as he was before; so I began, by little and little, to change my way of talking to him, and to come to discourse to the purpose again, as we had done before.

A while after this, when we were very merry, and talking familiarly together, he called me with an air of particular satisfaction, his princess. I coloured at the word, for it indeed touched me to the quick; but he knew nothing of the reason of my being touched with it: "What d'ye mean by that?" said I. "Nay," says he, "I mean nothing but that you are a princess to me." "Well," says I, "as to that I am content, and yet I could tell you I might have been a princess if I would have quitted you, and believe I could be so still."—"It is not in my power to make you a princess," says he, "but I can easily make you a lady here in England, and a countess too if you will go out of it."

I heard both with a great deal of satisfaction, for my pride remained though it had been baulked, and I thought with myself that this proposal would make some amends for the loss of the title

that had so tickled my imagination another way, and I was impatient to understand what he meant; but I would not ask him by any means; so it passed off for that time.

When he was gone I told Amy what he had said, and Amy was as impatient to know the manner how it could be as I was; but the next time (perfectly unexpected by me) he told me that he had accidentally mentioned a thing to me last time he was with me, having not the least thought of the thing itself; but not knowing but such a thing might be of some weight to me, and that it might bring me respect among people where I might appear, he had thought since of it, and was resolved to ask me about it.

I made light of it, and told him that as he knew I had chosen a retired life, it was of no value to me to be called a lady or countess either; but that if he intended to drag me, as I might call it, into the world again, perhaps it might be agreeable to him; but besides that, I could not judge of the thing, because I did not understand how either of them was to be done.

He told me that money purchased titles of honour in almost all parts of the world; though money could not give principles of honour, they must come by birth and blood; that however titles sometimes assist to elevate the soul, and to infuse generous principles into the mind, and especially where there was a good foundation laid in the persons; that he hoped we should neither of us misbehave if we came to it; and that as we know how to wear a title without undue elevations, so it might fit as well upon us as on another; that as to England, he had nothing to do but to get an act of naturalization in his favour, and he knew where to purchase a patent for baronet, that is to say, to have the honour and title transferred to him; but if I intended to go abroad with him, he had a nephew, the son of his elder brother, who had the title of count, with the estate annexed, which was but small, and that he had frequently offered to make it over to him for a thousand pistoles, which was not a great deal of money, and considering it was in the family already, he would, upon my being willing, purchase it immediately.

I told him I liked the last; but then I would not let him buy it unless he would let me pay the thousand pistoles. "No, no," says he, "I refused a thousand pistoles that I had more right to have accepted than that, and you shall not be at so much expense now."—"Yes," says I, "you did refuse it, and perhaps repented it afterwards." "I never complained," says he. "But I did," says I, "and often repented it for you."—"I do not understand you," says he. "Why," says I, "I repented that I suffered you to refuse it." "Well, well," said he, "we may talk of that hereafter when you shall resolve which part of the world you will make your settled residence in." Here he talked very handsomely to me, and for a good while together; how it had been his lot to live all his days out of his native country, and to be often shifting and changing the situation of his affairs; and that I myself had not always had a fixed abode, but that now, as neither of us was very young, he fancied I would be for taking up our abode where, if possible, we might remove no more; that as to his part, he was of that opinion

entirely, only with this exception, that the choice of the place should be mine, for that all places in the world were alike to him, only with the single addition, namely, that I was with him.

I heard him with a great deal of pleasure, as well for his being willing to give me the choice, as for that I resolved to live abroad, for the reason I have mentioned already, namely, lest I should at any time be known in England, and all that story of Roxana, and the balls, should come out; as also I was not a little tickled with the satisfaction of being still a countess, though I could not be a princess.

I told Amy all this story, for she was still my privy-councillor; but when I asked her opinion, she made me laugh heartily. "Now, which of the two shall I take, Amy?" said I; "shall I be a lady, that is, a baronet's lady in England, or a countess in Holland?" The ready-witted jade, that knew the pride of my temper too, almost as well as I did myself, answered (without hesitation), "both, madam: which of them?" says she (repeating the words), "why not both of them? and then you will be really a princess; for sure, to be a lady in English, and a countess in Dutch, may make princess in High Dutch." Upon the whole, though Amy was in jest, she put the thought into my head, and I resolved, that, in short, I would be both of them, which I managed as you shall hear.

First, I seemed to resolve that I would live and settle in England, only with this condition, namely, that I would not live in London. I pretended that it would choke me up; that I wanted breath when I was in London, but anywhere else I would be satisfied; and then I asked him whether any seaport town in England would not suit him? because I knew, though he seemed to leave off, he would always love to be among business, and conversing with men of business; and I named several places, either nearest for business with France or with Holland; as Dovor, or Southampton, for the first; and Ipswich, or Yarmouth, or Hull, for the last; but I took care that we would resolve upon nothing; only by this it seemed to be certain that we should live in England.

It was time now to bring things to a conclusion, and so in about six weeks' time more we settled all preliminaries; and, among the rest, he let me know that he should have the bill for his naturalization passed time enough, so that he would be (as he called it) an Englishman before we married. That was soon perfected, the parliament being then sitting, and several other foreigners joining in the said bill to save the expense.

It was not above three or four days after, but that, without giving me the least notice that he had so much as been about the patent for baronet, he brought it to me in a fine embroidered bag, and saluting by the name of my Lady — (joining his own surname to it), presented it to me with his picture set with diamonds, and at the same time gave me a breast jewel worth a thousand pistoles, and the next morning we were married. Thus I put an end to all the intriguing part of my life—a life full of prosperous wickedness; the reflections upon which were so much the more afflicting, as the time had been spent in the grossest crimes,

which, the more I looked back upon, the more black and horrid they appeared, effectually drinking up all the comfort and satisfaction which I might otherwise have taken in that part of life which was still before me.

The first satisfaction, however, that I took in the new condition I was in, was in reflecting that at length the life of crime was over, and that I was like a passenger coming back from the Indies, who having, after many years' fatigue and hurry in business, gotten a good estate, with innumerable difficulties and hazards, is arrived safe at London with all his effects, and has the pleasure of saying he shall never venture upon the seas any more.

When we were married, we came back immediately to my lodgings (for the church was but just by), and we were so privately married, that none but Amy, and my friend the Quaker, was acquainted with it. As soon as we came into the house, he took me in his arms, and kissing me, "Now you are my own," says he, "O! that you had been so good to have done this eleven years ago."—"Then," said I, "you, perhaps, would have been tired of me long ago; it is much better now, for now all our happy days are to come; besides," said I, "I should not have been half so rich," but that I said to myself, for there was no letting him into that reason of it. "O!" says he "I should not have been tired of you; but having the satisfaction of your company, it had saved me that unlucky blow at Paris, which was a dead loss to me of above eight thousand pistoles, and all the fatigues of so many years' hurry and business;" and then he added, "but I'll make you pay for it all now I have you." I started a little at the words. "Ay," said I, "do you threaten already? Pray, what d'ye mean by that?" and began to look a little grave.

"I'll tell you," says he, "very plainly what I mean;" and still he held me fast in his arms. "I intend from this time never to trouble myself with any more business, so I shall never get one shilling for you more than I have already, all that you will lose one way; next, I intend not to trouble myself with any of the care or trouble of managing what either you have for me, or what I have to add to it; but you shall e'en take it all upon yourself, as the wives do in Holland, so you will pay for it that way too, for all the drudgery shall be yours; thirdly, I intend to condemn you to the constant bondage of my impertinent company, for I shall tie you like a pedlar's pack at my back, I shall scarce ever be from you; for, I am sure I can take delight in nothing else in this world."—"Very well," says I, "but I am pretty heavy, I hope you'll set me down sometimes when you are a weary."—"As for that," says he, "tire me if you can."

This was all jest and allegory; but it was all true, in the moral of the fable, as you shall hear in its place. We were very merry the rest of the day, but without any noise or clutter; for he brought not one of his acquaintance or friends, either English or foreigner. The honest Quaker provided us a very noble dinner indeed, considering how few we were to eat it; and every day that week she did the like, and would, at last, have it be all at her own charge, which I was utterly averse to; first, because I knew her cir-

cumstances not to be very great, though not very low; and next, because she had been so true a friend, and so cheerful a comforter to me, ay, and counsellor too in all this affair, that I had resolved to make her a present that should be some help to her when all was over.

But to return to the circumstances of our wedding; after being very merry, as I have told you, Amy and the Quaker put us to bed, and the honest Quaker little thinking we had been a bed together eleven years before; nay, that was a secret which, as it happened, Amy herself did not know. Amy grinned and made faces, as if she had been pleased; but it came out in so many words when he was not by; the sum of her mumbling and muttering was, that this should have been done ten or a dozen years before; that it would signify little now; that was to say, in short, that her mistress was pretty near fifty, and too old to have any children. I chid her, the Quaker laughed, complimented me upon my not being so old as Amy pretended, that I could not be above forty, and might have a house full of children yet; but Amy and I too knew better than she how it was, for in short, I was old enough to have done breeding, however I looked; but I made her hold her tongue.

In the morning my Quaker landlady came and visited us before we were up, and made us eat cakes, and drink chocolate in bed; and then left us again and bid us take a nap upon it, which I believe we did; in short, she treated us so handsomely, and with such an agreeable cheerfulness, as well as plenty, as made it appear to me that Quakers may, and that this Quaker did understand good manners, as well as any other people.

I resisted her offer, however, of treating us for the whole week; and I opposed it so long that I saw evidently that she took it ill, and would have thought herself slighted if we had not accepted it; so I said no more, but let her go on, only told her I would be even with her, and so I was. However, for that week she treated us as she said she would, and did it so very fine, and with such a profusion of all sorts of good things, that the greatest burden to her was, how to dispose of things that were left; for she never let anything, how dainty, or however large, be so much as seen twice among us.

I had some servants indeed which helped her off a little; that is to say, two maids, for Amy was now a woman of business, not a servant, and eat always with us; I had also a coachman and a boy; my Quaker had a man-servant too, but had but one maid; but she borrowed two more of some of her friends for the occasion, and had a man-cook for dressing the victuals.

She was only at a loss for plate, which she gave me a whisper of; and I made Amy fetch a large strong box, which I had lodged in a safe hand, in which was all the fine plate which I had provided on a worse occasion, as is mentioned before, and I put it into the Quaker's hand, obliging her not to use it as mine but as her own, for a reason I shall mention presently.

I was now my Lady ———, and I must own, I was exceedingly pleased with it; 'twas so big, and so great to hear myself called her ladyship, and your ladyhip, and the like, that I was like the Indian king at Virginia, who having a house

built for him by the English, and a lock put upon the door, would sit whole days together with the key in his hand, locking and unlocking, and double locking the door, with an unaccountable pleasure at the novelty; so I could have sat a whole day together to hear Amy talk to me, and call me your ladyship at every word; but after awhile the novelty wore off, and the pride of it abated, till at last truly I wanted the other title as much as I did that of ladyship before.

We lived this week in all the innocent mirth imaginable, and our good-humoured Quaker was so pleasant in her way, that it was particularly entertaining to us. We had no music at all, or dancing; only I now and then sung a French song to divert my spouse, who desired it, and the privacy of our mirth greatly added to the pleasure of it. I did not make many clothes for my wedding, having always a great many rich clothes by me, which, with a little altering for the fashion, were perfectly new. The next day he pressed me to dress, though we had no company; at last, jesting with him, I told him I believed I was able to dress me so, in one kind of dress that I had by me, that he would not know his wife when he saw her, especially if anybody else was by. "No!" he said, "that was impossible, and he longed to see that dress." I told him I would dress me in it, if he would promise me never to desire me to appear in it before company; he promised he would not, but wanted to know why too, as husbands, you know, are inquisitive creatures, and love to inquire after anything they think is kept from them; but I had an answer ready for him; "because," said I, "it is not a decent dress in this country, and would not look modest; neither, indeed, would it, for it was but one degree off from appearing in one's shift, but was the usual wear in the country where they were used." He was satisfied with my answer, and gave me his promise never to ask me to be seen in it before company. I then withdrew, taking only Amy and the Quaker with me; and Amy dressed me in my old Turkish habit which I danced in formerly, and &c. as before. The Quaker was charmed with the dress, and merrily said, "That if such a dress should come to be worn here, she should not know what to do, she should be tempted not to dress in the Quaker's way any more."

When all the dress was put on I loaded it with jewels, and in particular, I placed the large breast-jewel which he had given me of a thousand pistoles, upon the front of the Tyhaia, or head-dress, where it made a most glorious show indeed. I had my own diamond necklace on, and my hair was *tout brilliant*, all glittering with jewels.

His picture set with diamonds I had placed stitched to my vest, just, as might be supposed, upon my heart (which is the compliment in such cases amongst the Eastern people), and all being open at the breast, there was no room for anything of a jewel there. In this figure, Amy, holding the train of my robe, I came down to him. He was surprised, and perfectly astonished. He knew me, to be sure, because I had prepared, and because I told him of it before, because there was nobody there but the Quaker and Amy; but he by no means knew Amy, for she had dressed herself in the habit of a Turkish slave, being the

garb of my little Turk, which I had at Naples as I have said; she had her neck and arms bare, was bareheaded, and her hair braided in a long tassel hanging down her back; but the jade could neither hold her countenance or her chattering tongue, so as to be concealed long.

Well, he was so charmed with this dress that he would have me sit and dine in it; but it was so thin, and so open before, and the weather being also sharp, that I was afraid of taking cold; however, the fire being enlarged, and the doors kept shut, I sat to oblige him, and he professed he never saw so fine a dress in his life. I afterwards told him that my husband (so he called the jeweller that was killed) bought it for me at Leghorn, with a young Turkish slave which I parted with at Paris; and that it was by the help of that slave that I learned how to dress in it, and how everything was to be worn, and many of the Turkish customs also, with some of their language. This story agreeing with the fact, only changing the person, was very natural, and so it went off with him; but there was good reason why I should not receive any company in this dress, that is to say, not in England; I need not repeat it, you will hear more of it.

But when I came abroad I frequently put it on, and upon two or three occasions danced in it, but always at his request.

We continued at the Quaker's lodgings for above a year; for now making as though it was difficult to determine where to settle in England to his satisfaction, unless in London, which was not to mine, I pretended to make him an offer, that to oblige him, I began to incline to go and live abroad with him; that I knew nothing could be more agreeable to him, and that as to me every place was alike; that as I had lived abroad without a husband so many years, it could be no burden to me to live abroad again, especially with him. Then we fell to straining our courtesies upon one another; he told me he was perfectly easy at living in England, and had squared all his affairs accordingly; for that as he told me he intended to give over all business in the world, as well the care of managing it as the concern about it, seeing we were both in condition neither to want it or to have it be worth our while; so I might see it was his intention, by his getting himself naturalized, and getting the patent of baronet, &c. Well, for all that, I told him I accepted his compliment, but I could not but know that his native country, where his children were breeding up, must be most agreeable to him, and that if I was of such value to him, I would be there then to enhance the rate of his satisfaction; that wherever he was would be a home to me, and any place in the world would be England to me if he was with me; and thus, in short, I brought him to give me leave to oblige him with going to live abroad, when in truth I could not have been perfectly easy at living in England unless I had kept constantly within doors; lest sometime or other the dissolute life I had lived here should have come to be known, and all those wicked things have been known too, which I now began to be very much ashamed of.

When we closed up our wedding week, in which our Quaker had been so very handsome to

us, I told him how much I thought we were obliged to her for her generous carriage to us; how she had acted the kindest part through the whole, and how faithful a friend she had been to me upon all occasions; and then letting him know a little of her family unhappinesses, I proposed that I thought I not only ought to be grateful to her, but really to do something extraordinary for her, towards making her easy in her affairs. And I added, that I had no hangers-on that should trouble him, that there was nobody belonged to me but what was thoroughly provided for; and that if I did something for this honest woman that was considerable, it should be the last gift I would give to anybody in the world but Amy; and as for her, we were not a going to turn her adrift, but whenever anything offered for her, we would do as we saw cause; that, in the meantime, Amy was not poor, that she had saved together between seven and eight hundred pounds; by the way, I did not tell him how, and by what wicked ways she had got it, but that she had it; and that it was enough to let him know she would never be in want of us.

My spouse was exceedingly pleased with my discourse about the Quaker, made a kind of speech to me upon the subject of gratitude, told me it was one of the brightest parts of a gentlewoman, that it was so twisted with honesty, nay, and even with religion too, that he questioned whether either of them could be found where gratitude was not to be found; that in this act there was not only gratitude but charity; and that to make the charity still more Christian-like, the object too had real merit to attract it; he therefore agreed to the thing with all his heart, only would have had me let him pay it out of his effects.

I told him, as for that, I did not design, whatever I had said formerly, that we should have two pockets; and that though I had talked to him of being a free woman, and an independent, and the like, and he had offered and promised that I should keep all my own estate in my own hands; yet, that since I had taken him, I would even do as other honest wives did, where I thought fit to give myself, I should give what I had too; that if I reserved anything it should be only in case of mortality, and that I might give it to his children afterwards, as my own gift; and that, in short, if he thought fit to join stocks, we should see to-morrow morning what strength we could both make up in the world, and bringing it all together, consider before we resolved upon the place of removing, how we should dispose of what we had, as well as of ourselves. This discourse was too obliging, and he too much a man of sense not to receive it, as it was meant; he only answered, we would do in that as we should both agree; but the thing under our present care was to show not gratitude only, but charity and affection too, to our kind friend the Quaker; and the first word he spoke of was to settle a 1,000*l.* upon her for her life, that is to say, 60*l.* a year; but in such a manner as not to be in the power of any person to reach but herself. This was a great thing, and indeed showed the generous principles of my husband, and for that reason I mention it; but I thought that a little too much too, and particularly, because I

had another thing in view for her about the plate, so I told him I thought if he gave her a purse with a hundred guineas as a present first, and then made her a compliment of 40*l.* per annum for her life, secured any such way as she should desire, it would be very handsome.

He agreed to that; and the same day in the evening, when we were just going to bed, he took my Quaker by the hand, and with a kiss, told her, that we had been very kindly treated by her from the beginning of this affair, and his wife before, as she (meaning me) had informed him; and that he thought himself bound to let her see that she had obliged friends who knew how to be grateful; that for his part of the obligation, he desired she would accept of that, for an acknowledgment in part only (putting the gold into her hand) and that his wife would talk with her about what further he had to say to her; and upon that, not giving her time hardly to say thank ye, away he went up stairs into our bedchamber, leaving her confused and not knowing what to say.

When he was gone, she began to make very handsome and obliging representations of her good will to us both, but that it was without expectation of reward; that I had given her several valuable presents before, and so indeed I had; for, besides the piece of linen which I gave her at first, I had given her a suit of damask table-linen, of the linen I bought for my balls, viz. three table-cloths and three dozen of napkins, and at another time I gave her a little necklace of gold beads, and the like; but this is by the way; but she mentioned them, I say, and how she was obliged by me on other occasions; that she was not in condition to show her gratitude in any other way, not being able to make a suitable return; and that now we took from her all opportunity to balance my former friendship, and I left her more in debt than she was before. She spoke this in a very good kind of manner, in her own way, but which was very agreeable indeed, and had as much apparent sincerity, and I verily believe as real as was possible to be expressed; but I put a stop to it, and bid her say no more, but accept of what my spouse had given her, which was but in part, as she had heard him say. "And put it up," says I, "and come and sit down here, and give me leave to say something else to you on the same head, which my spouse and I have settled between ourselves in your behalf."—"What dost thee mean?" says she, and blushed, and looked surprised, but did not stir. She was going to speak again, but I interrupted her, and told her she should make no more apologies of any kind whatever, for I had better things than all this to talk to her of; so I went on, and told her, that as she had been so friendly and kind to us on every occasion, and that her house was the lucky place where we came together; and that she knew I was from her own mouth acquainted in part with her circumstances, we were resolved she should be the better for us so long as she lived. Then I told her what we had resolved to do for her, and that she had nothing more to do but to consult with me how it should be effectually secured for her, distinct from any of the effects which were her husband's; and that if her husband did so supply her, that she could live com-

fortably, and not want it for bread or other necessities, she should not make use of it, but lay up the income of it, and add it every year to the principal, so to increase the annual payments, which in time, and perhaps before she might come to want it might double itself; that we were very willing whatever she should so lay up should be to herself, and whoever she thought fit after her; but that the 40*l.* a-year must return to our family after her life, which we both wished might be long and happy.

Let no reader wonder at my extraordinary concern for this poor woman, or at my giving my bounty to her a place in this account. It is not, I assure you, to make a pageantry of my charity, or to value myself upon the greatness of my soul, that should give in so profuse a manner as this, which was above my figure, if my wealth had been twice as much as it was; but there was another spring from whence all flowed, and it is on that account I speak of it. Was it possible I could think of a poor desolate woman with four children and her husband gone from her, and perhaps good for little if he had stayed; I say, was I, that had tasted so deep of the sorrows of such a kind of widowhood, able to look on her, and think of her circumstances, and not to be touched in an uncommon manner? No, no, I never looked on her and her family, though she was not left so helpless and friendless as I had been, without remembering my condition, when Amy was sent out to pawn or sell my pair of stays to buy a breast of mutton, and a bunch of turnips; nor could I look on her poor children, though not poor and perishing, like mine, without tears; reflecting on the dreadful condition that mine were reduced to, when poor Amy sent them all unto their aunt's in Spitalfields, and run away from them. These were the original springs or fountain-head, from whence my affectionate thoughts were moved to assist this poor woman.

When a poor debtor, having lain long in the Compter, or Ludgate, or the King's Bench, for debt, and afterwards gets out, rises again in the world, and grows rich, such an one is a certain benefactor to the prisoners there, and perhaps to every prison he passes by as long as he lives, for he remembers the dark days of his own sorrow; and even those who never had the experience of such sorrows to stir up their minds to acts of charity, would have the same charitable good disposition, did they as sensibly remember what it is that distinguishes them from others by a more favourable and merciful providence.

This, I say, was however the spring of my concern for this honest, friendly, and grateful Quaker; and as I had so plentiful a fortune in the world, I resolved she should taste of the fruit of her kind usage to me, in a manner that she could not expect.

All the while I talked to her I saw the disorder of her mind; the sudden joy was too much for her, and she coloured, trembled, changed, and at last grew pale, and was indeed near fainting; when she hastily rung a little bell for her maid, who coming in immediately, she beckoned to her, for speak she could not, to fill her a glass of wine, but she had no breath to take in, and was almost choked with that which she took in her mouth. I saw she was ill, and assisted her what I could

and with spirits and things to smell to, just kept her from fainting, when she beckoned to her maid to withdraw, and immediately burst out in crying, and that relieved her. When she recovered herself a little, she flew to me, and throwing her arms about my neck, "O!" says she, "thou hast almost killed me;" and there she hung, laying her head in my neck for half a quarter of an hour, not able to speak, but sobbing like a child that had been whipped.

I was very sorry that I did not stop a little in the middle of my discourse, and make her drink a glass of wine, before it had put her spirits into such a violent motion; but it was too late, and it was ten to one odds but that it had killed her.

But she came to herself at last, and began to say some very good things in return for my kindness; I would not let her go on, but told her, I had more to say to her still than all this, but that I would let it alone till another time; my meaning was about the box of plate, good part of which I gave her, and some I gave to Amy, for I had so much plate, and some so large, that I thought if I let my husband see it, he might be apt to wonder what occasion I could ever had for so much, and for plate of such a kind too; as particularly, a great cistern for bottles, which cost a hundred and twenty pounds, and some large candlesticks, too big for any ordinary use. These I caused Amy to sell; in short, Amy sold above three hundred pounds worth of plate; what I gave the Quaker was worth above sixty pounds, and I gave Amy above thirty-three pounds worth, and yet I had a great deal left for my husband.

Nor did our kindness to the Quaker end with the forty pounds a-year, for we were always, while we stayed with her, which was above ten months, giving her one good thing or another; and, in a word, instead of lodging with her, she boarded with us, for I kept the house, and she and all her family eat and drank with us, and yet we paid her the rent of the house too; in short, I remembered my widowhood, and I made this widow's heart glad many a day the more upon that account.

And now my spouse and I began to think of going over to Holland, where I had proposed to him to live, and in order to settle all the preliminaries of our future manner of living, I began to draw in my effects, so as to have them all at command, upon whatever occasion we thought fit; after which, one morning I called my spouse up to me, "Hark ye, sir," said I to him, "I have two very weighty questions to ask of you; I do not know what answer you will give to the first, but I doubt you will be able to give a sorry answer to the other, and yet, I assure you, it is of the last importance to yourself, and towards the future part of your life, wherever it is to be."

He did not seem to be much alarmed, because he could see I was speaking in a kind of merry way. "Let's hear your questions, my dear," says he, "and I'll give the best answer I can to them."—"Why first," says I,

"I. You have married a wife here, made her a lady, and put her in expectation of being something else still, when she comes abroad; pray have you examined whether you are able to supply all her extravagant demands when she comes

abroad; and maintain an expensive English-woman in all her pride and vanity? In short, have you inquired whether you are able to keep her?

"II. You have married a wife here, and given her a great many fine things, and you maintain her like a princess, and sometimes call her so; pray what portion have you had with her? what fortune has she been to you? and where does her estate lay, that you keep her so fine? I am afraid you keep her in a figure a great deal above her estate, at least above all that you have seen of it yet? Are you sure you have not got a bite? and that you have not made a beggar a lady?"

"Well," says he, "have you any more questions to ask? let's have them altogether, perhaps they may be all answered in a few words, as well as these two."—"No," says I, "these are the two grand questions, at least for the present."—"Why, then," says he, "I answer you in a few words; that I am fully master of my own circumstances, and without farther inquiry, can let my wife you speak of know, that as I have made her a lady I can maintain her as a lady, wherever she goes with me; and this, whether I have one pistole of her portion, or whether she has any portion or no: and as I have not inquired whether she has any portion or not, so she shall not have the less respect showed her from me, or be obliged to live meaner, or be anyways strained on that account; on the contrary, if she goes abroad to live with me in my own country, I will make her more than a lady, and support the expense of it too, without meddling with anything she has; and this, I suppose," says he, "contains an answer to both your questions together."

He spoke this with a great deal more earnestness in his countenance, than I had when I proposed my questions; and said a great many kind things upon it, as the consequence of former discourses, so that I was obliged to be in earnest too. "My dear," says I, "I was but in jest in my questions; but they were proposed to introduce what I am going to say to you in earnest; namely, that if I am to go abroad, it is time I should let you know how things stand, and what I have to bring you with your wife; how it is to be disposed and secured, and the like; and therefore come," says I, "sit down and let me show you your bargain here; I hope you will find that you have not got a wife without a fortune."

He told me then, that since he found I was in earnest, he desired that I would adjourn till tomorrow, and then we would do as the poor people do after they marry, feel in their pockets, and see how much money they can bring together in the world.—"Well," says I, "with all my heart;" and so we ended our talk for that time.

As this was in the morning, my spouse went out after dinner to his goldsmith's, as he said, and about three hours after returns with a porter and two large boxes with him; and his servant brought another box, which I observed was almost as heavy as the two that the porter brought, and made the poor fellow sweat heartily; he dismissed the porter, and in a little while after went out again with his man, and returning at night brought another porter with more boxes and bundles, and all was carried up, and put into a chamber next to our bedchamber; and in the

morning he called for a pretty large round table, and began to unpack.

When the boxes were opened, I found they were chiefly full of books, and papers, and parchments, I, mean books of accounts, and writings, and such things, as were in themselves of no moment to me, because I understood them not; but I perceived he took them all out, and spread them about him upon the table and chairs, and began to be very busy with them; so I withdrew and left him; and he was indeed so busy among them that he never missed me till I had been gone a good while; but when he had gone through all his papers, and come to open a little box, he called for me again. "Now," says he, and called me his countess, "I am ready to answer your first question; if you will sit down till I have opened this box, we will see how it stands."

So we opened the box; there was in it indeed what I did not expect, for I thought he had sunk his estate rather than raised it; but he produced me in goldsmiths' bills, and stock in the English East India Company, about sixteen thousand pounds sterling; then he gave into my hands nine assignments upon the bank of Lyons in France, and two upon the rents of the town-house in Paris, amounting in the whole to five thousand crowns per annum, or annual rent, as it is called there; and, lastly, the sum of thirty thousand rixdollars in the bank of Amsterdam; besides some jewels and gold in the box to the value of about fifteen or sixteen hundred pounds, among which was a very good necklace of pearl of about two hundred pounds value; and that he pulled out and tied about my neck, telling me that should not be reckoned into the account.

I was equally pleased and surprised, and it was with an inexpressible joy that I saw him so rich. "You might well tell me," said I, "that you are able to make me a countess, and maintain me as such." In short, he was immensely rich; for besides all this, he showed me, which was the reason of his being so busy among the books, I say, he showed me several adventures he had abroad in the business of his merchandize; as particularly an eighth share in an East India ship then abroad; an account-courant with a merchant at Cadiz in Spain; about three thousand lent upon bottomry, upon ships gone to the Indies; and a large cargo of goods in a merchant's hands for sale at Lisbon in Portugal; so that in his books there was about twelve thousand pounds more; all which put together, made about twenty-seven thousand pounds sterling, and one thousand three hundred and twenty pounds a year.

I stood amazed at this account, as well I might, and said nothing to him for a good while; and the rather, because I saw him still busy looking over his books. After a while, as I was going to express my wonder; "hold, my dear," says he, "this is not all neither;" then he pulled me out some old seals, and small parchment rolls, which I did not understand; but he told me they were a right of reversion which he had to a paternal estate in his family, and a mortgage of one thousand four hundred rixdollars, which he had upon it, in the hands of the present possessor; so that was about three thousand pounds more.

"But now hold again," says he, "for I must

pay my debts out of all this, and they are very great, I assure; and the first," he said, "was a black article of eight thousand pistoles, which he had a law suit about at Paris, but he had it awarded against him, which was the loss he had told me of, and which made him leave Paris in disgust; that in other accounts he owed about five thousand three hundred pounds sterling; but after all this, upon the whole, he had still one thousand seven hundred pounds clear stock in money, and one thousand three hundred and twenty pounds a year in rent.

After some pause, it came to my turn to speak. "Well," says I, "it is very hard a gentleman with such a fortune as this should come over to England, and marry a wife with nothing; it shall never," says I, "be said; but what I have I'll bring into the public stock;" so I began to produce.

First, I pulled out the mortgage which good Sir Robert had procured for me, the annual rent of seven hundred pounds per annum; the principal money one thousand four hundred pounds.

Secondly, I pulled out another mortgage upon land, procured by the same faithful friend, which at three times had advanced twelve thousand pounds.

Thirdly, I pulled him out a parcel of little securities, procured by several hands, by fee-farm rents, and such petty mortgages as those times afforded, amounting to ten thousand eight hundred pounds principal money, and paying six hundred and thirty-six pounds a year, so that in the whole there was two thousand and fifty-six pounds a year ready money constantly coming in.

When I had shown him all these, I laid them upon the table, and bade him take them, that he might be able to give me an answer to the second question, viz. What fortune he had with his wife? and laughed a little at it.

He looked at them a while, and then handed them all back again to me; "I will not touch them," says he, "nor one of them, till they are all settled in trustees' hands for your own use, and the management wholly your own."

I cannot omit what happened to me while all this was acting, though it was cheerful work in the main, yet I trembled every joint of me, worse for aught I know than ever Belshazzar did at the handwriting on the wall, and the occasion was every way as the just. "Unhappy wretch," said I to myself, "shall my ill-got wealth, the product of prosperous lust, and of a vile and vicious life of whoredom and adultery, be intermingled with the honest well-gotten estate of this innocent gentleman, to be a moth and a caterpillar among it, and bring the judgment of Heaven upon him, and upon what he has, for my sake? Shall my wickedness blast his comforts? Shall I be fire in his flax? and be a means to provoke Heaven to curse his blessings? God forbid! I'll keep them asunder, if it be possible."

This is the true reason why I have been so particular in the account of my vast acquired stock; and how his estate, which was perhaps the product of many years' fortunate industry; and which was equal, if not superior, to mine, at best was at my request, kept apart from mine, as is mentioned above.

I have told you how he gave back all my

writings into my own hands again. "Well," says I, "seeing you will have it be kept apart, it shall be so, upon one condition, which I have to propose, and no other."—"And what is the condition?" says he.—"Why," says I, "all the pretence I can have for the making over my own estate to me is, that in case of your mortality, I may have it reserved for me, if I outlive you."—"Well," says he, "that is true."—"But then," said I, "the annual income is always received by the husband, during his life, as 'tis supposed, for the mutual subsistence of the family; now," says I, "here is 2,000*l.* a year, which I believe is as much as we shall spend, and I desire none of it may be saved; and all the income of your own estate, the interest of the 17,000*l.* and the 1,320*l.* a year may be constantly laid by for the increase of your estate; and so," added I, "by joining the interest every year to the capital, you will perhaps grow as rich as you would do if you were to trade with it all, if you were obliged to keep house out of it too."

He liked the proposal very well, and said it should be so; and this way I, in some measure satisfied myself that I should not bring my husband under the blast of a just Providence, for mingling my cursed ill-gotten wealth with his honest estate. This was occasioned by the reflections which, at some certain intervals of time, came into my thoughts of the justice of heaven, which I had reason to expect would sometime or other still fall upon me or my effects, for the dreadful life I had lived.

And let nobody conclude from the strange success I met with in all my wicked doings, and the vast estate which I had raised by it, that therefore I either was happy or easy. No, no, there was a dart struck into the liver; there was secret hell within, even all the while, when our joy was at the highest; but more especially now, after it was all over, and when, according to all appearance, I was one of the happiest women upon earth; all this while, I say, I had such a constant terror upon my mind, as gave me every now and then very terrible shocks, and which made me expect something very frightful upon every accident of life.

In a word, it never lightened or thundered, but I expected the next flash would penetrate my vitals, and melt the sword [soul] in this scabbard of flesh; it never blew a storm of wind, but I expected the fall of some stack of chimneys, or some part of the house would bury me in its ruins; and so of other things.

But I shall perhaps have occasion to speak of all these things again by and by; the case before us was in a manner settled; we had full four thousand pounds per annum for our future subsistence, besides a vast sum in jewels and plate; and besides this, I had about eight thousand pounds reserved in money, which I kept back from him, to provide for my two daughters, of whom I have yet much to say.

With this estate, settled as you have heard, and with the best husband in the world, I left England again; I had not only in human prudence, and by the nature of the thing, being now married and settled in so glorious a manner, I say, I had not only abandoned all the gay and wicked course which I gone through before, but

I began to look back upon it with that horror, and with that detestation, which is the certain companion, if not the forerunner of repentance.

Sometimes the wonders of my present circumstances would work upon me, and I should have some raptures upon my soul, upon the subject of my coming so smoothly out of the arms of hell, that I was not engulfed in ruin, as most who lead such lives are, first or last; but this was a flight too high for me; I was not come to that repentance that is raised from a sense of heaven's goodness; I repented of the crime, but it was of another and lower kind of repentance, and rather moved by my fears of vengeance, than from a sense of being spared from being punished and landed safe after a storm.

The first thing which happened after our coming to the Hague (where we lodged for a while) was, that my spouse saluted me one morning with the title of countess, as he said he intended to do, by having the inheritance to which the honour was annexed, made over to him. It is true, it was a reversion, but it soon fell, and in the mean time, as all the brothers of a count are called counts, so I had the title by courtesy, about three years before I had it in reality.

I was agreeably surprised at this coming so soon, and would have had my spouse have taken the money which it cost him, out of my stock, but he laughed at me, and went on.

I was now in the height of my glory and prosperity, and I was called the Countess de ———; for I had obtained that unlooked for, which I secretly aimed at, and was really the main reason of my coming abroad. I took now more servants, lived in a kind of magnificence that I had not been acquainted with, was called your honour at every word, and had a coronet behind my coach; though at the same time I knew little or nothing of my pedigree.

The first thing that my spouse took upon him to manage, was to declare ourselves married eleven years before our arriving in Holland; and consequently to acknowledge our little son, who was yet in England, to be legitimate; order him to be brought over, and added to his family, and acknowledge him to be our own.

This was done by giving notice to his people at Nimeguen, where his children (which were two sons and a daughter) were brought up; that he was come over from England, and that he was arrived at the Hague with his wife, and should reside there some time; and that he would have his two sons brought down to see him, which accordingly was done, and where I entertained them with all the kindness and tenderness that they could expect from their mother-in-law; and who pretended to be so ever since they were two or three years old.

This, supposing us to have been so long married, was not difficult at all, in a country where we had been seen together about that time, viz., eleven years and a half before; and where we had never been seen afterwards till we now returned together; this being seen together was also openly owned and acknowledged, of course, by our friend the merchant at Rotterdam, and also by the people in the house where we both lodged in the same city, and where our first intimacies began, and who, as it happened, were all

alive; and therefore, to make it the more public, we made a tour to Rotterdam again, lodged in the same house, and were visited there by our friend the merchant, and afterwards invited frequently to his house, where he treated us very handsomely.

This conduct of my spouse, and which he managed very cleverly, was indeed a testimony of a wonderful degree of honesty and affection to our little son; for it was done purely for the sake of the child.

I call it an honest affection, because it was from a principle of honesty that he so earnestly conhimself to prevent the scandal which would otherwise have fallen upon the child, who was itself innocent; and as it was from this principle of justice that he so earnestly solicited me, and conjured me by the natural affections of a mother, to marry him when it was yet young within me and unborn, that the child might not suffer for the sin of its father and mother; so, though at the same time he really loved me very well, yet I had reason to believe that it was from this principle of justice to the child that he came to England again to seek me with design to marry me, and, as he called it, save the innocent lamb from an infamy worse than death.

It is with a just reproach to myself that I must repeat it again, that I had not the same concern for it, though it was the child of my own body; nor had I ever the hearty affectionate love to the child that he had. What the reason of it was I cannot tell; and, indeed, I had shown a general neglect of the child through all the gay years of my London revels, except that I sent Amy to look upon it now and then, and to pay for its nursing; as for me, I scarce saw it four times in the first four years of its life, and often wished it would go out of the world; whereas a son which I had by the jeweller, I took a different care of, and showed a different concern for, though I did not let him know me; for I provided very well for him, had him put out very well to school; and when he came to years fit for it, let him go over with a person of honesty and good business, to the Indies; and after he had lived there for some time, and began to act for himself, sent him over the value of 2,000*l.* at several times, with which he traded, and grew rich; and, as it is to be hoped, may at last come over again with forty or fifty thousand pounds in his pocket, as many do who have not such encouragement at their beginning.

I also sent him over a wife, a beautiful young lady, well bred, an exceedingly good-natured pleasant creature; but the nice young fellow did not like her, and had the impudence to write to me, that is, to the person I employed to correspond with him, to send him another, and promised that he would marry her I had sent him to a friend of his, who liked her better than he did; but I took it so ill that I would not send him another, and withal, stopped another article of 1,000*l.* which I had appointed to send him. He considered of it afterwards, and offered to take her; but then truly she took so ill the first affront he put upon her that she would not have him, and I sent him word I thought she was very much in the right. However, after courting her two years, and some friends interposing, she took

him, and made him an excellent wife, as I knew she would; but I never sent him the 1,000*l.* cargo, so that he lost that money for misusing me, and took the lady at last without it.

My new spouse and I lived a very regular contemplative life, and in itself certainly a life filled with all human felicity. But if I looked upon my present situation with satisfaction, as I certainly did, so in proportion I on all occasions looked back on former things with detestation and with the utmost affliction; and now, indeed, and not till now, those reflections began to prey upon my comforts, and lessen the sweets of my other enjoyments. They might be said to have gnawed a hole in my heart before, but now they made a hole quite through it; now they eat into all my pleasant things, made bitter every sweet, and mixed my sighs with every smile.

Not all the affluence of a plentiful fortune; not a hundred thousand pounds estate (for between us we had little less); no honour and titles, attendants and equipages; in a word, not all the things we call pleasure could give me any relish, or sweeten the taste of things to me; at least, not so much but I grew sad, heavy, pensive, and melancholy; slept little, and eat little; dreamed continually of the most frightful and terrible things imaginable. Nothing but apparitions of devils and monsters, falling into gulfs and off from steep and high precipices, and the like; so that in the morning when I should rise, and be refreshed with the blessing of rest, I was harrassed with frights and terrible things formed merely in the imagination, and was either tired and wanted sleep, or overrun with vapours, and not fit for conversing with my family, or any one else.

My husband, the tenderest creature in the world, and particularly so to me, was in great concern for me, and did everything that lay in his power to comfort and restore me; strove to reason me out of it; then tried all the ways possible to divert me; but it was all to no purpose, or to but very little.

My only relief was sometimes to unbosom myself to poor Amy when she and I were alone; and she did all she could to comfort me, but all was to little effect there, for, though Amy was the better penitent before, when we had been in the storm, Amy was just what she used to be now,—a wild, gay, loose wretch, and not much the graver for her age, for Amy was between forty and fifty by this time too.

But to go on with my own story. As I had no comforter, so I had no counsellor; it was well, as I often thought, that I was not a Roman Catholic, for what a piece of work should I have made to have gone to a priest with such a history as I had to tell him, and what penance would any father confessor have obliged me to perform, especially if he had been honest and true to his office!

However, as I had none of the recourse, so I had none of the absolution, by which the criminal confessing goes away comforted; but I went about with a heart loaded with crime, and altogether in the dark as to what I was to do; and in this condition I languished near two years. I may well call it languishing, for if Providence had

not relieved me I should have died in little time. But of that hereafter.

I must now go back to another scene, and join it to this end of my story, which will complete all my concern with England, at least, all that I shall bring into this account. I have hinted at large what I had done for my two sons, one at Messina and the other in the Indies.

But I have not gone through the story of my two daughters; I was so in danger of being known by one of them, that I durst not see her, so as to let her know who I was; and for the other, I could not well know how to see her, and own her, and let her see me, because she must then know that I would not let her sister know me, which would look strange; so that upon the whole, I resolved to see neither of them at all, but Amy managed all that for me; and when she had made gentlewomen of them both, by giving them a good, though late education, she had like to have blown up the whole case, and herself and me too, by an unhappy discovery of herself to the last of them, that is, to her who was our cookmaid, and who, as I said before, Amy had been obliged to turn away, for fear of the very discovery which now happened. I have observed already in what manner Amy managed her by a third person; and how the girl, when she was set up for a lady, as above, came and visited Amy at my lodgings; after which, Amy going, as was her custom, to see the girl's brother (my son) at the honest man's house in Spitalfields; both the girls were there merely by accident, at the same time, and the other girl unawares discovered the secret, that this was the lady that had done all this for them.

Amy was greatly surprised at it, but as she saw there was no remedy, she made a jest of it; and so after that, conversed openly, being still satisfied that neither of them could make much of it, as long as they knew nothing of me. So she took them together one time, and told them the history, as she called it, of their mother; beginning at the miserable carrying them to their aunt's; she owned she was not their mother herself, but described her to them. However, when she said she was not their mother, one of them expressed herself very much surprised, for the girl had taken up a strong fancy that Amy was really her mother; and that she had for some particular reasons, concealed it from her, and therefore when she told her frankly that she was not her mother, the girl fell a crying, and Amy had much ado to keep life in her. This was the girl who was at first my cookmaid in Pall Mall. When Amy had brought her to again a little, and she had recovered her first disorder, Amy asked what ailed her? the poor girl hung about her, and kissed her, and was in such a passion still, though she was a great wench of nineteen or twenty years old, that she could not be brought to speak a great while; at last, having recovered her speech, she said still, "But O do not say you a'n't my mother! I'm sure you are my mother;" and then the girl cried again like to kill herself. Amy could not tell what to do with her a good while; she was loth to say again she was not her mother, because she would not throw her into a fit of crying again; but she went round about a little with her. "Why,

child," says she, "why would you have me be your mother? If it be because I am so kind to you, be easy, my dear," says Amy, "I'll be as kind to you still, as if I was your mother."

"Ay but," says the girl, "I am sure you are my mother too; and what have I done that you won't own me, and you will not be called my mother? though I am poor, you have made me a gentlewoman," says she, "and I won't do anything to disgrace you; besides," adds she, "I can keep a secret too, especially for my own mother, sure;" then she call Amy her dear mother, and hung about her neck again, crying still vehemently.

This last part of the girl's words alarmed Amy, and, as she told me, frightened her terribly; nay, she was so confounded with it, that she was not able to govern herself, or conceal her disorder from the girl herself, as you shall hear. Amy was at a full stop, and confused to the last degree; and the girl, a sharp jade, turned it upon her. "My dear mother," says she, "do not be uneasy about it; I know it all; but do not be uneasy, I won't let my sister know a word of it, or my brother either, without you give me leave, but don't disown me now you have found me; don't hide yourself from me any longer; I can't bear that," says she, "it will break my heart."

"I think the girl's mad," says Amy; "why, child, I tell thee, if I was thy mother, I would not disown thee; don't you see I am as kind to you as if I was your mother?" Amy might as well have sung a song of a kettle-drum, as talk to her. "Yes," says the girl, "you are very good to me, indeed; and that was enough to make anybody believe she was her mother too; but, however, that was not the case, she had other reasons to believe, and to know that she was her mother, and it was a sad thing she would not let her call her mother, who was her own child."

Amy was so heart-full with the disturbance of it, that she did not enter further with her into the inquiry, as she would otherwise have done, I mean, as to what made the girl so positive, but comes away, and tells me the whole story.

I was thunderstruck with the story at first, and much more afterwards, as you shall hear; but, I say, I was thunderstruck at first, and amazed, and said to Amy, "There must something or other in it more than we know of; but, having examined further into it, I found the girl had no notion of anybody but of Amy, and glad I was that I was not concerned in the pretence, and that the girl had no notion of me in it. But even this easiness did not continue long, for the next time Amy went to see her, she was the same thing, and rather more violent with Amy than she was before. Amy endeavoured to pacify her by all the ways imaginable. first, she told her, she took it ill that she would not believe her; and told her, if she would not give over such a foolish whimsy, she would leave her to the wide world, as she found her.

This put the girl into fits, and she cried ready to kill herself, and hung about Amy again, like a child. "Why," says Amy, "why can you not be easy with me then, and compose yourself, and let me go on to do you good, and show you

kindness as I would do, and as I intend to do? Can you think that if I was your mother, I would not tell you so? What whimsy is this that possesses your mind?" says Amy. Well, the girl told her, in a few words, but those few such as frightened Amy out of her wits, and me too, that she knew well enough how it was. "I know," says she, "when you left ———, naming the village, where I lived when my father went away from us all, that you went over to France. I know that too, and who you went with," says the girl; "did no my Lady Roxana come back again with you? I know it all well enough, though I was but a child, I have heard it all."— And thus she run on with such discourse, as put Amy out of all temper again; and she raved at her like a bedlam, and told her, she would never come near her any more; she might go a begging again if she would; she'd have nothing to do with her. The girl, a passionate wench, told her, she knew the worst of it, she could go to service again, and if she would not own her own child, she must do as she pleased; then she fell into a passion of crying again, as if she would kill herself.

In short, this girl's conduct terrified Amy to the last degree, and me too, and was it not that we knew the girl was quite wrong in some things, she was yet so right in some other, that it gave me a great deal of perplexity; but that which put Amy the most to it, was, that the girl (my daughter) told her, that she (meaning her mother) had gone away with the jeweller, and into France too; she did not call him the jeweller, but with the landlord of the house; who, after her mother fell into distress, and that Amy had taken all the children from her, made much of her, and afterwards married her.

In short, it was plain the girl had but a broken account of things, but yet, that she had received some accounts that had a reality in the bottom of them; so that it seems out first measures, and the amour with the jeweller, were not so concealed as I thought they had been; and it seems came in a broken manner to my sister-in-law, whom Amy carried the children to, and she made some bustle, it seems, about it; but as good luck was, it was too late, and I was removed, and gone, none knew whither; or else she would have sent all the children home to me again, to be sure.

This we picked out of the girl's discourse, that is to say, Amy did at several times; but it all consisted of broken fragments of stories, such as the girl herself had heard so long ago, that she herself could make very little of it; only that in the main, that her mother had played the whore; had gone away with the gentleman that was landlord of the house; that he married her; that she went into France. And as she had learned in my family, where she was a servant, that Mrs Amy and her Lady Roxana had been in France together; so she put all these things together, and joining them with the great kindness that Amy now showed her, possessed the creature that Amy was really her mother; nor was it possible for Amy to conquer it for a long time.

But this, after I had searched into it, as far as by Amy's relation I could get an account of it,

did not disquiet me half so much, as that the young slut had got the name of Roxana by the end; and that she knew who the Lady Roxana was, and the like; though this, neither, did not hang together, for then she would not have fixed upon Amy for her mother. But some time after, when Amy had almost persuaded her out of it, and that the girl began to be so confounded in her discourses of it, that they made neither head nor tail; at last the passionate creature flew out in a kind of rage, and said to Amy, That if she was not her mother, Madam Roxana was her mother then, for one of them, she was sure, was her mother; and then all this that Amy had done for her, was by Madam Roxana's order; and "I am sure," says she, "it was my Lady Roxana's coach that brought the gentlewoman (whoever it was) to my uncle's in Spitalfields; for the coachman told me so." Amy fell a laughing at her aloud, as was her usual way, but as Amy told me, it was but on one side of her mouth: for she was so confounded at her discourse, that she was ready to sink into the ground; and so was I too, when she told it me.

However, Amy brazened her out of it all; told her, "Well, since you think you are so high-born as to be my Lady Roxana's daughter, you may go to her and claim your kindred, can't you? I suppose," says Amy, "you know where to find her?" She said, she did not question to find her, for she knew where she was gone to live privately; but though she might be removed again, "for I know how it is," says she, with a kind of a smile or a grin; "I know how it all is, well enough."

Amy was so provoked, that she told me, in short, she began to think it would be absolutely necessary to murder her. That expression filled me with horror, all my blood ran chill in my veins, and a fit of trembling seized me, that I could not speak a good while; at last, "What, is the devil in you, Amy?" said I. "Nay, nay," says she, "let it be the devil or not the devil, if I thought she knew one tittle of your history, I would dispatch her if she were my own daughter a thousand times."—"And I," says I in a rage, "as well as I love you, would be the first that should put the halter about your neck, and see you hanged with more satisfaction than ever I saw you in my life; nay," says I, "you would not live to be hanged, I believe I should cut your throat with my own hand; I am ready to do it," said I, "as 'tis, for your but naming the thing;" with that, I called her cursed devil, and bid her get out of the room.

I think it was the first time that ever I was angry with Amy in all my life; and when all was done, though she was a devilish jade in having such a thought, yet it was all of it the effect of her excess of affection and fidelity to me.

But this thing gave me a terrible shock, for it happened just after I was married, and served to hasten my going over to Holland; for I would not have been seen, so as to be known by the name of Roxana, no, not for ten thousand pounds; it would have been enough to have ruined me to all intents and purposes with my husband, and everybody else too; I might as well have been the German princess.

Well, I set Amy to work; and give Amy her due, she set all her wits to work, to find out which way this girl had her knowledge, but, more particularly, how much knowledge she had, that is to say, what she really knew, and what she did not know, for this was the main thing with me; how she should say she knew who Madam Roxana was, and what notions she had of that affair was very mysterious to me, for it was certain she could not have a right notion of me, because she would have it be that Amy was her mother.

I scolded heartily at Amy for letting the girl ever know her, that is to say, know her in this affair; for that she knew her could not be hid, because she, as I might say, served Amy, or rather under Amy, in my family, as is said before; but she (Amy) talked with her at first by another person, and not by herself; and that secret came out by an accident, as I have said above.

Amy was concerned at it as well as I, but could not help it; and though it gave us great uneasiness, yet, as there was no remedy, we were bound to make as little noise of it as we could, that it might go no further. I bid Amy punish the girl for it, and she did so, for she parted with her in a huff, and told her she should see she was not her mother, for that she could leave her just where she found her; and seeing she could not be content to be served with the kindness of a friend, but that she would needs make a mother of her, she would, for the future, be neither mother nor friend; and so bid her go to service again, and be a drudge, as she was before.

The poor girl cried most lamentably, but would not be beaten out of it still; but that which dumb-founded Amy more than all the rest, was, that when she had rattled the poor girl a long time, and could not beat her out of it, and had, as I have observed, threatened to leave her, the girl kept to what she had said before, and put this turn to it again, that she was sure, if Amy was not, my Lady Roxana was her mother, and that she would go find her out; adding, that she made no doubt but that she could do it, for she knew where to inquire the name of her new husband.

Amy came home with this piece of news in her mouth to me. I could easily perceive when she came in that she was mad in her mind, and in a rage at something or other, and was in great pain to get it out; for when she came first in my husband was in the room. However, Amy going up to undress her, I soon made an excuse to follow her, and coming into the room, "What the d—l is the matter, Amy?" says I; "I am sure you have some bad news."—"News," says Amy, aloud, "ay, so I have; I think the d—l is in that young wench, she will ruin us all and herself too, there is no quieting her." So she went on and told me all the particulars; but sure nothing was so astonished as I was when she told me that the girl knew I was married, that she knew my husband's name, and would endeavour to find me out. I thought I should have sunk down at the very words. In the middle of all my amazement Amy starts up and runs about the room like a distracted body, "I'll put an end to it, that I will, I cannot bear it, I must murder her, I'll kill the b——," and swears by her Maker, in the

most serious tone in the world, and then repeated it over three or four times, walking to and again in the room; "I will, in short, I will kill her if there was not another wench in the world."

"Prithee hold thy tongue, Amy," says I, "why, thou art mad."—"Ay, so I am," says she, "stark mad; but I'll be the death of her for all that, and then I shall be sober again."—"But you shan't," says I; "you shan't hurt a hair of her head; why, you ought to be hanged for what you have done already, for having resolved on it is doing it; as to the guilt of the fact, you are a murderer already, as much as if you had done it already."

"I know that," says Amy, "and it can be no worse; I'll put you out of your pain, and her too, she shall never challenge you for her mother in this world, whatever she may in the next." "Well, well," says I, "be quiet, and do not talk thus, I can't bear it." So she grew a little soberer after a while.

I must acknowledge the notion of being discovered carried with it so many frightful ideas, and hurried my thoughts so much, that I was scarce myself more than Amy, so dreadful a thing is a load of guilt upon the mind.

And yet when Amy began the second time to talk thus abominably of killing the poor child, of murdering her, and swore by her Maker that she would, so that I began to see that she was in earnest, I was further terrified a great deal, and it helped to bring me to myself again in other cases.

We laid our heads together then to see if it was possible to discover by what means she had learned to talk so, and how she (I mean my girl) came to know that her mother had married a husband; but it would not do, the girl would acknowledge nothing, and gave but a very imperfect account of things still, being disgusted to the last degree with Amy's leaving her so abruptly as she did.

Well, Amy went to the house where the boy was, but it was all alone; there they had only heard a confused story of the Lady somebody, they knew not who, which this same wench had told them, but they gave no heed to it at all. Amy told them how foolishly the girl had acted, and how she had carried on the whimsy so far, in spite of all they could say to her; that she had taken it so ill, she would see her no more, and so she might even go to service again if she would, for she (Amy) would have nothing to do with her unless she humbled herself and changed her note, and that quickly too.

The good old gentleman, who had been the benefactor to them all, was greatly concerned at it, and the good woman his wife was grieved beyond all expression, and begged her ladyship (meaning Amy) not to resent it; they promised too they would talk with her about it, and the old gentlewoman added, with some astonishment, "Sure she cannot be such a fool but she will be prevailed with to hold her tongue, when she has it from your own mouth that you are not her mother, and sees that it disoblige your ladyship to have her insist upon it." And so Amy came away with some expectation that it would be stopped here.

But the girl was such a fool for all that, and

persisted in it obstinately, notwithstanding all they could say to her; nay, her sister begged and intreated her not to play the fool, for that it would ruin her too, and that the lady (meaning Amy) would abandon them both.

Well, notwithstanding this, she insisted, I say, upon it, and which was worse, the longer it lasted the more she began to drop Amy's ladyship, and would have it that the Lady Roxana was her mother, and that she had made some inquiries about it, and did not doubt but she should find her out.

When it was come to this, and we found there was nothing to be done with the girl, but that she was so obstinately bent upon the search after me, that she ventured to forfeit all she had in view; I say, when I found it was come to this, I began to be more serious in my preparations of going beyond sea, and, particularly, it gave me some reason to fear that there was something in it; but the following accident put me beside all my measures, and struck me into the greatest confusion that ever I was in in my life.

I was so near going abroad that my spouse and I had taken measures for our going off; and because I would be sure not to go too public, but so as to take away all possibility of being seen, I had made some exception to my spouse against going in the ordinary passage-boats. My pretence to him was the promiscuous crowds in those vessels, want of convenience, and the like; so he took the hint and found me out an English merchant ship, which was bound for Rotterdam, and getting soon acquainted with the master, he hired his whole ship, that is to say, his great cabin, for I do not mean his ship for freight; so that we had all the conveniences possible for our passage, and all things being nearly ready, he brought home the captain one day to dinner with him, that I might see him, and be acquainted a little with him; so we came, after dinner, to talk of the ship and the conveniences on board, and the captain pressed me earnestly to come on board and see the ship, intimating that he would treat us as well as he could; and in discourse I happened to say, I hoped he had no other passengers; he said, no he had not; but, he said, his wife had courted him a good while to let her go over to Holland with him, for he always used that trade, but he never could think of venturing all he had in one bottom; but if I went with him he thought to take her and her kinswoman along with him this voyage, that they might both wait upon me; and so added, that if he would do him the honour to dine on board the next day, he would bring his wife on board, the better to make us welcome.

Who could have believed the devil had any snare at the bottom of all this? or that I was in any danger on such an occasion, so remote and out of the way as this was? But the event was the oddest that could be thought of. As it happened, Amy was not at home when we accepted this invitation, and so she was left out of the company; but instead of Amy, we took our honest, good-humoured, never-to-be-omitted friend the Quaker, one of the best creatures that ever lived, sure; and who, besides a thousand good qualities unmixed with one bad one, was particularly excellent for being the best company in the world;

though I think I had carried Amy too, if she had not been engaged in this unhappy girl's affair; for on a sudden the girl was lost, and no news was to be heard of her, and Amy had hunted her to every place she could think of, that it was likely to find her in, but all the news she could hear of her was, that she was gone to an old comrade's house of hers, whom she called sister, and who was married to a master of a ship at Redriff, and even this the jade never told me. It seems when this girl was directed by Amy to get her some breeding, go to the boarding school, and the like, she was recommended to a boarding-school at Camberwell, and there she contracted an acquaintance with a young lady (so they are all called) her bedfellow, that they called sisters, and promised never to break off their acquaintance.

But judge you what an unaccountable surprise I must be in when I came on board the ship and was brought into the captain's cabin, or what they call it, the great cabin of the ship, to see his lady or wife, and another young person with her, who, when I came to see her near hand, was my old cook maid in the Pall-mall, and, as appeared by the sequel of the story, was neither more nor less than my own daughter; that I knew her was out of doubt; for though she had not had opportunity to see me very often, yet I had often seen her, as I must needs, being in my own family so long.

If ever I had need of courage, and a full presence of mind, it was now; it was the only valuable secret in the world to me, all depended upon this occasion; if the girl knew me, I was undone; and to discover any surprise or disorder had been to make her know me, or guess it, and discover herself.

I was once going to feign a swooning and fainting away, and so falling on the ground, or floor, put them all into a hurry and fright, and by that means get an opportunity to be continually holding something to my nose to smell to, and so hold my hand or my handkerchief, or both, before my mouth; then pretended I could not bear the smell of the ship, or the closeness of the cabin; but that would have been only to remove into a clearer air upon the quarter-deck, where we should with it have had a clearer light too; and if I had pretended the smell of the ship, it would have served only to have carried us all on shore to the captain's house, which was hard by; for the ship lay so close to the shore, that we only walked over a plank to go on board, and over another ship which lay within her; so this not appearing very feasible, and the thought not being two minutes old, there was no time, for the two ladies rose up, and we saluted, so that I was bound to come so near my girl as to kiss her, which I would not have done had it been possible to have avoided it, but there was no room to escape.

I cannot but take notice here, that notwithstanding there was a secret horror upon my mind, and I was ready to sink when I came close to her to salute her, yet it was a secret, inconceivable pleasure to me when I kissed her to know that I kissed my own child, my own flesh and blood, born of my body, and who I had never kissed since I took the fatal farewell of them all, with a

million of tears, and a heart almost dead with grief, when Amy and the good woman took them all away, and went with them to Spitalfields. No pen can describe, no words can express, I say, the strange impression which this thing made upon my spirits, I felt something shoot through my blood; my heart fluttered, my head flashed, and was dizzy, and all within me, as I thought, turned about, and much ado I had not to abandon myself to an excess of passion at the first sight of her, much more when my lips touched her face; I thought I must have taken her in my arms, and kissed her again a thousand times, whether I would or no.

But I roused up my judgment, and shook it off, and with infinite uneasiness in my mind I sat down. You will not wonder, if upon this surprise I was not conversible for some minutes, and that the disorder had almost discovered itself. I had a complication of severe things upon me, I could not conceal my disorder without the utmost difficulty, and yet upon my concealing it depended the whole of my prosperity, so I used all manner of violence with myself to prevent the mischief which was at the door.

Well, I saluted her, but as I went first forward to the captain's lady, who was at the farther end of the cabin, towards the light, I had the occasion offered to stand with my back to the light, when I turned about to her, who stood more on my left hand, so that she had not a fair sight of me, though I was so near her. I trembled, and knew neither what I did or said, I was in the utmost extremity, between so many particular circumstances as lay upon me, for I was to conceal my disorder from everybody at the utmost peril, and at the same time expected everybody would discern it; I was to expect she would discover that she knew me, and yet was, by all means possible, to prevent it. I was to conceal myself, if possible, and yet had not the least room to do anything towards it; in short, there was no retreat, no shifting anything off, no avoiding or preventing her having a full sight of me, nor was there any counterfeiting my voice, for then my husband would have perceived it; in short, there was not the least circumstance that offered me any assistance, or any favourable thing to help me in this exigence.

After I had been upon the rack for near half an hour, during which I appeared stiff and reserved, and a little too formal, my spouse and the captain fell into discourse about the ship and the sea, and business remote from us women; and by-and-by the captain carried him out upon the quarter-deck, and left us all by ourselves in the great cabin. Then we began to be a little freer one with another, and I began to be a little revived by a sudden fancy of my own, namely, I thought I perceived that the girl did not know me; and the chief reason of my having such a notion was, because I did not perceive the least disorder in her countenance, or the least change in her carriage, no confusion, no hesitation in her discourse; nor, which I had my eye particularly upon, did I observe that she fixed her eyes much upon me, that is to say, not singling me out to look steadily at me, as I thought would have been the case, but that she rather singled out my friend the Quaker, and chatted with her on several

things ; but I observed too, that it was all about indifferent matters.

This greatly encouraged me, and I began to be a little cheerful ; but I was knocked down again as with a thunderclap, when turning to the captain's wife, and discoursing of me, she said to her, " Sister, I cannot but think (my lady) to be very much like such a person," then she named the person ; and the captain's wife said she thought so too ; the girl replied again, she was sure she had seen me before, but she could not recollect where ; I answered (though her speech was not directed to me) that I fancied she had not seen me before in England," but asked if she had lived in Holland ; she said, " No, no, she had never been out of England ; and I added, that she could not then have known me in England, unless it was very lately, for I had lived at Rotterdam a great while. This carried me out of that part of the broil pretty well ; and to make it go off the better, when a little Dutch boy came into the cabin, who belonged to the captain, and who I easily perceived to be Dutch, I jested, and talked Dutch to him, and was merry about the boy, that is to say, as merry as the consternation I was still in would let me be.

However I began to be thoroughly convinced by this time that the girl did not know me, which was an infinite satisfaction to me ; or at least, that though she had some notion of me, yet that she did not think anything about my being who I was, and which, perhaps, she would have been as glad to have known as I would have been surprised if she had ; indeed, it was evident that, had she suspected anything of the truth, she would not have been able to have concealed it.

Thus this meeting went off, and, you may be sure, I was resolved, if once I got off of it, she should never see me again, to revive her fancy ; but I was mistaken there too, as you shall hear. After we had been on board, the captain's lady carried us home to her house, which was but just on shore, and treated us there again very handsomely, and made us promise that we would come again and see her before we went, to concert our affairs for the voyage, and the like ; for she assured us that both she and her sister went the voyage at that time for our company ; and I thought to myself, then you'll never go the voyage at all, for I saw from that moment, that it would be no way convenient for my ladyship to go with them ; for that frequent conversation might bring me to her mind, and she would certainly claim her kindred to me in a few days, as indeed would have been the case.

It is hardly possible for me to conceive what would have been our part in this affair had my woman Amy gone with me on board this ship, it had certainly blown up the whole affair, and I must for ever after have been this girl's vassal, that is to say, have let her into the secret, and trusted to her keeping it too, or have been exposed and undone. The very thought filled me with horror.

But I was not so unhappy neither, as it fell out, for Amy was not with us, and that was my deliverance indeed ; yet we had another chance to get over still. As I resolved to put off the voyage, so I resolved to put off the visit, you may

be sure ; going upon this principle, namely, that I was fixed in it, that the girl had seen her last of me, and should never see me more.

However, to bring myself well off, and withal to see (if I could) a little farther into the matter, I sent my friend the Quaker to the captain's lady, to make the visit promised, and to make my excuse that I could not possibly wait on her, for that I was very much out of order ; and in the end of the discourse I bade her insinuate to them that she was afraid I should not be able to get ready to go the voyage so soon as the captain would be obliged to go, and that perhaps we might put it off to his next voyage. I did not let the Quaker into any other reason of it than that I was indisposed ; and not knowing what other face to put upon that part, I made her believe that I thought I was a breeding.

It was easy to put that into her head, and she of course hinted to the captain's lady, that she found me so very ill that she was afraid I would miscarry, and then, to be sure, I could not think of going.

She went, and she managed that part very dexterously, as I knew she would, though she knew not a word of the grand reason of my indisposition ; but I was all sunk, and dead-hearted again, when she told me she could not understand the meaning of one thing in her visit, namely, that the young woman, as she called her, that was with the captain's lady, and who she called sister, was most impertinently inquisitive into things ; as who I was ? how long I had been in England ? where I had lived ? and the like ; and that, above all the rest, she inquired if I did not live once at the other end of the town.

" I thought her inquiries so out of the way," says the honest Quaker, " that I gave her not the least satisfaction ; but as I saw by thy answers on board the ship, when she talked of thee, that thou did'st not incline to let her be acquainted with thee, so I was resolved that she should not be much the wiser for me ; and when she asked me if thou ever lived'st here or there, I always said, No ; but that thou wast a Dutch lady, and was going home again to thy family, and lived abroad.

I thanked her very heartily for that part, and indeed she served me in it more than I let her know she did ; in a word, she thwarted the girl so cleverly, that if she had known the whole affair she could not have done it better.

But I must acknowledge all this put me upon the rack again, and I was quite discouraged, not at all doubting but that the jade had a right scent of things, and that she knew and remembered my face, but had artfully concealed her knowledge of me till she might perhaps do it more to my disadvantage. I told all this to Amy, for she was all the relief I had. The poor soul (Amy) was ready to hang herself, that, as she said, she had been the occasion of it all ; and that if I was ruined (which was the word I always used to her), she had ruined me ; and she tormented herself about it so much, that I was sometimes fain to comfort her and myself too.

What Amy vexed herself at was chiefly, that she should be surprised so by the girl, as she called her, I mean surprised into a discovery of herself to the girl ; which indeed was a false step

of Amy's, and so I had often told her, but it was to no purpose to talk of that now, the business was, how to get clear of the girl's suspicions, and of the girl too, for it looked more threatening every day than the other; and if I was uneasy at what Amy had told me of her rambling and rattling to her (Amy), I had a thousand times as much reason to be uneasy now when she had chopped upon me so unhappily as this; and not only had seen my face, but knew too where I lived, what name I went by, and the like.

And I am not come to the worst of it yet neither, for a few days after my friend the Quaker had made her a visit, and excused me on the account of my indisposition, as if they had done it in over and above kindness, because they had been told I was not well, they come both directly to my lodgings to visit me; the captain's wife and my daughter (who she called sister), and the captain, to show them the place; the captain only brought them to the door, put them in, and went away upon some business.

Had not the kind Quaker, in a lucky moment, come running in before them, they had not only clapped in upon me, in the parlour, as it had been a surprise, but which would have been a thousand times worse, had seen Amy with me; I think if that had happened, I had had no remedy but to take the girl by herself, and have made myself known to her, which would have been all distraction.

But the Quaker, a lucky creature to me, happened to see them come to the door, before they rung the bell, and instead of going to let them in, came running in, with some confusion in her countenance, and told me who was a coming; at which, Amy run first and I after her, and bid the Quaker come up as soon as she had let them in.

I was going to bid her deny me, but it came into my thoughts, that having been represented so much out of order it would have looked very odd; besides I knew the honest Quaker, though she would do anything else for me, would not lie for me, and it would have been hard to have desired it of her.

After she had let them in, and brought them into the parlour, she came up to Amy and I, who were hardly out of the fright, and yet were congratulating one another, that Amy was not surprised again.

They paid their visit in form, and I received them as formally, but took occasion two or three times to hint that I was so ill that I was afraid I should not be able to go to Holland, at least not so soon as the captain must go off; and made my compliment how sorry I was to be disappointed of the advantage of their company and assistance in the voyage; and sometimes I talked as if I thought I might stay till the captain returned, and would be ready to go again; then the Quaker put in, that then I might be too far gone, meaning with child, that I should not venture at all; and then (as if she should be pleased with it) added, she hoped I would stay and lie in at her house; so as this carried its own face with it, it was well enough.

But it was now high time to talk of this to my husband, which, however, was not the greatest difficulty before me; for after this and other chat had taken up some time, the young fool began

her tattle again; and two or three times she brought it in, that I was so like a lady that she had the honour to know at the other end of the town, that she could not put the lady out of her mind when I was by, and once or twice I fancied the girl was ready to cry; by and by she was at it again, and at last I plainly saw tears in her eyes; upon which I asked her if the lady was dead, because she seemed to be in some concern for her? She made me much easier by her answer than ever she did before: she said, she did not really know, but she believed she was dead.

This, I say, a little relieved my thoughts, but I was soon down again; for, after some time, the jade began to grow talkative; and as it was plain that she had told all that her head could retain of Roxana, and the days of joy which I had spent at that part of the town, another accident had like to have blown us all up again.

I was in a kind of *dishabille* when they came, having on a loose robe, like a morning gown, but much after the Italian way; and I had not altered it when I went up, only dressed my head a little; and as I had been represented as having been lately very ill, so the dress was becoming enough for a chamber.

This morning vest or robe, call it as you please, was more shaped to the body than we wear them since, showing the body in its true shape, and perhaps a little too plainly if it had been to be worn where any men were to come; but among ourselves it was well enough, especially for hot weather; the colour was green, figured, and the stuff a French damask, very rich.

This gown or vest put the girl's tongue a running again, and her sister, as she called her, prompted it; for as they both admired my vest, and were taken up much about the beauty of the dress, the charming damask, the noble trimming, and the like, my girl puts in a word to the sister (captain's wife), "This is just such a thing as I told you," says she, "the lady danced in."—"What," says the captain's wife, "the Lady Roxana that you told me of? O! that's a charming story," says she, "tell it my lady." I could not avoid saying so too, though from my soul I wished her in heaven for but naming it, nay, I will not say but if she had been carried the other way it had been much as one to me, if I could but have been rid of her, and her story too, for when she came to describe the Turkish dress, it was impossible but the Quaker, who was a sharp, penetrating creature, should receive the impression in a more dangerous manner than the girl, only that indeed she was not so dangerous a person; for if she had known it all, I could more freely have trusted her than I could the girl, by a great deal, nay, I should have been perfectly easy in her.

However, as I have said, her talk made me dreadfully uneasy, and the more when the captain's wife mentioned but the name of Roxana. What my face might do towards betraying me I know not, because I could not see myself, but my heart beat as if it would have jumped out of my mouth, and my passion was so great that, for want of vent, I thought I should have burst. In a word I was in a kind of silent rage, for the force I was under of restraining my passion was such as I never felt the like of. I had no vent, nobody to open myself to, or to make a compliment

to, for my relief; I durst not leave the room by any means, then she would have told all the story in my absence, and I should have been perpetually uneasy to know what she said; so that, in a word, I was obliged to sit and hear her tell all the story of Roxana, that is to say, of myself, and not know at the same time whether she was in earnest or in jest, whether she knew me or no; or, in short, whether I was to be exposed, or not exposed.

She began only in general with telling where she lived, what a place she had of it, how gallant a company her lady had always had in the house; how they used to sit up all night in the house, gaming and dancing; what a fine lady her mistress was, and what a vast deal of money the upper servants got; as for her, she said, her whole business was in the next house, so that she got but little, except one night, that there were twenty guineas given to be divided among the servants, when, she said, she got two guineas and a half for her share.

She went on, and told them how many servants there was, and how they were ordered; but, she said there was one Mrs Amy, who was over them all; and that she being the lady's favourite, got a great deal. She did not know, she said, whether Amy was her christian name or her surname; but she supposed it was her surname; that they were told she got threescore pieces of gold at one time, being the same night that the rest of the servants had twenty guineas divided among them.

I put in at that word, and said it was a vast deal to give away; "Why," says I, "it was a portion for a servant."—"O, madam!" says she, "it was nothing to what she got afterwards; we that were servants hated her heartily for it; that is to say, we wished it had been our lot in her stead." Then I said again, "Why, it was enough to get her a good husband, and settle her in the world, if she had sense to manage it."—"So it might, to be sure, madam," says she; "for we were told she laid up above 500*l.*; but, I suppose, Mrs Amy was too sensible that her character would require a good portion to put her off."

"O," said I, "if that was the case, it was another thing."

"Nay," says she, "I don't know but they talked very much of a young lord that was very great with her."

"And pray what came of her at last?" said I; for I was willing to hear a little (seeing she would talk of it) what she had to say, as well of Amy as of myself.

"I don't know, madam," said she, "I never heard of her for several years, till the other day I happened to see her."

"Did you indeed?" says I, (and made mighty strange of it); "what! and in rags, it may be," said I, "that's often the end of such creatures."

"Just the contrary, madam," says she. "She came to visit an acquaintance of mine, little thinking, I suppose, to see me, and, I assure you, she came in her coach."

"In her coach!" said I, "upon my word she had made her market then, I suppose; she made hay while the sun shone; was she married, pray?"

"I believe she had been married, madam," says she, "but it seems she had been at the East Indies; and if she was married, it was there, to be

sure. I think she said she had good luck in the Indies."

"That is, I suppose," said I, "she had buried her husband there."

"I understand it so, madam," says she, "and that she had got his estate."

"Was that her good luck?" said I, "it might be good to her, as to the money indeed, but it was but the part of a jade to call it good luck."

Thus far our discourse of Mrs Amy went, and no farther, for she knew no more of her; but then the Quaker unhappily, though undesignedly, put in a question, which the honest, good-humoured creature would have been far from doing if she had known that I carried on the discourse of Amy on purpose to drop Roxana out of the conversation.

But I was not to be made easy too soon. The Quaker put in, "But I think thou said'st something was behind of thy mistress; what didst thou call her, Roxana, was it not? Pray, what became of her?"

"Ay, ay, Roxana," says the captain's wife; "pray, sister, let's hear the story of Roxana; it will divert my lady, I'm sure."

That's a damn'd lie, said I to myself; if you knew how little 'twould divert me, you would have too much advantage over me; well, I saw no remedy, but the story must come on, so I prepared to hear the worst of it.

"Roxana!" says she, "I know not what to think of her; she was so much above us, and so seldom seen, that we could know little of her but by report, but we did sometimes see her too; she was a charming woman indeed, and the footmen used to say that she was to be sent for to court."

"To court," said I, "why she was at court, wa'n't she? the Pall Mall is not far from Whitehall."

"Yes, madam," says I, "but I mean another way."

"I understand thee," says the Quaker; "thou meanest, I suppose, to be mistress to the king."

"Yes, madam," says she.

I cannot help confessing what a reserve of pride still was left in me; and though I dreaded the sequel of the story, yet when she talked how handsome and fine a lady this Roxana was, I could not help being pleased and tickled with it, and put in questions two or three times, of how handsome she was? and was she really so fine a woman as they talked of, and the like, on purpose to hear her repeat what the people's opinion of me was, and how I had behaved.

"Indeed," says she at last, "she was a most beautiful creature as ever I saw in my life."

"But then," said I, "you never had the opportunity to see her but when she was set out to the best advantage."

"Yes, yes, madam," says she, "I have seen her several times in her *dishabille*. And I can assure you, she was a very fine woman; and that which was more still, everybody said she did not paint."

This was still agreeable to me one way; but there was a devilish sting in the tail of it all, and this last article was one; wherein she said she had seen me several times in my *dishabille*. This put me in mind that then she must certainly

know me, and it would come out at last ; which was death to me but to think of.

"Well, but sister," says the captain's wife, "tell my lady about the ball, that's the best of all the story, and of Roxana's dancing in a fine outlandish dress."

"That's one of the brightest parts of her story indeed," says the girl ; "the case was this : we had balls and meetings in her ladyship's apartments every week almost ; but one time my lady invited all the nobles to come such a time, and she would give them a ball ; and there was a vast crowd indeed," says she.

"I think you said the King was there, sister, didn't you ?"

"No, madam," says she, "that was the second time, when they said the king had heard how finely the Turkish lady danced, and that he was there to see her ; but the king, if his majesty was there, came disguised."

"That is what they call *incog.*," says my friend the Quaker ; "thou canst not think the king would disguise himself.—"Yes," says the girl, "it was so, he did not come in public with his guards, but we all knew which was the king well enough, that is to say, which they said was the king."

"Well," says the captain's wife, "about the Turkish dress ; pray let us hear that."—"Why," says she, "my lady sat in a fine little drawing-room, which opened into the great room, and where she received the compliments of the company ; and when the dancing began, a great lord," says she, "I forget who they called him, (but he was a very great lord or duke, I don't know which), took her out, and danced with her ; but after a while, my lady on a sudden shut the drawing-room, and run upstairs with her woman, Mrs Amy ; and though she did not stay long (for I suppose she had contrived it all before hand), she came down dressed in the strangest figure that ever I saw in my life ; but it was exceeding fine."

Here she went on to declare the dress, as I have done already ; but did it so exactly, that I was surprised at the manner of her telling it ; there was not a circumstance of it left out.

I was now under a new perplexity ; for this young slut gave so complete an account of every thing in the dress, that my friend the Quaker coloured at it, and looked two or three times at me, to see if I did not do so too ; for (as she told me afterwards) she immediately perceived it was the same dress that she had seen me have on, as I have seen before. However, as she saw I took no notice of it, she kept her thoughts private to herself ; and I did so too, as well as I could.

I put in two or three times that she had a good memory, that could be so particular in every part of such a thing.

"O madam !" says she, "we that were servants, stood by ourselves in a corner, but so as we could see more than some strangers ; besides," said she, "it was all our conversation for several days in the family, and what one did not observe another did."—"Why," says I to her, "this was no Persian dress ; only, I suppose, your lady was some French comedian, that is to say, a stage Amazon, that put on a counterfeit dress to please the company, such as they used

in the play of *Tamerlane*, at Paris, or some such."

"No, indeed, madam," says she, "I assure you, my lady was no actress ; she was a fine modest lady, fit to be a princess ; everybody said, if she was a mistress, she was fit to be a mistress to none but the king ; and they talked her up for the king, as if it had really been so. Besides, madam," says she, "my lady danced a Turkish dance ; all the lords and gentry said it was so ; and one of them swore he had seen it danced in Turkey himself, so that it could not come from the theatre at Paris ; and then the name Roxana," says she, "was a Turkish name."

"Well," said I, "but that was not your lady's name, I suppose."

"No, no, madam," said she, "I know that ; I know my lady's name and family very well ; Roxana was not her name, that's true indeed."

Here she run me aground again, for I durst not ask her what was Roxana's real name, lest she had really dealt with the devil, and had boldly given my own name in for answer : so that I was still more and more afraid that the girl had really gotten the secret somewhere or other ; though I could not imagine neither how that could be.

In a word, I was sick of the discourse, and endeavoured many ways to put an end to it, but it was impossible ; for the captain's wife, who called her sister, prompted her, and pressed her to tell it, most ignorantly thinking that it would be a pleasant tale to all of us.

Two or three times the Quaker put in, that this Lady Roxana had a good stock of assurance ; and that it was likely if she had been in Turkey, she had lived with, or been kept by, some great Bashaw there. But still she would break in upon all such discourse, and fly out into the most extravagant praises of her mistress, the famed Roxana. I run her down as some scandalous woman ; that it was not possible to be otherwise ; but she would not hear of it ; her lady was a person of such and such qualification, that nothing but an angel was like her, to be sure ; and yet, after all she could say, her own account brought her down to this ; that, in short, her lady kept little less than a gaming ordinary ; or, as it would be called in the times since that, an assembly for gallantry and play.

All this while I was very uneasy, as I said before, and yet the old story went off again without any discovery, only that I seemed a little concerned that she should liken me to this gay lady, whose character I pretended to run down very much, even upon the foot of her own relation.

But I was not at the end of my mortification yet, neither ; for now my innocent Quaker threw out an unhappy expression, which put me upon the tenters again. Says she to me, "This lady's habit, I fancy, is just such a one as thine by the description of it ;" and then turning to the captain's wife, says she, "I fancy my friend has a finer Turkish or Persian dress, a great deal."—"O ! says the girl, "'tis impossible to be finer ; my lady's," says she, "was all covered with gold and diamonds ; her hair and head-dress, I forgot the name they gave it," said she, "shone like stars, there was so many jewels in it."

I never wished my good friend the Quaker out of my company before now ; but, indeed, I would

have given some guineas to have been rid of her just now ; for beginning to be curious in the comparing the two dresses, she innocently began a description of mine ; and nothing terrified me so much as the apprehension lest she should importune me to show it, which I was resolved I would never agree to. But before it came to this, she pressed my girl to describe the tyhaia, or head-dress ; which she did so cleverly, that the Quaker could not help saying mine was just such a one ; and after several other similitudes, all very vexatious to me, out comes the kind motion to me to let the ladies see my dress ; and they joined their eager desires of it even to importunity.

I desired to be excused, though I had little to say at first why I declined it ; but at last it came into my head to say it was packed up with my other clothes that I had least occasion for, in order to be sent on board the captain's ship ; but that if we lived to come to Holland together, (which, by the way, I resolved should never happen), then, I told them, at unpacking my clothes, they should see me dressed in it ; but they must not expect I should dance in it like the Lady Roxana, in all her fine things.

This carried it off pretty well ; and getting over this, got over most of the rest, and I began to be easy again ; and, in a word, that I may dismiss the story too as soon as may be, I got rid at last of my visitors, who I had wished gone two hours sooner than they intended it.

As soon as they were gone I run up to Amy and gave vent to my passions, by telling her the whole story, and letting her see what mischiefs one false step of hers had like, unluckily, to have involved us all in ; more, perhaps, than we could ever have lived to get through. Amy was sensible of it enough, and was just giving her wrath a vent another way, viz., by calling the poor girl all the damned jades and fools (and sometimes worse names) that she could think of ; in the middle of which up comes my honest good Quaker, and put an end to our discourse. The Quaker came in smiling, (for she was always soberly cheerful), "Well," says she, "thou art delivered at last ; I come to joy thee of it ; I perceived thou wert tired grievously of thy visitors."

"Indeed," says I, "so I was ; that foolish young girl held us all in a Canterbury story, I thought she would never have done with it. Why, truly, I thought she was very careful to let thee know she was but a cook-maid. Ay," says I, "and at a gaming-house, or gaming-ordinary, and at the other end of the town too ; all which (by the way) she might know, would add very little to her good name among us citizens."

"I can't think," says the Quaker "but she had some other drift in that long discourse ; there's something else in her head," says she, "I am satisfied of that." Thought I, are you satisfied of it ? I am sure I am the less satisfied for that ; at least 'tis but small satisfaction to me to hear you say so. What can this be ? says I, and when will my uneasiness have an end ? But this was silent, and to myself, you may be sure. But in answer to my friend, the Quaker, I returned, by asking her a question or two about it ; as what she thought was in it ? and why she thought there was anything in it ? For, says I, she can have nothing in it relating to me.

"Nay," says the kind Quaker, "if she had any view towards thee, that is no business of mine ; and I should be far from desiring thee to inform me."

This alarmed me again ; not that I feared trusting the good-humoured creature with it, if there had been anything of just suspicion in her ; but this affair was a secret I cared not to communicate to anybody. However, I say, this alarmed me a little ; for as I had concealed everything from her, I was willing to do so still ; but as she could not but gather up abundance of things from the girl's discourse, which looked towards me, so she was too penetrating to be put off with such answers as might stop another's mouth. Only there was this double felicity in it, first, that she was not inquisitive to know or find anything out, and not dangerous if she had known the whole story. But, as I say, she could not but gather up several circumstances from the girl's discourse, as particularly the name of Amy, and the several descriptions of the Turkish dress which my friend the Quaker had seen, and taken so much notice of, as I have said before.

As for that, I might have turned it off by jesting with Amy, and asking her who she lived with before she came to live with me ? But that would not do, for we had unhappily anticipated that way of talking, by having often talked how long Amy had lived with me ; and which was still worse, by having owned formerly that I had had lodgings in the Pall-mall ; so that all these things corresponded too well. There was only one thing that helped me out with the Quaker, and that was the girl's having reported how rich Mrs Amy was grown, and that she kept her coach. Now, as there might be many more Mrs Amys besides mine, so it was not likely to be my Amy, because she was far from such a figure as keeping her coach ; and this carried it off from the suspicions which the good friendly Quaker might have in her head.

But as to what she imagined the girl had in her head, there lay more difficulty in that part a great deal, and I was alarmed at it very much, for my friend the Quaker told me she observed that the girl was in a great passion when she talked of the habit, and more when I had been importuned to show her mine, but declined it. She said she several times perceived her to be in disorder, and to restrain herself with great difficulty ; and once or twice she muttered to herself that she had found it out, or that she would find it out, she could not tell whether ; and that she often saw tears in her eyes ; that when I said my suit of Turkish clothes was put up, but that she should see it when we arrived in Holland, she heard her say softly, she would go over on purpose then.

After she had ended her observations, I added, "I observed, too, that the girl looked and talked oddly, and that she was very inquisitive ; but I could not imagine what she aimed at."—"Aimed at," says the Quaker, "'tis plain to me what she aims at. She believes that thou art the same Roxana that danced in the Turkish vest, but she is not certain."—"Does she believe so ?" says I, "If I had thought that, I would have put her out of her pain."—"Believe so !" says the Quaker, "Yes ; and I began to believe so too,

and should have believed so still, if thou had'st not satisfied me to the contrary by thy taking no notice of it, and by what thou hast said since."—"Should you have believed so," said I, warmly, "I am very sorry for that. Why, would you have taken me for an actress, or a French stage player?"—"No," says the good, kind creature, "thou carriest it too far; as soon as thou mad'st thy reflections upon her, I knew it could not be; but who could think any other when she described the Turkish dress which thou hast here, with the head tire and jewels, and when she named thy maid Amy too, and several other circumstances concurring? I should certainly have believed it," said she, "if thou hadst not contradicted it; but as soon as I heard thee speak, I concluded it was otherwise."—"That was very kind," said I, "and I am obliged to you for doing me so much justice; it is more, it seems, than that young talking creature does."—"Nay," says the Quaker, "indeed she does not do thee justice; for she as certainly believes it still, as ever she did."—"Does she?" said I;—"Aye," says the Quaker; "and I warrant thee she will make thee another visit about it."—"Will she?" says I; "then I believe I shall downright affront her."—"No, thou shalt not affront her," says she, (full of her good humour and temper,) "I will take that part on my hands, for I will affront her for thee, and not let her see thee." I thought that was a very kind offer, but was at a loss how she would be able to do it; and the thought of seeing her again half distracted me, not knowing that temper she would come in, much less what manner to receive her in; but my fast friend and constant comforter the Quaker said she perceived the girl was impertinent, and that I had no inclination to converse with her, and she was resolved I should not be troubled with her. But I shall have occasion to say more of this presently; for this girl went further yet than I thought she had.

It was now time, as I said before, to take measures with my husband, in order to put off my voyage; so I fell into talk with him one morning, as he was dressing, and while I was in bed; I pretended I was very ill; and as I had but too easy a way to impose upon him, because he so absolutely believed every thing I said, so I managed my discourse so as that he should understand by it I was a breeding, though I did not tell him so.

However, I brought it about so handsomely, that before he went out of the room he came and sat down by the bed-side, and began to talk very seriously to me upon the subject, about my being so every day ill, and that, as he hoped I was with child, he would have me consider well of it, whether I had not best alter my thoughts of the voyage to Holland; for that being sea-sick, and which was worse, if a storm should happen, might be very dangerously in me. And after saying abundance of the kindest things that the kindest of husbands in the world could say, he concluded, that it was his request to me, that I would not think any more of going till after all should be over; but that I would, on the contrary, prepare to lie-in where I was, and where I knew as well as he, I could be very well provided, and very well assisted.

This was just what I wanted; for I had, as you have heard, a thousand good reasons why I should put off the voyage, especially with that creature in company; but I had a mind the putting it off should be at his motion, not my own; and he came into it of himself, just as I would have had it. This gave me an opportunity to hang back a little, and to seem as if I was unwilling: I told him, I could not abide to put him to difficulties and perplexities in his business; that now he had hired the great cabin in the ship, and, perhaps, paid some of the money, and, it may be, taken freight for goods; and to make him break it all off again would be a needless charge to him, or, perhaps, a damage to the captain.

As to that, he said, it was not to be named, and he would not allow it to be any consideration at all; that he could easily pacify the captain of the ship by telling him the reason of it, and that if he did make him some satisfaction for the disappointment, it should not be much.

"But, my dear," says I, "you have not heard me say I am with child, neither can I say so; and if it should not be so at last, then I shall have made a fine piece of work of it indeed; besides," says I, "the two ladies, the captain's wife and her sister, they depend upon our going over, and have made great preparations, and all in compliment to me; what must I say to them?"

"Well, my dear," says he, "if you should not be with child, though I hope you are, yet there is no harm done; the staying three or four months longer in England will be no damage to me, and we can go when we please, when we are sure you are not with child, or when it appearing that you are with child, you shall be down and up again; and as for the captain's wife and sister, leave that part to me; I'll answer for it there shall be no quarrel raised upon the subject; I'll make your excuse to them by the captain himself, so all will be well enough there, I warrant you."

This was as much as I could desire; and thus it rested for a while. I had indeed some anxious thoughts about this impatient girl, but believed that putting off the voyage would have put an end to it all, so I began to be pretty easy; but I found myself mistaken, for I was brought to the point of destruction by her again, and that in the most unaccountable manner imaginable.

My husband, as he and I had agreed, meeting the captain of the ship, took the freedom to tell him, that he was afraid he must disappoint him, for that something had fallen out which had obliged him to alter his measures, and that his family could not be ready to go time enough for him.

"I know the occasion, sir," says the captain; "I hear your lady has got a daughter more than she expected; I give you joy of it."—"What do you mean by that?" says my spouse.—"Nay, nothing," says the captain, "but what I hear the women tattle over the tea-table. I know nothing, but that you do not go the voyage upon it, which I am sorry for; but you know your own affairs," added the captain, "that is no business of mine."

"Well but," says my husband, "I must make you some satisfaction for the disappointment,"

and so he pulls out his money. "No, no," says the captain; and so they fell to straining their compliments one upon another; but, in short, my spouse gave him three or four guineas, and made him take it; and so the first discourse went off again, and they had no more of it.

But it did not go off so easily with me; for now, in a word, the clouds began to thicken about me, and I had alarms on every side. My husband told me what the captain had said; but very happily took it, that the captain had brought a tale by halves, and having heard it one way, had told it another; and that neither could he understand the captain, neither did the captain understand himself, so he contented himself to tell me, he said, word for word, as the captain delivered it.

How I kept my husband from discovering my disorder you shall hear presently; but let it suffice to say just now, that if my husband did not understand the captain, nor the captain understand himself, yet I understood them both very well; and, to tell the truth, it was a worse shock than ever I had had yet. Invention supplied me, indeed, with a sudden motion to avoid shewing my surprize; for as my spouse and I were sitting by a little table near the fire, I reached out my hand, as if I had intended to take a spoon which lay on the other side, and threw one of the candles off the table; and then snatching it up, started up upon my feet, and stooped to the lap of my gown, and took it in my hand; "O!" says I, "my gown is spoiled; the candle has greased it prodigiously." This furnished me with an excuse to my spouse to break off the discourse for the present, and call Amy down; and Amy not coming presently, I said to him, "My dear, I must run up stairs and put it off, and let Amy clean it a little." So my husband rose up too, and went into a closet where he kept his papers and books, and fetched out a book, and sat down by himself to read.

Glad I was that I had got away, and up I ran to Amy, who, as it happened, was alone. "O, Amy!" says I, "we are all utterly undone." And with that, I burst out a crying, and could not speak a word for a great while.

I cannot help saying, that some very good reflections offered themselves upon this head; it presently occurred—What a glorious testimony it is to the justice of Providence, and to the concern Providence has in guiding all the affairs of men, (even the least as well as the greatest,) that the most secret crimes are, by the most unforeseen accidents, brought to light and discovered.

Another reflection was—How just it is that sin and shame follow one another so constantly at the heels; that they are not like attendants only, but like cause and consequence, necessarily connected one with another; that the crime going before, the scandal is certain to follow; and that it is not in the power of human nature to conceal the first or avoid the last.

"What shall I do, Amy?" said I, as soon as I could speak, "and what will become of me?" And then I cried again so vehemently that I could say no more a great while. Amy was frightened almost out of her wits, but knew nothing what the matter was; but she begged to

know, and persuaded me to compose myself, and not to cry so. "Why madam, if my master should come up now," says she, "he will see what a disorder you are in; he will know you have been crying, and then he will want to know the cause of it." With that I broke out again. "O, he knows it already, Amy," says I, "he knows all! It is all discovered, and we are undone!" Amy was thunderstruck now indeed. "Nay," says Amy, "if that be true, we are undone indeed; but that can never be; that is impossible, I am sure."

"No, no," says I, "it is far from impossible, for I tell you it is so;" and by this time, being a little recovered, I told her what discourse my husband and the captain had had together, and what the captain had said. This put Amy into such a hurry, that she cried, she raved, she swore and cursed like a mad thing; then she upbraided me, that I would not let her kill the girl when she would have done it, and that it was all my own doing, and the like. Well, however, I was not for killing the girl yet; I could not bear the thoughts of that neither.

We spent half an hour in these extravagancies, and brought nothing out of them neither; for indeed we could do nothing or say nothing that was to the purpose; for if anything was to come out-of-the-way, there was no hindering it, nor help for; so after thus giving vent to myself by crying, I began to reflect how I had left my spouse below, and what I had pretended to come up for; so I changed my gown that I pretended the candle fell upon, and put on another, and went down.

When I had been down a good while, and found my spouse did not fall into the story again, as I expected, I took heart and called for it. "My dear," said I, "the fall of the candle put you out of your history; won't you go on with it?"—"What history?" says he.—"Why," says I, "about the captain."—"Oh," says he, "I had done with it; I know no more than the captain told a broken piece of news that he had heard by halves, and told more by halves than he heard; namely, of your being with child, and that you could not go the voyage."

I perceived my husband entered not into the thing at all, but took it for a story, which being told two or three times over, was puzzled, and come to nothing; and that all that was meant by it was, what he knew, or thought he knew already, viz., that I was with child, which he wished might be true.

His ignorance was a cordial to my soul, and I cursed them in my thoughts that should ever undeceive him; and as I saw him willing to have the story end there, as not worth being further mentioned, I closed it too; and said, I supposed the captain had it from his wife; she might have found somebody else to make her remarks upon, and so it passed off with my husband well enough, and I was still safe there, where I thought myself in most danger. But I had two uneasinesses still; the first was, lest the captain and my spouse should meet again, and enter into farther discourse about it; the second was, lest the busy impertinent girl should come again, and when she came, how to prevent her seeing Amy, which was an article as material as any of the

rest ; for seeing Amy would have been as fatal to me as her knowing all the rest.

As to the first of these, I knew the captain could not stay in town above a week ; but that his ship being already full of goods, and fallen down the river, he must soon follow ; so I contrived to carry my husband somewhere out of town for a few days, that they might be sure not to meet.

My greatest concern was where we should go. At last I fixed upon North-Hall ; not, I said, that I would drink the waters, but that I thought the air was good, and might be for my advantage. He, who did everything upon the foundation of obliging me, readily came into it, and the coach was appointed to be ready the next morning ; but as we were settling matters, he put in an ugly word that thwarted all my designs ; and that was, that he had rather I would stay till afternoon, for that he should speak to the captain next morning, if he could, to give him some letters, which he could do, and be back again about twelve o'clock.

I said—"Ay, by all means." But it was a cheat on him ; and my voice and my heart differed ; for I resolved, if possible, he should not come near the captain, nor see him, whatever came of it.

In the evening therefore, a little before we went to bed, I pretended to have altered my mind, and that I would not go to North Hall, but I had a mind to go another way ; but I told him I was afraid his business would not permit him ; he wanted to know where it was. I told him, smiling, I would not tell him, lest it should oblige him to hinder his business. He answered with the same temper, but with infinitely more sincerity, that he had no business of such consequence as to hinder him going with me anywhere I had a mind to go. "Yes," says I, "you want to speak with the captain before he goes away." "Why, that's true," says he, "so I do," and paused a while ; and then added—"But I'll write a note to a man that does business for me, to go to him ; it is only to get some bills of lading signed, and he can do it." When I saw I had gained my point, I seemed to hang back a little. "My dear," says I, "don't hinder an hour's business for me ; I can put it off for a week or two, rather than you shall do yourself any prejudice." "No, no," says he, "you shall not put off an hour for me ; for I can do my business by proxy with anybody but my wife." And then he took me in his arms and kissed me. How did my blood flush up into my face, when I reflected how sincerely, how affectionately this good-humoured gentleman embraced this most cursed piece of hypocrisy that ever came into the arms of an honest man ! His was all tenderness, and the utmost sincerity ; mine all grimace and deceit—a piece of mere menage, and framed conduct to conceal a passed life of wickedness, and prevent his discovering that he had in his arms a she-devil, whose whole conversation for twenty-five years had been black as hell, a complication of crimes ; and for which, had he been let into it, he must have abhorred me, and the very mention of my name. But there was no help for me in it ; all I had to satisfy myself was, that it was my business to be what I was, and conceal what

I had been ; that all the satisfaction I could make him was to live virtuously for the time to come, not being able to retrieve what had been in time past ; and this I resolved upon, though had the, great temptation offered, as it did afterwards, I had reason to question my stability. But of that hereafter.

After my husband had thus kindly given up his measures to mine, we resolved to set out in the morning early. I told him that my project, if he liked it, was to go to Tunbridge, and he, being entirely passive in the thing, agreed to it with the greatest willingness ; but said, if I had not named Tunbridge, he would have named Newmarket, there being a great court there, and abundance of fine things to be seen. I offered him another piece of hypocrisy here, for I pretended to be willing to go thither, as the place of his choice, but indeed I would not have gone for a thousand pounds ; for the court being there at that time, I durst not run the hazard of being known at a place where there were so many eyes that had seen me before. So that, after some time, I told my husband that I thought Newmarket was so full of people at that time, that we should get no accommodation ; that seeing the court and the crowd was no entertainment to me, unless as it might be so to him, that if he thought fit, we would rather put it off for another time ; and that if, when we went to Holland, we should go by Harwich, we might take round by Newmarket and Bury, and so come to Ipswich, and go from thence to the sea-side. He was easily put off from this, as he was from anything else that I did not approve ; and so with all imaginable facility he appointed to be ready early in the morning to go with me for Tunbridge.

I had a double design in this, viz.—first, to get away my spouse from seeing the captain any more ; and secondly, to be out of the way myself, in case this impertinent girl, who was now my plague, should offer to come again, as my friend the Quaker believed she would, and as indeed happened within two or three days afterwards.

Having thus secured my going away the next day, I had nothing to do but to furnish my faithful agent the Quaker with some instruction what to say to this tormentor, (for such she proved afterwards,) and how to manage her, if she made any more visits than ordinary.

I had a great mind to leave Amy behind too, as an assistant, because she understood so perfectly well what to advise upon any emergency ; and Amy importuned me to do so ; but I know not what secret impulse prevailed over my thoughts against it ; I could not do it, for fear the wicked jade should make her away, which my very soul abhorred the thoughts of ; which, however, Amy found means to bring to pass afterwards, as I may in time relate more particularly.

It is true I wanted as much to be delivered from her as ever a sick man did from a third-day ague ; and had she dropped into the grave by any fair way, as I may call it,—I mean, had she died of any ordinary distemper, I should have shed but very few tears for her. But I was not arrived to such a pitch of obstinate wickedness as to commit murder, especially such as to mur-

der my own child, or so much as to harbour a thought so barbarous in my mind. But, as I said, Amy effected all afterwards, without my knowledge, for which I gave her my hearty curse, though I could do little more; for to have fallen upon Amy had been to have murdered myself. But this tragedy requires a longer story than I have room for here. I return to my journey.

My dear friend the Quaker was kind, and yet honest, and would do anything that was just and upright to serve me, but nothing wicked or dishonourable. That she might be able to say boldly to the creature, if she came, she did not know where I was gone, she desired I would not let her know; and to make her ignorance the more absolutely safe to herself, and likewise to me, I allowed her to say that she heard us talk of going to Newmarket, &c. She liked that part, and I left all the rest to her, to act as she thought fit, only charged her, that if the girl entered into the story of the Pallmall, she should not entertain much talk about it, but let her understand, that we all thought she spoke of it a little too particularly: and that the lady (meaning me) took it a little ill, to be so likened to a public mistress, or a stage-player, and the like; and so to bring her, if possible, to say no more of it. However, though I did not tell my friend the Quaker how to write to me, or where I was, yet I left a sealed paper with her maid to give her, in which I gave her a direction how to write to Amy, and so in effect to myself.

It was but a few days after I was gone, but the impatient girl came to my lodgings on pretence to see how I did, and to hear if I intended to go the voyage, and the like. My trusty agent was at home, and received her coldly at the door; but told her that the lady, which she supposed she meant, was gone from her house.

This was a full stop to all she could say for a good while; but as she stood musing some time at the door, considering what to begin a talk upon, she perceived my friend the Quaker looked a little uneasy, as if she wanted to go in and shut the door, which stung her to the quick; and the wary Quaker had not so much as asked her to come in; for seeing her alone, she expected she would be very impertinent, and concluded that I did not care how coldly she received her.

But she was not to be put off so. She said if the Lady — was not to be spoken with, she desired to speak two or three words with her, meaning my friend the Quaker. Upon that the Quaker civilly, but coldly, asked her to walk in, which was what she wanted. Note.—She did not carry her into her best parlour, as formerly, but into a little outer room, where the servants usually waited.

By the first of her discourse she did not stick to insinuate as if she believed I was in the house, but was unwilling to be seen; and pressed earnestly that she might speak but two words with me; to which she added earnest entreaties, and at last tears.

"I am sorry," says my good old creature, the Quaker, "thou hast so ill an opinion of me as to think I would tell thee an untruth, and say that the Lady — was gone from my house, if she was not! I assure thee I did not use any

such method; nor does the Lady — desire any such kind of service from me, as I know of. If she had been in the house I should have told thee so."

She said little to that; but said, "It was business of the utmost importance that she desired to speak with me about; and then cried again very much.

"Thou seemest to be sorely afflicted," says the Quaker; "I wish I could give thee any relief; but if nothing will comfort thee but seeing the Lady —, it is not in my power."

"I hope it is," says she again; "to be sure, it is of great consequence to me; so much, that I am undone without it."

"Thou troublest me very much to hear thee say so," says the Quaker; "but why, then, didst thou not speak to her apart when thou wast here before?"

"I had no opportunity," says she, "to speak to her alone, and I could not do it in company; if I could have spoken but two words to her alone I would have thrown myself at her feet, and asked her blessing."

"I am surprised at thee; I do not understand thee," says the Quaker.

"O!" says she, "stand my friend, if you have any charity, or if you have any compassion for the miserable; for I am utterly undone!"

"Thou terrifiest me," says the Quaker, "with such passionate expressions! for verily I cannot comprehend thee!"

"O!" says she, "she is my mother! she is my mother! and she does not own me!"

"Thy mother!" says the Quaker; and began to be greatly moved indeed; "I am astonished at thee; what dost thou mean?"

"I mean nothing but what I say," says she; "I say again, she is my mother! and will not own me;" and with that she stopped with a flood of tears.

"Not own thee!" says the Quaker; and the tender creature wept too; "why, she says she does not know thee, and never saw thee before."

"No," says the girl, "I believe she does not know me, but I know her; and I know that she is my mother."

"It's impossible! thou talkest mystery!" says the Quaker; "wilt thou explain thyself a little to me?"

"Yes, yes," says she, "I can explain it well enough; I am sure she is my mother, and I have broke my heart to search for her; and to lose her again, when I was so sure I had found her, will break my heart more effectually."

"Well, but if she by thy mother," says the Quaker, "how can it be that she should not know thee?"

"Alas!" says she, "I have been lost to her ever since I was a child; she has never seen me."

"And hast thou never seen her?" says the Quaker.

"Yes," says she, "I have seen her, often enough, I saw her; for when she was the Lady Roxana I was her housemaid, being a servant, but I did not know her then, nor she me; but it has all come out since. Has she not a maid named Amy?" Note.—The honest Quaker was

nonplussed, and greatly surprised at that question.

"True," she says; "the Lady — has several women servants, but I do not know all their names."

"But her woman, her favourite," adds the girl; "is not her name Amy?"

"Why, truly," says the Quaker, with a very happy turn of wit, "I do not like to be examined; but lest thou shouldst take up any mistakes, by reason of my backwardness to speak, I will answer thee for once, that what her woman's name is I know not; but they call her Cherry."

N.B.—My husband gave her that name in jest, on our wedding day, and we had called her by it ever after; so that she spoke literally true at that time.

The girl replied very modestly, that she was sorry if she gave her any offence in asking; that she did not design to be rude to her, or pretend to examine her; but that she was in such an agony at this disaster that she knew not what she did or said; and that she should be very sorry to disoblige her, but begged of her again, as she was a Christian and a woman, and had been a mother of children, that she would take pity on her, and, if possible, assist her, so that she might but come to me, and speak a few words to me.

The tender-hearted Quaker told me the girl spoke this with such moving eloquence, that it forced tears from her; but she was obliged to say, that she neither knew where I was gone, or how to write to me; but that if she did ever see me again she would not fail to give me an account of all we had said to her, or that she should yet think fit to say; and to take my answer to it, if I thought fit to give any.

Then the Quaker took the freedom to ask a few particulars about this wonderful story, as she called it; at which the girl, beginning at the first distresses of my life, and indeed of her own, went through all the history of her miserable education, her service under the Lady Roxana, as she called me, and her relief by Mrs Amy, with the reasons she had to believe that as Amy owned herself to be the same that lived with her mother, and especially that Amy was the Lady Roxana's maid, too, and came out of France with her, she was by those circumstances, and several others in her conversation, as fully convinced that the lady Roxana was her mother as she was that the Lady — at her house (the Quaker's), was the very same Roxana that she had been servant to.

My good friend, the Quaker, though terribly shocked at the story, and not well knowing what to say, yet was too much my friend to seem convinced in a thing, which, if it was true, she could see plainly I had a mind should not be known; so she turned her discourse to argue the girl out of it. She insisted upon the slender evidence she had of the fact itself, and the rudeness of claiming so near a relation of one so much above her, and of whose concern in it she had no knowledge, at least, no sufficient proof; that as the lady at her house was a person above any disguises, so she could not believe that she would deny her being her daughter, if she was really her mother; that she was able sufficiently to

have provided for her if she had not a mind to have her known; and, therefore, seeing she had heard all she had said of the Lady Roxana, and was so far from owning herself to be the person, that she had censured that sham lady as a cheat and common woman; and that it was certain she could never be brought to own a name and character she had so justly exposed.

Besides, she told her that her lodger, meaning me, was not a sham lady, but the real wife of a knight baronet; and that she knew her to be honestly such, and far above such a person as she had described. She then added that she had another reason why it was not very possible to be true, and that is, says she, "Thy age is in the way; for thou acknowledgest that thou art four-and-twenty years old; and that thou wast the youngest of three of thy mother's children; so that by thy account thy mother must be extremely young, or this lady cannot be thy mother; for thou seest," says she, "and any one may see, she is but a young woman now, and cannot be supposed to be above forty years old, if she is so much; and is now big with child at her going into the country; so that I cannot give any credit to thy notion of her being thy mother; and if I might counsel thee it should be to give over that thought as an improbable story that does but serve to disorder thee, and disturb thy head; for," added she, "I perceive thou art much disturbed indeed."

But this was all nothing: she could be satisfied with nothing but seeing me; but the Quaker defended herself very well, and insisted on it, that she could not give her any account of me; and finding her still importunate, she affected at last, being a little disgusted that she should not believe her, and added, that indeed, if she had known where I was gone, she would not have given any one an account of it, unless I had given her orders to do so; "but seeing she has not acquainted me," says she, "where she is gone, 'tis an intimation to me, she was not desirous it should be publicly known;" and with this she rose up, which was as plain a desiring her to rise up too and begone, as could be expressed, except the downright showing her the door.

Well, the girl rejected all this, and told her, she could not indeed expect that she (the Quaker) should be affected with the story she had told her, however moving, or that she should take any pity on her. That it was her misfortune, that when she was at the house before, and in the room with me, she did not beg to speak a word with me in private, or throw herself upon the floor at my feet, and claim what the affection of a mother would have done for her; but since she had slipped her opportunity, she would wait for another; that she found by her (the Quaker's) talk, that she had not quite left her lodgings, but was gone into the country, she supposed, for the air; and she was resolved she would take so much knight-errantry upon her, that she would visit all the airing places in the nation, and even all the kingdom over, ay, and Holland too, but she would find me; for she was satisfied she could so convince me that she was my own child, that I would not deny it; and she was sure I was so tender and compassionate I would not let her perish after I was convinced that she was

my own flesh and blood ; and in saying she would visit all the airing-places in England, she reckoned them all up by name, and began with Tunbridge, the very place I was gone to ; then reckoning up Epsom, North Hall, Barnet, Newmarket, Bury, and at last, the Bath ; and with this she took her leave.

My faithful agent the Quaker, failed not to write to me immediately ; but as she was a cunning, as well as an honest woman, it presently occurred to her that this was a story which, whether true or false, was not very fit to come to my husband's knowledge ; that as she did not know what I might have been, or might have been called in former times, and how far there might have been something or nothing in it, so she thought if it was a secret, I ought to have the telling it myself ; and if it was not, it might as well be public afterwards as now ; and that, at least, she ought not to leave it where she found it, and hand it forwards to anybody without my consent. These prudent measures were inexpressibly kind, as well as seasonable ; it had been likely enough that her letter might have come publicly to me, and though my husband would not have opened it, yet it would have looked a little odd that I should conceal its contents from him, when I had pretended so much to communicate all my affairs.

In consequence of this wise caution, my good friend only wrote me a few words, that the impertinent young woman had been with her, as she expected she would ; and that she thought it would be convenient that, if I could spare Cherry, I would send her up, (meaning Amy), because she found there might be some occasion for her.

As it happened this letter was inclosed to Amy herself, and not sent by the way I had at first ordered ; but it came safe to my hands ; and though I was alarmed a little at it, yet I was not acquainted with the danger I was in of an immediate visit from this teasing creature till afterwards ; and I run a greater risk, indeed, than ordinary in that I did not send Amy up under fourteen days, believing myself as much concealed at Tunbridge as if I had been at Vienna.

But the concern of my faithful spy, (for such my Quaker was now, upon the mere foot of her own sagacity), I say, her concern for me, was my safety in this exigence, when I was, as it were, keeping no guard for myself ; for, finding Amy not come up, and that she did not know how soon this wild thing might put her designed ramble in practice, she sent a messenger to the captain's wife's house, where she lodged, to tell her that she wanted to speak with her. She was at the heels of the messenger, and came eager for some news ; and hoped, she said, the lady, (meaning me), had been come to town.

The Quaker, with as much caution as she was mistress of, not to tell a downright lie, made her believe she expected to hear of me very quickly ; and frequently, by the bye, speaking of being abroad to take the air, talked of the country, about Bury, how pleasant it was, how wholesome, and how fine an air ; how the downs about Newmarket were exceeding fine ; and what a vast deal of company there was, now the court was there ; till at last, the girl began to

conclude, that my ladyship was gone thither ; for, she said, she knew I loved to see a great deal of company.

"Nay," says my friend, "thou takest me wrong, I did not suggest," says she, "that the person thou enquirest after is gone thither, neither do I believe she is, I assure thee." Well, the girl smiled, and let her know that she believed it for all that ; so, to clench it fast, "Verily," says she, with great seriousness, "thou dost not do well, for thou suspectest everything and believest nothing. I speak solemnly to thee that I do not believe they are gone that way ; so if thou givest thyself the trouble to go that way, and art disappointed, do not say that I have deceived thee." She knew well enough that if this did abate her suspicion it would not remove it ; and that it would do little more than amuse her ; but by this she kept her in suspense till Amy came up, and that was enough.

When Amy came up she was quite confounded to hear the relation which the Quaker gave her, and found means to acquaint me of it ; only letting me know, to my great satisfaction, that she would not come to Tunbridge first ; but that she would certainly go to Newmarket or Bury first.

However, it gave me very great uneasiness ; for as she resolved to ramble in search after me over the whole country, I was safe no where, no, not in Holland itself ; so, indeed, I did not know what to do with her ; and thus I had a bitter in all my sweet, for I was continually perplexed with this hussy, and thought she haunted me like an evil spirit.

In the mean time Amy was next door to stark-mad about her ; she durst not see her at my lodgings for her life ; and she went days without number to Spitalfields, where she used to come, and to her former lodging, and could never meet with her ; at length she took up a mad resolution that she would go directly to the captain's house in Rotherhithe, and speak with her ; it was a mad step, that's true ; but as Amy said she was mad, so nothing she could do could be otherwise. For if Amy had found her at Rotherhithe, she (the girl) would have concluded presently that the Quaker had given her notice, and so that we were all of a knot ; and that, in short, all she had said was right. But as it happened, things came to hit better than we expected ; for that Amy going out of a coach to take water at Tower Wharf, meets the girl just come on shore, having crossed the water from Rotherhithe. Amy made as if she would have passed by her, though they met so full that she did not pretend she did not see her, for she looked fairly upon her first ; but then turning her head away with a slight, offered to go from her ; but the girl stopped, and spoke first, and made some manners to her

Amy spoke coldly to her, and a little angry ; and after some words, standing in the street, or passage, the girl saying she seemed to be angry, and would not have spoken to her, "Why," says Amy, "how can you expect I should have any more to say to you after I had done so much for you, and you have behaved so to me ?" The girl seemed to take no notice of that now, but answered—"I was going to wait on you now."—

"Wait on me!" says Amy; "What do you mean by that?"—"Why," says she again, with a kind of familiarity, "I was going to your lodgings."

Amy was provoked to the last degree at her, and yet she thought it was not her time to resent, because she had a more fatal and wicked design in her head against her; which, indeed, I never knew till after it was executed, nor durst Amy ever communicate it to me; for as I had always expressed myself vehemently against hurting a hair of her head, so she was resolved to take her own measures without consulting me any more.

In order to this, Amy gave her good words, and concealed her resentment as much as she could; and when she talked of going to her lodging Amy smiled, and said nothing, but called for a pair of oars to go to Greenwich; and asked her, seeing she said she was going to her lodging, to go along with her, for she was going home, and was all alone.

Amy did this with such a stock of assurance that the girl was confounded, and knew not what to say; but the more she hesitated the more Amy pressed her to go; and talking very kindly to her, told her if she did not go to see her lodgings she might go to keep her company, and she would pay a boat to bring her back again; so, in a word, Amy prevailed on her to go into the boat with her, and carried her down to Greenwich.

'Tis certain Amy had no more business at Greenwich than I had; nor was she going thither; but we were all hampered to the last degree with the impertinence of this creature; and in particular I was horribly perplexed with it.

As they were in the boat Amy began to reproach her with ingratitude in treating her so rudely who had done so much for her, and been so kind to her; and to ask her what she had got by it, or what she expected to get. Then came in my share, the Lady Roxana. Amy jested with that, and bantered her a little; and asked her if she had found her yet.

But Amy was both surprised and enraged when the girl told her roundly that she thanked her for what she had done for her, but that she would not have her think she was so ignorant as not to know that what she (Amy) had done was by her mother's order, and who she was beholding to for it. That she could never make instruments pass for principals, and pay the debt to the agent, when the obligation was all to the original. That she knew well enough who she was, and who she was employed by. That she knew the Lady — very well, (naming the name that I now went by), which was my husband's true name, and by which she might know whether she had found out her mother or no.

Amy wished her at the bottom of the Thames; and had there been no waterman in the boat, and nobody in sight, she swore to me she would have thrown her into the river. I was horribly disturbed when she told me this story, and began to think this would, at last, all end in my ruin; but when Amy spoke of throwing her into the river and drowning her, I was so provoked at her that all my rage turned against Amy, and I fell thoroughly out with her. I had now kept Amy almost thirty years and found her on all occasions the faithfulest creature to me that ever woman had; I say, faithful to me; for, however

wicked she was, still she was true to me; and even this rage of hers was all upon my account, and for fear any mischief should befall me.

But be that how it would, I could not bear the mention of her murdering the poor girl, and it put me so beside myself, that I rose up in a rage, and bade her get out of my sight, and out of my house; told her I had kept her too long, and that I would never see her face more. I had before told her that she was a murderer, and a bloody-minded creature; that she could not but know that I could not bear the thoughts of it, much less the mention of it; and that it was the impudentest thing that ever was known to make such a proposal to me, when she knew that I was really the mother of this girl, and that she was my own child; that it was wicked enough in her, but that she must conclude I was ten times wickeder than herself if I could come into it. That the girl was in the right, and I had nothing to blame her for; but that it was owing to the wickedness of my life that made it necessary for me to keep her from a discovery; but that I would not murder my child, though I was otherwise to be ruined by it; Amy replied somewhat rough and short, would I not, but she would, she said, if she had an opportunity; and upon these words it was that I bade her get out of my sight and out of my house; and it went so far that Amy packed up up her alls, and marched off, and was gone for almost good and all. But of that, in its order, I must go back to the relation of the voyage which they made to Greenwich together.

They held on the wrangle all the way by water; the girl insisted upon knowing of her, that I was her mother, and told all the history of my life in the Pallmall, as well after her being turned away as before; and of my marriage since, and which was worse, not only who my present husband was, but where he had lived, viz. at Roan in France. She knew nothing of Paris, or of where we were going to live, namely, at Nimeguen; but told her in so many words, that if she could not find me here, she would go to Holland after me.

They landed at Greenwich, and Amy carried her into the Park with her, and they walked about two hours there in the farthest and remotest walks; which Amy did, because as they talked with great heat, it was apparent they were quarrelling, and the people took notice of it.

They walked till they came almost to the wilderness, at the south side of the park; but the girl perceiving Amy offered to go there among the woods and trees, stopped short there, and would go no farther; but said she would not go in there.

Amy smiled, and asked her what was the matter? She replied short, she did not know where she was, nor where she was going to carry her, and she would go no farther; and without any more ceremony, turns back, and walks apace away from her. Amy owned she was surprised, and came back too, and called to her, and asked her what she meant?

The girl boldly replied she did not know but she might murder her; and that, in short, she would not trust herself with her, and never would come into her company again alone.

It was very provoking, but, however, Amy kept

her temper, with much difficulty, and bore it, knowing that much might depend upon it; so she mocked her foolish jealousy, and told her she need not be uneasy for her, she would do her no harm, and would have done her good, if she would have let her; but since she was of such a refractory humour, she should not trouble herself, for she should never come into her company again; and that neither she, or her brother, or sister, should ever hear from her, or see her any more; and so she should have the satisfaction of being the ruin of her brother and sister, as well as of herself.

The girl seemed a little mollified at that, and said, that for herself, she knew the worst of it, she could seek her fortune; but it was hard her brother and sister should suffer on her score; and something that was tender and well enough, on that account. But Amy told her it was for her to take that into consideration; for she would let her see that it was all her own; that she would have done them all good, but that having been used thus, she would do no more for any of them; and that she should not need to be afraid to come into her company again, for she would never give her occasion for it any more. This, by the way, was false in the girl, too; for she did venture into Amy's company again after that once too much, as I shall relate by itself.

They grew cooler, however, afterwards, and Amy carried her into a house at Greenwich, where she was acquainted, and took an occasion to leave the girl in a room a while, to speak to the people in the house, and so prepare them to own her as a lodger in the house; and then going in to her again, told her, there she lodged, if she had a mind to find her out, or if anybody else had anything to say to her. And so Amy dismissed her, and got rid of her again; and finding an empty hackney-coach in the town, came away by land to London, and the girl, going down to the water side, came by boat.

This conversation did not answer Amy's end at all, because it did not secure the girl from pursuing her design of hunting me out; and though my indefatigable friend the Quaker amused her three or four days, yet I had such notice of it at last, that I thought fit to come away from Tunbridge upon it; and where to go I knew not: but, in short, I went to a little village upon Epping Forest, called Woodford, and took lodgings in a private house, where I lived retired about six weeks, till I thought she might be tired of her search, and have given me over.

Here I received an account from my trusty Quaker, that the wench had really been at Tunbridge, had found out my lodgings, and had told her tale in a most dismal tone; that she had followed us, as she thought, to London; but the Quaker had answered her, that she knew nothing of it, which was indeed true; and had admonished her to be easy, and not to hunt after people of such fashion as we were, as if we were thieves; that she might be assured, that since I was not willing to see her, I would not be forced to do it; and treating me thus would effectually disoblige me. And with such discourses as these she quieted her; and she (the Quaker) added,

that she hoped I should not be troubled much more with her.

It was in this time that Amy gave me the history of her Greenwich voyage, when she spoke of drowning and killing the girl in so serious a manner, and with such an apparent resolution of doing it, that, as I said, put me in a rage with her, so that I effectually turned her away from me, as I have said above, and she was gone; nor did she so much as tell me whither, or which way she was gone; on the other hand, when I came to reflect on it, that I now had neither assistant nor confidant to speak to, or receive the least information from, my friend the Quaker excepted, it made me very uneasy.

I waited, and expected, and wondered, from day to day, still thinking Amy would one time or other think a little, and come again, or at least, let me hear of her; but for ten days together I heard nothing of her. I was so impatient, that I got neither rest by day or sleep by night, and what to do I knew not. I durst not go to town to the Quaker's, for fear of meeting that vexatious creature, my girl, and I could get no intelligence where I was; so I got my spouse, on pretence of wanting her company, to take the coach one day and fetch my good Quaker to me.

When I had her, I durst ask her no questions, nor hardly knew which end of the business to begin to talk of; but of her own accord, she told me, that the girl had been three or four times haunting her for news from me; and that she had been so troublesome, that she had been obliged to shew herself a little angry with her; and at last, told her plainly that she need give herself no trouble in searching after me by her means; for she (the Quaker) would not tell her, if she knew; upon which she refrained a while. But on the other hand, she told me it was not safe for me to send my coach for her to come in, for she had some reason to believe that she (my daughter) watched her door night and day; nay, and watched her, too, every time she went in and out; for she was so bent upon a discovery that she spared no pains, and she believed she had taken a lodging very near their house for that purpose.

I could hardly give her a hearing of all this, for my eagerness to ask for Amy; but I was confounded when she told me she had heard nothing of her. It is impossible to express the anxious thoughts that rolled about in my mind, and continually perplexed me about her; particularly, I reproached myself with my rashness in turning away so faithful a creature, that in so many years had not only been a servant but an agent; and not only an agent, but a friend, and a faithful friend too.

Then I considered, too, that Amy knew all the secret history of my life,—had been in all the intrigues of it, and been a party in both evil and good,—and at best, there was no policy in it; that as it was very ungenerous and unkind to run things to such an extremity with her, and for an occasion, too, in which all the fault she was guilty of was owing to her excessive care for my safety; so it must be only her steady kindness to me, and an excess of generous friendship for me, that should keep her from ill-using me in

return for it ; which ill-using me was enough in her power, and might be my utter undoing.

These thoughts perplexed me exceedingly, and what course to take I really did not know. I began indeed to give Amy quite over, for she had been gone above a fortnight ; and as she had taken away all her clothes, and her money too, which was not a little, and so had no occasion of that kind to come any more, so she had not left any word where she was gone, or to which part of the world I might send to hear of her.

And I was troubled on another account too, viz., that my spouse and I too had resolved to do very handsomely for Amy, without considering what she might have got another way at all ; but we had said nothing of it to her ; and so I thought, as she had not known what was likely to fall in her way, she had not the influence of that expectation to make her come back.

Upon the whole, the perplexity of this girl, who hunted me as if, like a hound, she had had a hot scent, but was now at a fault,—I say, that perplexity, and this other part, of Amy being gone, issued in this, I resolved to be gone, and go over to Holland ; there, I believed, I should be at rest. So I took occasion one day to tell my spouse, that I was afraid he might take it ill that I had amused him thus long, and that, at last, I doubted I was not with child ; and that, since it was so, our things being packed up, and all in order for going to Holland, I would go away now, when he pleased.

My spouse, who was perfectly easy, whether in going or staying, left it all entirely to me ; so I considered of it, and began to prepare again for the voyage. But alas ! I was irresolute to the last degree. I was, for want of Amy, destitute ; I had lost my right hand ; she was my steward, gathered in my rents,—I mean my interest money,—and kept my accounts ; and, in a word, did all my business ; and without her, indeed, I knew not how to go away, or how to stay. But an accident thrust itself in here, and that even in Amy's conduct, too, which frightened me away, and without her, too, in the utmost horror and confusion.

I have related how my faithful friend the Quaker was come to me, and what account she gave me of her being continually haunted by my daughter ; and that, as she said, she watched her very door night and day. The truth was, she set a spy to watch so effectually, that she (the Quaker) neither went in nor out but she had notice of it.

This was too evident, when the next morning after she came to me, (for I kept her all night,) to my unspeakable surprise, I saw a hackney-coach stop at the door where I lodged, and saw her (my daughter) in the coach all alone. It was a very good chance, in the middle of a bad one, that my husband had taken out the coach that very morning, and was gone to London. As for me, I had neither life nor soul left in me ; I was so confounded, I knew not what to do or to say.

My happy visitor had more presence of mind than I, and asked me if I had no acquaintance among the neighbours. I told her—Yes, there was a lady lodged two doors off that I was very intimate with. “But hast thou no way out

backward to go to her ?” says she. Now it happened there was a back-door in the garden, by which we usually went and come to and from the house ; so I told her of it. “Well, well,” says she, “go out and make a visit, then, and leave the rest to me.” Away I run, told the lady (for I was very free there,) that I was a widow to-day, my spouse being gone to London, so I came, not to visit her, but to dwell with her that day ; because, also, our landlady had got strangers from London. So having framed this orderly lie, I pulled some work out of my pocket, and added, “I did not come to be idle.”

As I went out one way, my friend the Quaker went the other, to receive this unwelcome guest. The girl made but little ceremony ; but having bid the coachman ring at the gate, gets down out of the coach, and comes to the door ; a country girl going to the door, (belonging to the house,) for the Quaker forbid any of my maids going. Madam asked for my Quaker by name, and the girl asked her to walk in.

Upon this, my Quaker, seeing there was no hanging back, goes to her immediately, but put on all the gravity upon her countenance that she was mistress of,—and that was not a little, indeed.

When she (the Quaker) came into the room, (for they had shewed my daughter into a little parlour,) she kept her grave countenance, but said not a word ; nor did my daughter speak a good while ; but after some time, my girl began, and said—“I suppose you know me, madam ?”

“Yes,” says the Quaker, “I know thee.”—And so the dialogue went on.

Girl. Then you know my business, too.

Quaker. No, verily, I do not know any business thou canst have here with me.

G. Indeed, my business is not chiefly with you.

Q. Why, then, dost thou come after me thus far ?

G. You know whom I seek. [*And with that she cried.*]

Q. But why shouldst thou follow me for her, since thou knowest that I assured thee more than once that I knew not where she was ?

G. But I hoped you could.

Q. Then thou must hope that I did not speak the truth, which would be very wicked.

G. I doubt not but she is in this house.

Q. If those be thy thoughts, thou mayest enquire in the house ; so thou hast no more business with me. Farewell ! [*Offers to go.*]

G. I would not be uncivil ; I beg you to let me see her.

Q. I am here to visit some of my friends, and I think thou art not very civil in following me hither.

G. I came in hopes of a discovery in my great affair which you know of.

Q. Thou camest widely, indeed ; I counsel thee to go back again, and be easy ; I shall keep my word with thee, that I would not meddle in it, nor give thee any account, if I knew it, unless I had her orders.

G. If you knew my distress, you could not be so cruel.

Q. Thou hast told me all thy story, and I think it might be more cruelty to tell thee than

not to tell thee; for I understand she is determined not to see thee, and declares she is not thy mother. Wilt thou be owned where thou hast no relation?

G. O, if I could speak to her, I would prove my relation to her so that she could not deny it any longer.

Q. Well, but thou canst not come to speak with her, it seems.

G. I hope you will tell me if she is here; I had a good account that you were come out to see her, and that she sent for you.

Q. I much wonder how thou couldst have such an account. If I had come out to see her, thou hast happened to miss the house, for I assure thee she is not to be found in this house.

Here the girl importuned her again with the utmost earnestness, and cried bitterly, insomuch, that my poor Quaker was softened with it, and began to persuade me to consider of it, and, if it might consist with my affairs, to see her, and hear what she had to say; but this was afterwards. I return to the discourse.

The Quaker was perplexed with her a long time; she talked of sending back the coach, and lying in the town all night. This, my friend knew would be very uneasy to me, but she durst not speak a word against it; but on a sudden thought, she offered a bold stroke, which, though dangerous if it happened wrong, had its desired effect.

She told her, that as for dismissing her coach, that was as she pleased; she believed she would not easily get a lodging in the town; but that as she was in a strange place, she would so much befriend her, that she would speak to the people of the house, that if they had room, she might have a lodging there for one night, rather than be forced back to London, before she was free to go.

This was a cunning, though a dangerous step, and it succeeded accordingly, for it amused the creature entirely, and she presently concluded, that really I could not be there then; otherwise she would never have asked her to lie in the house; so she grew cold again presently as to her lodging there, and said,—No, since it was so, she would go back that afternoon, but she would come back again in two or three days, and search that and all the surrounding towns in an effectual manner, if she staid a week or two to do it; for in short, if I was in England or Holland, she would find me.

“In truth,” says the Quaker, “thou wilt make me very hurtful to thee, then.”—“Why so?” says she. “Because wherever I go, thou wilt put thyself to great expense, and the country to a great deal of unnecessary trouble.”—“Not unnecessary,” says she. “Yes, truly,” says the Quaker; “it must be unnecessary, because it will be to no purpose. I think I must abide in my house, to save thee that charge and trouble.”

She said little to that, except that, she said, she would give her as little trouble as possible; but she was afraid she should sometimes be uneasy to her, which she hoped she would excuse. My Quaker told her, she would much rather excuse her, if she would forbear; for that, if she

would believe her, she would assure her, she should never get any intelligence of me by her.

That set her into tears again; but after a while, recovering herself, she told her,—Perhaps she might be mistaken; and she (the Quaker) should watch herself very narrowly, or she might one time or another get some intelligence from her, whether she would or no; and she was satisfied she had gained some of her by this journey; for that if I was not in the house, I was not far off; and if I did not remove very quickly she would find me out. “Very well,” says the Quaker; “then if the lady is not willing to see thee, thou givest me notice to tell her, that she may get out of thy way.”

She flew out in a rage at that, and told my friend that if she did a curse would follow her and her children after her, and denounced such horrid things upon her, as frightened the poor tender-hearted Quaker strangely, and put her more out of temper than ever I saw her before; so that she resolved to go home the next morning, and I, that was ten times more uneasy than she, resolved to follow her, and go to London too; which, however, upon second thoughts, I did not, but took effectual measures not to be seen or owned, if she came any more; but I heard no more of her for some time.

I stayed there about a fortnight, and in all that time I heard no more of her, or of my Quaker about her; but after two days more, I had a letter from my Quaker, intimating that she had something of moment to say, that she could not communicate by a letter, but wished I would give myself the trouble to come up, directing me to come with the coach into Goodman's-fields, and then walk to her back-door on foot, which being left open on purpose, the watchful lady, if she had any spies, could not well see me.

My thoughts had for so long time been kept, as it were, waking, that almost everything gave me the alarm, and this especially, so that I was very uneasy; but I could not bring matters to bear to make my coming to London so clear to my husband as I would have done; for he liked the place, and had a mind, he said, to stay a little longer, if it was not against my inclination; so I wrote my friend the Quaker word, that I could not come to town yet; and that, besides, I could not think of being there under spies, and afraid to look out of doors; and so, in short, I put off going for near a fortnight more.

At the end of that time she wrote again, in which she told me, that she had not lately seen the impertinent visitor, which had been so troublesome; but that she had seen my trusty agent Amy, who told her that she had cried for six weeks without intermission; that Amy had given her an account how troublesome the creature had been, and to what straits and perplexities I was driven by her hunting after and following me from place to place; upon which Amy had said, that notwithstanding I was angry with her, and had used her so hardly for saying something about her of the same kind, yet there was an absolute necessity of securing her, and removing her out of the way; and that, in short, without asking my leave, or any body's leave, she would take care she should trouble her mistress

(meaning me) no more ; and that after Amy had said so, she had indeed heard no more of the girl ; so that she supposed Amy had managed it so well as to put an end to it.

The innocent well-meaning creature, my Quaker, who was all kindness and goodness in herself, and particularly to me, saw nothing in this ; but she thought Amy had found some way to persuade her to be quiet and easy, and to give over teasing and following me, and rejoiced in it for my sake ; as she thought nothing of any evil herself, so she suspected none in anybody else ; and was exceeding glad of having such good news to write to me ; but my thoughts of it ran otherwise.

I was struck, as with a blast from heaven, at the reading her letter ; I fell into a fit of trembling from head to foot, and I ran raving about the room like a mad-woman ; I had nobody to speak a word to, to give vent to my passion ; nor did I speak a word for a good while, till after it had almost overcome me. I threw myself upon the bed, and cried out—"Lord, be merciful to me, she has murdered my child !"—and with that a flood of tears burst out, and I cried vehemently for above an hour.

My husband was very happily gone out a-hunting, so that I had an opportunity of being alone, and to give my passions some vent, by which I had a little recovered myself. But after my crying was over, then I fell into a new rage at Amy ; I called her a thousand devils, and monsters, and hard-hearted tigers ; I reproached her with knowing that I abhorred it, and had let her know it sufficiently, in that I had, as it were, kicked her out of doors, after so many years' friendship and service, only for naming it to me.

Well, after some time, my spouse came in from his sport, and I put on the best looks I could to deceive him ; but he did not take so little notice of me as not to see I had been crying, and that something troubled me ; and he pressed me to tell him. I seemed to bring it out with reluctance, but told him, my backwardness was more because I was ashamed that such a trifle should have any effect upon me than for any weight that was in it ; so I told him I had been vexing myself about my woman Amy's not coming again ; that she might have known me better than not to believe I should have been friends with her again, and the like ; and that, in short, I had lost the best servant by rashness that ever woman had.

"Well, well," says he, "if that be all your grief, I hope you will soon shake it off ; I'll warrant you that in a little while we shall hear of Mrs Amy again." And so it went off for that time. But it did not go off with me ; for I was uneasy and terrified to the last degree, and wanted to get some further account of the thing. So I went to my sure and certain comforter the Quaker, and there I had the whole story about it ; and the good innocent Quaker gave me joy of my being rid of such an unsufferable tormentor.

"Rid of her ! Ay," says I, "if I was rid of her fairly and honourably ; but I don't know what Amy may have done. Sure she has not made her away ?"—"Oh fie !" says my Quaker ;

"how canst thou entertain such a notion ? No, no. Made her away ! Amy did not talk like that. I dare say thou mayest be easy in that ; Amy has nothing of that in her head, I dare say," says she, and so threw it, as it were, out of my thoughts.

But it would not do ; it run in my head continually ; night and day I could think of nothing else ; and it fixed such a horror of the fact upon my spirits, and such a detestation of Amy, whom I looked upon as the murderer, that, as for her, I believe if I could have seen her I should certainly have sent her to Newgate, or some worse place, upon suspicion ; indeed, I think I could have killed her with my own hands.

As for the poor girl herself, she was ever before my eyes ; I saw her by night and by day ; she haunted my imagination, if she did not haunt the house ; my fancy showed her me in a hundred shapes and postures ; sleeping or waking, she was with me. Sometimes I thought I saw her with her throat cut ; sometimes with her head cut, and her brains knocked out ; other times hanged up upon a beam ; another time drowned in the great pond at Camberwell. And all these appearances were terrifying to the last degree ; and that which was still worse, I could really hear nothing of her ; I sent to the captain's wife in Redriff, and she answered me,—She was gone to her relations in Spitalfields. I sent thither, and they said she was there about three weeks ago, but that she went out in a coach with the gentleman that used to be so kind to her, but whither she was gone they knew not, for she had not been there since. I sent back the messenger for a description of the woman she went out with, and they described her so perfectly that I knew it to be Amy, and none but Amy.

I sent her word again that Mrs Amy, whom she went out with, left her in two or three hours, and that they should search for her, for I had reason to fear she was murdered. This frightened them all intolerably. They believed Amy had carried her to pay a sum of money, and that somebody had watched her after having received it, and had robbed and murdered her.

I believed nothing of that part, but I believed, as it was, that whatever was done, Amy had done it ; and that, in short, Amy had made her away ; and I believed it the more, because Amy came no more near me, but confirmed her guilt by her absence.

Upon the whole, I mourned thus for her for above a month ; but finding Amy still not come near me, and that I must put my affairs in a posture that I might go to Holland, I opened all my affairs to my dear trusty friend the Quaker, and placed her, in matters of trust, in the room of Amy ; and with a heavy bleeding heart for my poor girl, I embarked with my spouse, and all our equipage and goods on board another Holland trader, not a packet-boat, and went over to Holland, where I arrived, as I have said.

I must put in a caution, however, here, that you must not understand me as if I let my friend the Quaker into any part of the secret history of my former life ; nor did I commit the grand reserved article of all to her, viz., that I was really the girl's mother, and the lady Roxana ; there was no need of that part being exposed ; and it

was always a maxim with me, that secrets should never be opened without evident utility. It could be no manner of use to me or her to communicate that part to her; besides, she was too honest herself to make it safe to me; for though she loved me sincerely, and it was plain by many circumstances that she did so, yet she would not lie for me upon occasion, as Amy would, and therefore it was not advisable on any terms to communicate that part; for if the girl, or any one else, should have come to her afterwards, and put it home to her, whether she knew that I was the girl's mother or not, or was the same as the lady Roxana or not, she either would not have denied it, or would have done it with so ill a grace, such blushing, such hesitations and falterings in her answers, as would have put the matter out of doubt, and betray herself and the secret too.

For this reason, I say, I did not discover anything of that kind to her; but I placed her, as I have said, in Amy's stead, in the other affairs of receiving money, interests, rents, and the like, and she was as faithful as Amy could be, and as diligent.

But there fell out a great difficulty here, which I knew not how to get over; and this was how to convey the usual supply or provision and money to the uncle and the other sister, who depended, especially the sister, upon the said supply for her support; and, indeed, though Amy had said rashly that she would not take any more notice of the sister, and would leave her to perish, as above, yet it was neither in my nature or Amy's either, much less was it my design; and therefore I resolved to leave the management of what I had reserved for that work with my faithful Quaker, but how to direct her to manage them was the great difficulty.

Amy had told them in so many words that she was not their mother, but that she was the maid Amy that carried them to their aunts; that she and their mother went over to the East Indies to seek their fortune, and that there good things had befallen them; and that their mother was very rich and happy; that she (Amy) had married in the Indies, but being now a widow, and resolving to come over to England, their mother had obliged her to inquire them out, and do for them as she had done; and that now she was resolved to go back to the Indies again; but that she had orders to do very handsomely by them; and, in a word, told them she had 2,000*l.* a piece for them, upon condition that they proved sober, and married suitably to themselves, and did not throw themselves away upon scoundrels.

The good family in whose care they had been I had resolved to take more than ordinary notice of; and Amy, by my order, had acquainted them with it, and obliged my daughters to promise to submit to their government, as formerly, and to be ruled by the honest man as by a father and counsellor; and engaged him to treat them as his children; and to oblige him effectually to take care of them, and to make his old age comfortable both to him and his wife, who had been so good to the orphans, I had ordered her to settle the other 2,000*l.*, that is to say, the interest of it, which was 120*l.* a-year, upon them, to be theirs for both their lives; but to come to my two daughters after them. This was so just, and was

so prudently managed by Amy, that nothing she ever did for me, pleased me better. And in this posture, leaving my two daughters with their ancient friend, and so coming away to me, (as they thought to the East Indies,) she had prepared everything in order to her going over with me to Holland; and in this posture that matter stood when the unhappy girl, whom I have said so much of, broke in upon all our measures, as you have heard, and by an obstinacy never to be conquered or pacified, either with threats or persuasions, pursued her search after me (her mother) as I have said, till she brought me even to the brink of destruction, and would, in all probability, have traced me out at last, if Amy had not, by the violence of her passion, and by a way which I had no knowledge of, and indeed abhorred, put a stop to her, of which I cannot enter into the particulars here.

However, notwithstanding this, I could not think of going away and leaving this work so unfinished as Amy had threatened to do, and for the folly of one child to leave the other to starve; or to stop my determined bounty to the good family I have mentioned. So, in a word, I committed the finishing it all to my good friend the Quaker, to whom I communicated as much of the old story as needful to empower her to perform what Amy had promised, and to make her talk so much to the purpose, as one employed more remotely than Amy had been, needed to do.

To this purpose, she had first of all a full possession of the money; and went first to the honest man and his wife, and settled all the matter with them; when she talked of Mrs Amy, she talked of her as one that had been empowered by the mother of the girls, in the Indies, but was obliged to go back to the Indies, and had settled all sooner, if she had not been hindered by the obstinate humour of the other daughter; that she had left instructions with her for the rest; but that the other had affronted her so much, that she was gone away without doing anything for her; and that now, if anything was done, it must be by fresh orders from the East Indies.

I need not say how punctually my new agent acted; but what was more, she brought the old man and his wife, and my other daughter, several times to her house, by which I had an opportunity, being there only as a lodger, and a stranger, to see my other girl, which I had never done before since she was a little child.

The day I contrived to see them, I was dressed up in a Quaker's habit, and looked so like a Quaker, that it was impossible for them, who had never seen me before, to suppose that I had ever been anything else; also my way of talking was suitable enough to it, for I had learned that long before.

I have not time here to take notice what a surprise it was to me to see my child, how it worked upon my affections; with what infinite struggle I mastered a strong inclination that I had to discover myself to her; how the girl was the very counterpart of myself, only much handsomer; and how sweetly and modestly she behaved; how on that occasion I resolved to do more for her, than I had appointed by Amy, and the like.

It is enough to mention here, that as the set-

ting this affair made way for my going on board, notwithstanding the absence of my old agent Amy; so however, I left some hints for Amy too, for I did not yet despair of my hearing from her; and that if my good Quaker should ever see her again, she should let her see them; wherein particularly ordering her to leave the affair of Spitalfields just as I had done, in the hands of my friend, she should come away to me, upon this condition nevertheless, that she gave full satisfaction to my friend the Quaker, that she had not murdered my child; for if she had, I told her, I never would see her face more. How, notwithstanding this, she came over afterwards, without giving my friend any of that satisfaction, or any account that she intended to come over.

I can say no more now, but that being arrived in Holland, with my spouse and his son, formerly mentioned, I appeared there with all the splendour and equipage suitable to our new prospect, as I have already observed.

Here, after some few years of flourishing and outwardly happy circumstances, I fell into a dreadful course of calamities, and Amy also; the very reverse of our former good days; the blast of heaven seemed to follow the injury done the poor girl by us both, and I was brought so low again, that my repentance seemed to be the only consequence of my misery, as my misery was of my crime.*

In resolving to go to Holland with my husband, and take possession of the title of countess as soon as possible, I had a view of deceiving my daughter, were she yet alive, and seeking me out; for it seldom happens that a nobleman, or his lady, are called by their surnames, and as she was a stranger to our noble title, might have inquired at our next door neighbour's for Mr *****, the Dutch merchant, and not have been one jot the wiser for her inquiry; so one evening, soon after this resolution, as I and my husband were sitting together when supper was over, and talking of several various scenes in life, I told him that, as there was no likelihood of my being with child, as I had some reason to suspect I was some time before, I was ready to go with him to any part of the world, whenever he pleased; I said, that great part of my things were packed up, and what was not would not be long about, and that I had little occasion to buy any more clothes, linen, or jewels, whilst I was in England, having a large quantity of the richest and best of everything by me already. On saying these words, he took me in his arms, and told me that he looked on what I had now spoken with so great an emphasis to be my settled resolution, and the fault should not lie on his side if it miscarried being put in practice.

The next morning he went out to see some merchants, who had received advice of the arrival of some shipping which had been in great danger at sea, and whose insurance had ran very high; and it was this interval that gave me an opportunity of my coming to a final resolution; I now told the Quaker, as she was sitting at work in her parlour, that we should very speedily leave her, and although she daily ex-

pected it, yet she was really sorry to hear that we had come to a full determination; she said abundance of fine things to me on the happiness of the life I did then, and was going to live; believing, I suppose, that a countess could not have a foul conscience; but at that very instant I would have, had it been in my power, resigned husband, estate, title, and all the blessings she fancied I had in the world, only for her real virtue, and the sweet peace of mind, joined to a loving company of children, which she really possessed.

When my husband returned, he asked me at dinner if I persevered in my resolution of leaving England; to which I answered in the affirmative: "Well," says he, "as all my affairs will not take up a week's time to settle, I will be ready to go from London with you in ten days' time. We fixed upon no particular place or abode, but in general concluded to go to Dover, cross the Channel to Calais, and proceed from thence by easy journeys to Paris, where, after staying about a week, we intended to go through part of France, the Austrian Netherlands, and so on to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or the Hague, as we were to settle before we went from Paris. As my husband did not care to venture all our fortune in one bottom, so our goods, money, and plate were consigned to several merchants, who had been his intimates many years, and he took notes of a prodigious value in his pocket, besides what he gave me to take care of during our journey. The last thing to be considered was, how we should go ourselves, and what equipage we should take with us; my thoughts were wholly taken up about it some time; I knew I was going to be a countess, and did not care to appear anything mean before I came to that honour; but on the other hand, if I left London in any public way, I might possibly hear of inquiries after me on the road, that I had been acquainted with before. At last I said, we would discharge all our servants, except two footmen who should travel with us to Dover, and one maid to wait on me, that had lived with me only since the retreat of Amy, and she was to go through, if she was willing; and as to the carriage of us, a coach should be hired for my husband, myself, and maid, and two horses were to be hired for the footmen, who were to return with them to London.

When the Quaker had heard when and how we intended to go, she begged, as there would be a spare seat in the coach, to accompany us as far as Dover, which we both readily consented to; no woman could be a better companion, neither was there any acquaintance that we loved better, or could show more respect to us.

The morning before we set out my husband sent for a master coachman to know the price of a handsome coach, with six able horses, to go to Dover; he inquired how many days we intended to be on the journey; my husband said he would go but very easy, and chose to be three days on the road; that they should stay there two days, and be three more returning to London, with a gentlewoman (meaning the Quaker) in it; the coachman said it would be an eight day's journey, and he would have ten guineas for it. My husband consented to pay him his demand, and he received orders to be ready at the door by seven of the clock the next morning: I was quite prepared

* The work, as originally published by De Foe in 1724, ends in this manner. The continuation of Roxana's life, which follows, was first printed in 1745, with a long explanation as to the author. It is impossible at this distance of time to say by whom it was written, but the style certainly bears a strong resemblance to that of De Foe.

to go, having no person to take leave of but the Quaker, and she had desired to see us take the packet-boat at Dover, before we parted with her; and the last night of my stay in London was spent very agreeably with the Quaker and her family. My husband, who staid out later than usual, in taking his farewell of several merchants of his acquaintance, came home about eleven o'clock, and drank a glass or two of wine with us before we went to bed.

The next morning the whole family got up about five o'clock, and I, with my husband's consent, made each of the Quaker's daughters a present of a diamond ring, valued at 20*l.*, and a guinea a-piece to all the servants, without exception. We all breakfasted together, and at the hour appointed the coach and attendants came to the door; this drew several people about it, who were all very inquisitive to know who was going into the country, and what is never forgot on such occasions, all the beggars in the neighbourhood were prepared to give us their benedictions in hopes of an alms. When the coachman had packed up what boxes were designed for our use, we, namely, my husband, the Quaker, myself, and the waiting-maid, all got into the coach, the footmen were mounted on horses behind, and in this manner the coach, after I had given a guinea to one of the Quaker's daughters equally to divide among the beggars at the door, drove away from the house, and I took leave of my lodging in the Minories, as well as of London.

At St George's church, Southwark, we were met by three gentlemen on horseback, who were merchants of my husband's acquaintance, and had come out on purpose to go half a day's journey with us, and as they kept talking to us at the coach side, we went a good pace, and were very merry together; we stopped at the best house of entertainment on Shooter's hill.

Here we stopped for about an hour and drank some wine. And my husband, whose chief study was how to please and divert me, caused me to alight out of the coach. Which the gentlemen who accompanied us observing, alighted also; the waiter showed us up stairs into a large room, whose window opened to our view a fine prospect of the River Thames, which here, they say, forms one of the most beautiful meanders. It was within an hour of high water, and such a number of ships coming in under sail quite astonished as well as delighted me, insomuch that I could not help breaking out into such like expressions, "My dear, what a fine sight this is; I never saw the like before! Pray, will they get to London this tide?" At which the good-natured gentleman smiled, and said, "Yes, my dear, why there is London, and as the wind is quite fair for them, some of them will come to an anchor in about half an hour, and all within an hour."

I was so taken up with looking down the river, that, till my husband spoke, I had not once looked up the river; but when I did, and saw London, the Monument, the Cathedral Church of St Paul, and the steeples belonging to the several parish churches, I was transported into an ecstasy, and could not refrain from saying, "Sure that cannot be the place we are now just come from! it must be further off, for that looks to be scarce three miles off, and we have been three hours by my

watch coming from our lodgings in the Minories! No, no, it is not London, it is some other place!"

Upon which one of the gentlemen present offered to convince me that the place I saw was London, if I would go up to the top of the house, and view it from the turret. I accepted the offer, and I, my husband, and the three gentlemen, were conducted, by the master of the house, up stairs into the turret. If I was delighted before with my prospect, I was now ravished, for I was elevated above the room I was in before, upwards of thirty feet. I seemed a little dizzy, for the turret being a lanthorn and giving light all ways, for some time I thought myself suspended in the air; but sitting down, and having eat a mouthful of biscuit and drank a glass of sack, I soon recovered, and then the gentleman who had undertaken to convince me that the place I was shown was really London, thus began, after having drawn aside one of the windows.

"You see, my lady," says the gentleman, "the greatest, the finest, the richest, and the most populous city in the world, at least in Europe, as I can assure your ladyship, upon my own knowledge, it deserves the character I have given it." "But this, sir, will never convince me that the place you now show me is London, though I have before heard that London deserves the character you have with so much cordiality bestowed upon it. And this I can testify, that London, in every particular you have mentioned, greatly surpasses Paris, which is allowed by all historians and travellers to be the second city in Europe."

Here the gentleman, pulling out his pocket-glass, desired me to look through it, which I did; and then he directed me to look full at St Paul's, and to make that the centre of my future observation, and thereupon he promised me conviction.

Whilst I took my observation, I sat in a high chair, made for that purpose, with a convenience before you to hold the glass. I soon found the cathedral; and then I could not help saying, I have been several times up to the stone gallery, but not quite so often up to the iron gallery. Then I brought my eye to the monument, and was obliged to confess I knew it to be such. The gentleman then moved the glass, and desired me to look, which doing, I said, "I think I see Whitehall and St James's Park, and I see also two great buildings, like barns, but I do not know what they are." "Oh," says the gentleman, "they are the Parliament house and Westminster Abbey."—"They may be so," said I; and continuing looking, I perceived the very house at Kensington which I had lived in some time; but of that I took no notice; yet I found my colour come, to think what a life of gaiety and wickedness I had lived. The gentleman, perceiving my disorder, said, "I am afraid I have tired your ladyship; I will make but one remove more easterly, and then I believe you will allow the place we see to be London."

He might have saved himself the trouble, for I was thoroughly convinced of my error; but to give myself time to recover, and to hide my confusion, I seemed not yet to be quite convinced. I looked, and the first object that presented itself was Aldgate church, which, though I confess, to

my shame, I seldom saw the inside of it, yet I was well acquainted with the outside, for many times my friend the Quaker and I had passed and repassed by it when we used to go in the coach to take an airing. I saw the church, or the steeple of the church, so plain, and knew it so well, that I could not help saying, with some earnestness, "My dear, I see our church—the church, I mean, belonging to our neighbourhood; I am sure it is Aldgate church." Then I saw the Tower and all the shipping; and, taking my eye from the glass, I thanked the gentleman for the trouble I had given him, and said to him, that I was fully convinced that the place I saw was London, and that it was the very place we came from that morning.

When we came to Sittingbourne our servants soon brought us word that although we were at the best inn in the town, yet there was nothing in the larder fit for our dinner. The landlord came in after him and began to make excuses for his empty cupboard. He told us, withal, that if we would please to stay, he would kill a calf, a sheep, a hog, or anything we had a fancy to. We ordered him to kill a pig and some pigeons, which, with a dish of fish, a cherry pie, and some pastry, made up a tolerable dinner. We made up two pounds ten shillings, for we caused the landlord, his wife, and two daughters to dine with us, and help us off with our wine. Our landlady and her two daughters, with a glass or two given to the cook, managed two bottles of white wine. This operated so strong upon one of the young wenches, that my spouse being gone out into the yard, her tongue began to run; and, looking at me, she says to her mother—"La! mother, how much like the lady her ladyship is, (speaking of me), the young woman who lodged here the other night, and stayed here part of the next day, and then set forward for Canterbury, described. The lady is the same person, I am sure."

This greatly alarmed me, and made me very uneasy, for I concluded this young woman could be no other than my daughter, who was resolved to find me out, whether I would or no. I desired the girl to describe the young woman she mentioned, which she did, and I was convinced it was my own daughter. I asked in what manner she travelled, and whether she had any company. I was answered that she was on foot, and that she had no company; but that she always travelled from place to place in company; that her method was, when she came into any town to go to the best inns and enquire for the lady she sought; and then when she had satisfied herself that the lady, whom she called her mother, was not to be found in that town or neighbourhood, she then begged the favour of the landlady of the inn where she was to put her into such a company that she knew, that she might go safe to the next town; that this was the manner of her proceeding at her house, and she believed she had practised it ever since she set out from London; and she hoped to meet with her mother, as she called her, upon the road.

I asked my landlady whether she described our coach and equipage, but she said the young woman did not enquire concerning equipage, but only described a lady, so like your ladyship,

that I have often since I saw your ladyship took you to be the very person she was looking for.

Amidst the distractions of my mind, this afforded me some comfort, that my daughter was not in the least acquainted with the manner in which we travelled. My husband and the landlord returned, and that put an end to the discourse.

I left this town with a heavy heart, fearing my daughter would infallibly find me out at Canterbury; but, as good luck would have it, she had left that city before we came thither some time. I was very short in one thing, that I had not asked my landlady at Sittingbourne, how long it was since my daughter was there. But when I came to Canterbury I was very anxious and indefatigable in inquiring after my daughter, and I found that she had been at the inn where we then were, and had inquired for me, as I found by the description the people gave of myself.

Here I learnt my daughter had left Canterbury a week. This pleased me; and I was determined to stay in Canterbury one day, to view the cathedral, and see the antiquities of this metropolis.

As we had sixteen miles to our journey's end that night, for it was near four o'clock before we got into our coach again, the coachman drove with great speed, and at dusk in the evening we entered the west gate of the city, and put up at an inn in High-street, near St Mary Bredman's church, which generally was filled with the best of company. The anxiety of my mind, on finding myself pursued by this girl, and the fatigue of my journey, had made me much out of order, my head ached, and I had no stomach.

This made my husband (but he knew not the real occasion of my illness,) and the Quaker very uneasy, and they did all in their power to persuade me to eat any thing I could fancy. At length, the landlady of the inn, who perceived I was more disturbed in my mind than sick, advised me to eat one poached egg, drink a glass of sack, eat a toast, and go to bed, and she warranted, she said, I should be well by the morning. This was immediately done; and I must acknowledge, that the sack and toast cheered me wonderfully, and I began to take heart again; and my husband would have the coachman in after supper, on purpose to divert me and the honest Quaker, who, poor creature, seemed much more concerned at my misfortune than I was myself.

I went soon to bed, but for fear I should be worse in the night, two maids of the inn were ordered to sit up in an adjoining chamber; the Quaker and my waiting-maid lay in a bed in the same room, and my husband by himself in another apartment.

While my maid was gone down on some necessary business, and likewise to get me some burnt wine, which I was to drink going to bed, or rather when I was just got into bed, the Quaker and I had the following dialogue:—

Quaker. The news thou heardest at Sittingbourne hath disordered thee. I am glad the young woman has been out of this place a week; she went indeed for Dover; and when she comes there and canst not find thee, she may go to Deal, and so miss of thee.

Roxana. What I most depend upon is, that as

we do not travel by any particular name, but the general one of the baronet and his lady, and the girl hath no notion what sort of equipage we travelled with, it was not easy to make a discovery of me, unless she accidentally, in her travels, light upon you (meaning the Quaker) or upon me; either of which must unavoidably blow the secret I had so long laboured to conceal.

Quaker. As thou intendest to stay here to-morrow, to see the things which thou callest antiquities, and which are more properly named the relics of the Whore of Babylon; suppose thou wert to send Thomas, who at thy command followeth after us, to the place called Dover, to inquire whether such a young woman has been inquiring for thee. He may go out betimes in the morning, and may return by night, for it is but twelve or fourteen miles at furthest thither.

Roxana.—I like thy scheme very well; and I beg the favour of you in the morning as soon as you are up, to send Tom to Dover, with such instructions as you shall think proper.

After a good night's repose I was well recovered, to the great satisfaction of all that were with me.

The good-natured Quaker, always studious to serve and oblige me, got up about five o'clock in the morning, and going down into the inn yard met with Tom, gave him his instructions, and he set out for Dover before six o'clock.

As we were at the best inn in the city, so we could readily have whatever we pleased, and whatever the season afforded; but my husband, the most indulgent man that ever breathed, having observed how heartily I ate my dinner at Rochester, two days before, ordered the very same bill of fare, and of which I made a heartier meal than I did before. We were very merry, and after we had dined we went to see the town-house, but as it was near five o'clock I left the Quaker behind me, to receive what intelligence she could get concerning my daughter, from the footman, who was expected to return from Dover at six.

We came to the inn just as it was dark, and then excusing myself to my husband, I immediately run up into my chamber, where I had appointed the Quaker to be against my return. I ran to her with eagerness, and enquired what news from Dover, by Tom, the footman.

She said, Tom had been returned two hours; that he got to Dover that morning between seven and eight, and found, at the inn he put up at, there had been an inquisitive young woman to find out a gentleman that was a Dutch merchant, and a lady who was her mother; that the young woman perfectly well described his lady, that he found that she had visited every public inn in the town; that she said she would go to Deal, and that if she did not find the lady, her mother, there, she would go by the first ship to Hague, and go from thence to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, searching all the towns through which she passes in the United Provinces.

This account pleased me very well, especially when I understood that she had been gone from Dover five days. The Quaker comforted me, and said it was lucky this busy creature had passed the road before us, otherwise she might

easily have found means to have overtaken us, for, as she observed, the wench had such an artful way of telling her story, that she moved everybody to compassion; and she did not doubt but that if we had been before, as we were behind, she would have got those who would have assisted her with a coach, &c., to have pursued us, and they might have come up with us.

I was of the honest Quaker's sentiments. I grew pretty easy, called Tom and gave him half a guinea for his diligence; then I and the Quaker went into the parlour to my husband, and soon after supper came in, and I ate moderately, and we spent the remainder of the evening, for the clock had then told nine, very cheerfully. For my Quaker was so rejoiced at my good fortune, as she called it, that she was very alert and exceeding good company, and her wit, and she had no small share of it, I thought was better played off than ever I had heard it before.

My husband asked me how I should choose to go on board; I desired him to settle it as he pleased, telling him it was a matter of very great indifference to me, as he was to go with me. "That may be true, my dear," says he, "but I ask you for a reason or two, which I will lay before you, viz., if we hire a vessel for ourselves, we may set sail when we please, have the liberty of every part of the ship to ourselves, and land at what port, either in Holland or France, we might make choice of. Besides," added he, "another reason I mention it to you is, that I know you do not love much company, which, in going in the packet boat, it is almost impossible to avoid."—"I own, my dear," said I, "your reasons are very good; I have but one thing to say against them, which is, that the packet boat, by its frequent voyages, must of course be furnished with experienced seamen, who know the seas too well even to run any hazard." (At this juncture the terrible voyage I and Amy made from France to Harwich came so strong in my mind, that I trembled so as to be taken notice of by my husband.) "Besides," added I, "the landlord may send the master of one of them to you, and I think it may be best to hire the state-cabin, as they call it, to ourselves, by which method we shall avoid company, without we have an inclination to associate ourselves with such passengers we may happen to like; and the expense will be much cheaper than hiring a vessel to go the voyage with us alone, and every whit as safe."

The Quaker, who had seriously listened to our discourse, gave it in as her opinion that the method I had proposed was by far the safest, quickest, and cheapest. "Not," said she, "as I think thou wouldest be against any necessary expense, though I am certain thou wouldest not fling thy money away."

Soon after, my husband ordered the landlord to send for one of the masters of the packet boats, of whom he hired the great cabin, and agreed to sail from thence the next day if the wind and the tide answered.

The settling our method of going over sea having taken up the time till the dinner was ready, which we being informed of, came out of a chamber we had been in all the morning, to a handsome parlour, where everything was placed

suitable to our rank; there was a large old fashioned service of plate, and a side-board genteelly set off. The dinner was excellent, and well dressed.

After dinner, we entered into another discourse, which was, the hiring of servants to go with us from Dover to Paris; a thing frequently done by travellers; and such are to be met with at every stage inn. Our footmen set out this morning on their return to London, and the Quaker and coach was to go the next day. My new chambermaid, whose name was Isabel, was to go through the journey, on condition of doing no other business than waiting on me. In a while we partly concluded to let the hiring of men servants alone till we came to Calais, for they could be of no use to us on board a ship, the sailor's or cabin boy's place being to attend the cabin passengers as well as his master.

To divert ourselves, we took a walk after we had dined, round about the town, and coming to the garrison, and being somewhat thirsty, all went into the suttler's for a glass of wine. A pint was called for, and brought; but the man of the house came in with it raving like a madman, saying "Do not you think you are a villain, to ask for a pot of ale, when I know you have spent all your money, and are ignorant of the means of getting more, without you hear of a place, which I look upon to be very unlikely."—"Do not be in such a passion, landlord," said my husband. "Pray what is the matter?"—"O, nothing, sir," says he; "but a young fellow in the suttling room, whom I find to have been a gentleman's servant, wants a place; and having spent all his money would willingly run up a score with me, knowing I must get him a master, if ever I intend to have my money."—"Pray, sir," said my husband, "send the young fellow to me, if I like him and can agree with him, it is possible I may take him into my service." The landlord took care we should not speak to him twice, he went and fetched him in himself; and my husband examined him before he spoke, as to his size, mien, and garb. The young man was clean dressed, of a middling stature, a dark complexion, and about twenty-seven years old.

"I hear, young man," says he to him, "that you want a place; it may, perhaps, be in my power to serve you; let me know at once what education you have had, if you have any family belonging to you, or if you are fit for a gentleman's service, can bring any person of reputation to your character, and are willing to go and live in Holland with me, we will not differ about your wages."

The young fellow made a respectful bow to each of us, and addressed himself to my husband as follows:—"Sir," said he, "in me you behold the eldest child of misfortune. I am but young, as you may see, I have no comers after me, and having lived with several gentleman, some of whom are on their travels, others settled in divers parts of the world, besides what are dead, makes me unable to produce a character without a week's notice to write to London, and I should not doubt but by the return of the post, to let you see some letters as would satisfy you in any doubts about me. My edu-

cation," continued he "is but very middling, being taken from school before I had well learnt to read, write, and cast accounts; and as to my parentage, I cannot well give you any account of them; all that I know is that my father was a brewer, and by his extravagance ran out a handsome fortune, and afterwards left my poor mother almost penniless, with five small children, of which I was the second, though not above five years old. My mother knew not what to do with us, so she sent a poor girl, our maid, whose name I have forgot this many years, with us all to a relation's, and there left us; and I never saw or heard of or from them any more: indeed I enquired among the neighbours, and all that I could learn was, that my mother's goods were seized, that she was obliged to apply to the parish for relief, and died of grief soon after. For my part," says he, "I was put into the hands of my father's sister, where, by her cruel usage, I was forced to run away at nine years of age; and the numerous scenes of life I have since gone through are more than would fill a small volume. Pray, sir," added he, "let it satisfy you that I am thoroughly honest, and should be glad to serve you at any rate; and although I cannot possibly get a good character from anybody at present, yet I defy the whole world to give me an ill one, either in public or private life."

If I had had the eyes of Argus I should have seen with them all on this occasion; I knew that this was my son, and one that, among all my enquiry, I could never get any account of. The Quaker seeing my colour come and go, and also tremble, said, "I verily believe thou art not well, I hope this Kentish air, which was always reckoned aguish, does not hurt thee."—"I am taken very sick of a sudden," said I; "so pray let me go to our inn, that I may go to my chamber." Isabel being called in, she and the Quaker attended me there, leaving the young fellow with my spouse. When I was got into my chamber, I was seized with such a grief as I had never known before, and flinging myself down upon the bed, burst into a flood of tears, and soon after fainted away. Soon after I came a little to myself, and the Quaker begged of me to tell her what was the cause of my sudden indisposition. "Nothing at all," says I, "as I know of; but a sudden chillness seized my blood, and that, joined to a fainting of the spirits, made me ready to sink."

Presently after, my husband came to see how I did, and finding me somewhat better, he told me that he had a mind to hire the young man I had left him with, for he believed he was honest, and fit for our service. "My dear," says I, "I did not mind him. I would desire you to be cautious who we pick up on the road; but as I have the satisfaction of hiring my maids, I shall never trouble myself with the men servants, that is wholly your province. However," added I, "(for I was very certain he was my son, and was resolved to have him in my service, though it was my interest to keep my husband off, in order to bring him on,) "if you like the fellow, I am not averse to your hiring one servant in England: we are not obliged to trust him with much, before we see his conduct; and if he does not prove as you may expect, you may turn him off

whenever you please."—"I believe," said my husband, "he has been ingenuous in his relation to me; and as a man who has seen great variety of life, and may have been the shuttlecock of fortune, the butt of envy, and the mark of malice, I will hire him when he comes to me here anon, as I have ordered him."

As I knew he was to be hired, I resolved to be out of the way when he came to my husband; so about five o'clock I proposed to the Quaker to take a walk on the pier and see the shipping, while the tea-kettle was boiling: We went, and took Isabel with us, and as we were going along I saw my son Thomas, (as I shall for the future call him,) going to our inn, so we stayed out about an hour, and when we returned my husband told me he had hired the man, and that he was to come to him as a servant on the morrow morning. "Pray, my dear," said I, "did you ask where he ever lived, or what his name is?"—"Yes," replied my husband, "he says his name is Thomas ———; and as to places, he has mentioned several families of note, and among others, he lived at my Lord ———'s, next door to the great French lady's in Pall-mall, whose name he tells me was Roxana." I was now in a sad dilemma, and was fearful I should be known by my own son; and the Quaker took notice of it, and afterwards told me she believed fortune had conspired that all the people I became acquainted with, should have known the Lady Roxana. "I warrant," said she, "this young fellow is somewhat acquainted with the impertinent wench that calls herself thy daughter."

I was very uneasy in mind, but had one thing in my favour, which was always to keep myself at a very great distance from my servants; and as the Quaker was to part with us the next day or night, he would have nobody to mention the name Roxana to, and so of course it would drop.

We supped pretty late at night, and were very merry, for my husband said all the pleasant things he could think of, to divert me from the supposed illness he thought I had been troubled with in the day. The Quaker kept up the discourse with great spirit, and I was glad to receive the impression, for I wanted the real illness to be drove out of my head.

The next morning, after breakfast, Thomas came to his new place; he appeared very clean, and brought with him a small bundle, which I supposed to be linen tied up in a handkerchief. My husband sent him to order some porters belonging to the quay to fetch our boxes to the custom house, where they were searched, for which we paid one shilling; and he had orders to give a crown for head money, as they called it; their demand by custom is but sixpence a head, but we appeared to our circumstance in everything. As soon as our baggage was searched it was carried from the custom house on board the packet boat, and there lodged in the great cabin, as we had ordered it.

This took up the time till dinner, and when we were sitting together after we had both dined, the captain came to tell us that the wind was very fair, and that he was to sail at high water, which would be about ten o'clock at night. My husband asked him to stay and drink part of a

bottle of wine with him, which he did; and their discourse being all in the maritime strain, the Quaker and I retired and left them together, for I had something to remind her of in our discourse before we left London. When we got into the garden, which was rather neat than fine, I repeated all my former requests to her about my children, Spitalfields, Amy, &c., and we sat talking together till Thomas was sent to tell us the captain was going, on which we returned; but, by the way, I kissed her and put a large gold medal into her hand, as a token of my sincere love, and desired that she would never neglect the things she had promised to perform, and her repeated promise gave me great satisfaction.

The captain, who was going out of the parlour as we returned in, was telling my husband he would send six of his hands to conduct us to the boat, about a quarter of an hour before he sailed, and as the moon was at the full he did not doubt of a pleasant passage.

Our next business was to pay off the coachman, to whom my husband gave half a guinea extraordinary, to set the Quaker down at the house he took us all up at, which he promised to perform.

As it was low water, we went on board to see the cabin that we were to go our voyage in, and the captain would detain us to drink a glass of the best punch, I think, I ever tasted.

When we returned to the inn we ordered supper to be ready by eight o'clock, that we might drink a parting glass to settle it, before we went on board, for my husband who knew the sea very well, said a full stomach was the forerunner of sea sickness, which I was willing to avoid.

We invited the landlord, his wife, and daughter to supper with us, and having sat about an hour afterwards, the captain himself, with several sailors, came to fetch us to the vessel. As all was paid, and we had nothing to hinder us, but taking a final leave of the Quaker, who would go to see us safe in the vessel, where tears flowed from both our eyes, and I turned short in the boat, while my husband took his farewell, and he then followed me, and I never saw the Quaker or England any more.

We were no sooner on board than we hoisted sail, the anchors being up and the wind fair, we cut the waves at a great rate, till about four o'clock in the morning, when a French boat came to fetch the mail to carry it to the post house, and the boat cast her anchors, for we were a good distance from the shore, neither could we sail to the town till next tide, the present one being too far advanced in the ebb.

We might have gone on shore in the boat that carried the mail, but my husband was sleeping in the cabin when it came to the packet boat, and I did not care to disturb him; however, we had an opportunity soon after, for my husband waking, and two other boats came up with ours to see for passengers, so Thomas came to let us know we might go on shore, if we pleased. My husband paid the master of the packet-boat for our passage, and Thomas with the sailors' assistance, got our boxes into the wherry, so we sailed for Calais, but before our boat came to touch ground, several men, whose

bread I suppose it is, rushed into the water, without shoes or stockings, to carry us on shore; so having paid ten shillings for the wherry, we each of us was carried from the boat to the land by two men, and our goods brought after us; here was a crown to be paid, to save ourselves from being wet, by all which a man that is going a travelling may see that it is not the bare expense of the packet-boat that will carry him to Calais.

It would be needless to inform the reader of all the ceremonies that we passed through at this place before we were suffered to proceed on our journey; however, our boxes having been searched at the custom house, my husband had them plumbed, as they called it, to hinder any further inquiry about them; and we got them all to the Silver Lion, a noted inn, and the post house of this place, where we took a stage coach for ourselves, and the next morning, having well refreshed ourselves, we all, viz. my husband, self, and chambermaid within the coach, and Thomas behind; besides which, my husband hired two horsemen well armed, who were pretty expensive, to travel with us, set forward on our journey.

We were five days on our journey from Calais to Paris, which we went through with much satisfaction, for having fine weather and good attendance we had nothing to hope for.

When we arrived at Paris, (I began to be sorry I had ever proposed going to it for fear of being known, but as we were to stay there but a few days, I was resolved to keep very retired) we went to a merchant's house of my husband's acquaintance in the Rue de la Bourle, near the Carmelites, in the Faubourg de St. Jacques. This being a remote part of the city, on the south side, and near several pleasant gardens, I thought it would be proper to be a little indisposed, that my husband might not press me to go with him to see the curiosities; for he could do the most needful business, such as going to the bankers to exchange bills, despatching of letters, settling affairs with merchants, &c., without my assistance; and I had a tolerable plea for my conduct, such as the great fatigue of our journey, being among strangers, &c.; so we stayed at Paris eight days without my going to any particular places, except going one day to the gardens of Luxembourg, another to the church of Notre Dame on the Isle of Paris, a third to the Hotel Royale des Invalides, a fourth to the gardens of the Thuilleries, a fifth to the suburbs of St. Lawrence, to see the fair which was then holding there; a sixth to the gardens of the Louvre, a seventh to the play-house, and the eighth stayed all day at home to write a letter to the Quaker, letting her know where I then was, and how soon we should go forwards in our journey, but did not mention where we intended to settle, as indeed we had not yet settled that ourselves.

One of the days, viz. that in which I went to the gardens of the Thuilleries, I asked Thomas several questions about his father, mother, and other relations, being resolved, notwithstanding he was my own son, as he did not know it, to turn him off by some stratagem or another, if he had any manner of memory of me, either as his

mother, or the Lady Roxana; I asked him if he had any particular memory of his mother or father; he answered, "No, I scarce remember any thing of either of them," said he, "but I have heard from several people that I had one brother and three sisters, though I never saw them all, to know them, notwithstanding I lived with an aunt four years; I often asked after my mother, and some people said she went away with a man, but it was allowed by most people, that best knew her, that she, being brought to the greatest distress, was carried to the workhouse belonging to the parish, where she died soon after with grief."

Nothing could give me more satisfaction than what Thomas had related; so now, I thought I would ask about the lady Roxana, (for he had been my next door neighbour when I had that title conferred on me). "Pray Thomas," said I, "did not you speak of a great person of quality, whose name I have forgot, that lived next door to my Lord —'s, when you was his valet, pray who was she, I suppose a foreigner, by the name you called her?"—"Really, my lady," replied he, "I do not know who she was, all I can say of her is, that she kept the greatest company, and was a beautiful woman, by report, but I never saw her; she was called the lady Roxana, was a very good mistress, but her character was not so good as to private life, as it ought to be. Though I once had an opportunity," continued he, "of seeing a fine outlandish dress she danced in before the King, which I took as a great favour, for her cook took me up when the lady was out, and she desired my lady's woman to shew it to me."

All this answered right, and I had nothing to do but to keep my Turkish dress out of the way, to be myself unknown to my child, for as he had never seen Roxana, so he knew nothing of me.

In the interval, my husband had hired a stage coach to carry us to the city of Menin, where he intended to go by water down the river Lys to Ghent, and there take coach to Isabella-fort, opposite the city of Anvers, and cross the river to that place, and go from thence by land to Breda; and as he had agreed and settled this patrole, I was satisfied, and we set out next day. We went through several handsome towns and villages, before we took water, but by water we went round part of the city of Courtray, and several fortified towns. At Anvers we hired a coach to Breda, where we stayed two days to refresh ourselves, for we had been very much fatigued; as Williamstadt was situated so as to be convenient for our taking water for Rotterdam, we went there, and being shipped, had a safe and speedy voyage to that city.

As we had resolved in our journey to settle at the Hague, we did not intend to stay any longer at Rotterdam, than while my husband had all our wealth delivered to him from the several merchants he had consigned it to. This business took up a month, during which time we lived in ready furnished lodgings on the Great Quay, where all the respect was shewn us, as was due to our quality.

Here my husband hired two more men servants, and I took two maids, and turned Isabel, who was a well-bred agreeable girl, into my companion; but that I might not be too much

fatigued, my husband went to the Hague first, and left me, with three maids and Thomas, at Rotterdam, while he took a house, furnished it, and had every thing ready for my reception, which was done with great expedition. One of his footmen came with a letter to me one morning, to let me know his master would come by the Scout next day to take me home, in which he desired that I would prepare for my departure. I soon got every thing ready, and the next morning, on the arrival of the Scout, I saw my husband; and we both, with all the servants, left the city of Rotterdam, and safely got to the Hague the afternoon following.

It was now the servants had notice given them to call me by the name of my lady, as the honour of baronetage had entitled me, and with which title I was pretty well satisfied, but should have been more so, had not I yet the higher title of countess in view.

I now lived in a place where I knew nobody, neither was I known, on which I was pretty careful whom I became acquainted with; our circumstances were very good, my husband loving, to the greatest degree, my servants respectful; and, in short, I lived the happiest life woman could enjoy, had my former crimes never crept into my guilty conscience.

I was in this happy state of life, when I wrote a letter to the Quaker, in which I gave her a direction where she might send to me. And about a fortnight after, as I was one afternoon stepping into my coach, in order to take an airing, the post-man came to our door with letters, one of which was directed to me, and as soon as I saw it was the Quaker's hand, I bid the coachman put up again, and went into my closet to read the contents, which were as follow:

"DEAR FRIEND,—I have had occasion to write to thee several times since we saw each other, but as this is my first letter, so it shall contain all the business thou wouldst know. I got safe to London, by thy careful ordering of the coach, and the attendants were not at all wanting in their duty. When I had been at home a few days, thy woman, Mrs Amy, came to see me, so I took her to task as thou ordered me, about murdering thy pretended daughter; she declared her innocence, but said, she had procured a false evidence to swear a large debt against her, and by that means, had put her into a prison, and feed the keepers to hinder her from sending any letter, or message, out of the prison, to any person whatever. This, I suppose, was the reason thou thought she was murdered, because thou wert relieved from her by this base usage. However, when I heard of it, I checked Amy very much, but was well satisfied to hear she was alive. After this I did not hear from Amy for above a month, and in the interim, (as I knew thou wast safe) I sent a friend of mine to pay the debt, and release the prisoner, which he did, but was so indiscreet as to let her know who was the benefactress. My next care was to manage thy Spitalfields business, which I did with much exactness. And the day that I received thy last letter, Amy came to me again, and I read as much of it to her, as she was concerned in; nay, I entreated her to drink tea with me, and after it one glass of citron, in which

she drank towards thy good health, and she told me, she would come to me as soon as possible. Just as she was gone, I was reading thy letter again in the little parlour, and that turbulent creature (thy pretended daughter) came to me, as she said, to return thanks for the favour I had done her, so accidentally laid thy letter down in the window, while I went to fetch her a glass of cordial, for she looked sadly; and before I returned, I heard the street-door shut, on which I went back without the liquor, not knowing who might have come in, but missing her, I thought she might be gone to stand at the door, and the wind had blown it to; but, I was never the nearer, she was sought for in vain, so when I believed her to be quite gone, I looked to see if I missed any thing, which I did not; but at last, to my great surprise, I missed your letter, which she certainly took, and made off with. I was so terrified at this unhappy chance, that I fainted away, and had not one of my maidens come in at that juncture, it might have been attended with fatal consequences. I would advise thee, to prepare thyself to see her, for I verily believe she will come to thee. I dread your knowing of this, but hope the best. Before I went to fetch the unhappy cordial, she told me, as she had often done before, that she was the eldest daughter, that the captain's wife was your second daughter, and her s'ister, and that the youngest sister was dead. She also said, there were two brothers, the eldest of whom had never been seen by any of them, since she run away from an uncle's at nine years of age, and that the youngest had been taken care of by an old lady that kept her coach, whom he took to be his godmother. She gave me a long history, in what manner she was arrested, and flung into Whitechapel gaol, how hardly she fared there, and at length, the keeper's wife, to whom she told her pitiful story, took compassion of her, and recommended her to the bounty of a certain lady who lived in that neighbourhood, that redeemed prisoners for small sums, and who lay for their fees, every return of the day of her nativity; that she was one of the six the lady had discharged; that the lady prompted her to seek after her mother; that she thereupon did seek thee in all the towns and villages between London and Dover; that not finding thee at Dover she went to Deal; and that, at length, she being tired of seeking thee, she returned by shipping to London, where she was no sooner arrived, but she was immediately arrested, and flung into the Marshalsea prison, where she lived in a miserable condition, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without the liberty of having any one of her friends come near her. "In this condition I was," continued she, "when you sent and paid my debt for me, and discharged me." When she had related all this, she fell into such a fit of crying, sighing, and sobbing, from which when she was a little recovered she broke out into loud exclamations against the wickedness of the people in England, that they could be so unchristian as to arrest her twice, when she said it was as true as the gospel that she never did owe to any one person the sum of one shilling in all her life; that she could not think who it was,

that should owe her so much ill-will, for that she was not conscious to herself that she had any ways offended any person in the whole universal world, except Mrs Amy in the case of her mother, which, she affirmed, she was acquitted of by all men, and hoped she should be so by her Maker; and that if she (Mrs Amy) had any hand in her sufferings, God would forgive her, as she heartily did. But then, she added, I will not stay in England, I will go all over the world, I will go to France, to Paris; I know my mother did once live there; and if I do not find her there, I will go through Holland, to Amsterdam, to Rotterdam; in short, I will go till I find my mother out, if I should die in the pursuit. I should be glad to hear of thine and thy spouse's welfare, and remain with much sincerity,

Your sincere friend,

The ninth of the month M. P.
called October.

P. S. If thou hast any business to transact in this city, pray let me know ; I shall use my best endeavours to oblige thee ; my daughters all join with me in willing thee a hearty farewell."

I concealed my surprise for a few minutes, only till I could get into the summer-house, at the bottom of our large garden ; but when I was shut in, no living soul can describe the agony I was in ; I raved, tore, fainted away, swore, prayed, wished, cried, and promised, but all availed nothing, I was now stuck in to see the worst of it. let what would happen.

At last I came to the following resolution, which was to write a letter to the Quaker, and in it inclose a fifty pound bank-bill, and tell the Quaker to give that to the young woman, if she called again, and also to let her know a fifty pound bill should be sent her every year, so long as she made no enquiry after me, and kept herself retired in England. Although this opened myself too full to the Quaker, yet I thought I had better venture my character abroad, than destroy my peace at home.

Soon after my husband came home, and he perceived I had been crying, and asked what was the reason, I told him, that I had shed tears both for joy and sorrow: for, said I, "I have received one of the tenderest letters from Amy, as it was possible for any person, and she tells me in it," added I, "that she will soon come to see me: which so overjoyed me, that I cried, and after it, I went to read the letter a second time, as I was looking out of the summer-house window over the canal, and in unfolding it, I accidentally let it fall in, by which mischance it is lost, for which I am very sorry, as I intended you should see it.—"Pray my dear," said he, "do not let that give you any uneasiness; if Amy comes, and you approve of it, you have my consent to take her into the house, in what capacity you please."—"I am very glad," continued he, "that you have nothing of more consequence to be uneasy at, I fancy you would make but an indifferent help-mate if you had." Oh! thought I to myself, if you but knew half the things that lie on my conscience, I believe you would think that I bear them out past all example.

About ten days afterwards, as we were sitting at dinner, with two gentlemen, one of the foot-

men came to the door, and said, "My lady, here is a gentlewoman at the door, who desires to speak with you: she says her name is Mrs Amy."

I no sooner heard her name, but I was ready to swoon away, but I ordered the footman to call Isabel, and ask the gentlewoman to walk up with her into my dressing-room ; which he immediately did, and there I went to have my first interview with her. She kissed me for joy, when she saw me, and I sent Isabel down stairs, for I was in pain till I had some private conversation with my old confidant.

There was not much ceremony between us, before I told her all the material circumstances that had happened in her absence, especially about the girl's imprisonments which she had contrived, and how she had got my letter at the Quaker's, the very day she had been there. "Well," says Amy, when I had told her all, "I find nothing is to ensue, if she lives, but your ruin; you would not agree to her death, so I will not make myself uneasy about her life; it might have been rectified, but you were angry with me for giving you the best of counsel, viz. when I proposed to murder her."

“Hussey,” said I in the greatest passion imaginable, “how dare you mention the word murder? you wretch you, I could find in my heart, if my husband and the company were gone, to kick you out of my house. Have you not done enough to kill her, in throwing her into one of the worst jails in England, where you see, that Providence in a peculiar manner appeared to her assistance. Away! thou art a wicked wretch, thou art a murderer in the sight of God.”

"I will say no more," says Amy, "but if I could have found her, after thy friend the Quaker had discharged her out of the Marshalsea-prison, I had laid a scheme to have her taken up for a theft, and by that means got her transported for fourteen years. She will be with you soon, I am sure; I believe she is now in Holland."

While we were in this discourse, I found the gentlemen who dined with us, were going, so we came down stairs, and I went into the parlour to take leave of them, before their departure. When they were gone, my husband told me, he had been talking with them about taking upon him the title of Count or Earl of ———, as he had told me of, and as an opportunity now offered, he was going to put it in execution.

I told him I was so well settled, as not to want anything this world could afford me, except the continuance of his life and love; (though the very thing he had mentioned, joined with the death of my daughter, in the natural way, would have been much more to my satisfaction.) "Well, my dear," says he, "the expense will be but small, and as I promised you the title, it shall not be long before the honour shall be brought home to your toilette." He was as good as his word, for that day week he brought the patent home to me, in a small box covered with crimson velvet, and two gold hinges. "There, my lady countess," says he, "long may you live to bear the title, for I am certain you are a credit to it." In a few days after, I had the pleasure to see our equipage, as coach, chariot, &c. all new painted, and a coronet fixed at the proper place, and, in short, everything was proportioned to our quality,

so that our house vied with most of the other nobility.

It was at this juncture, that I was at the pinnacle of all my worldly felicity, notwithstanding my soul was black with the foulest crimes. And at the same time I may begin to reckon the beginning of my misfortunes, which were in embryo, but were very soon brought forth, and hurried me on to the greatest distress.

As I was sitting one day talking to Amy, in our parlour, and the street-door being left open by one of the servants, I saw my daughter pass by the window, and without any ceremony, she came to the parlour-door, and opening of it, came boldly in; I was terribly amazed, and asked her who she wanted, as if I had not known her, but Amy's courage was quite lost, and she swooned away. "Your servant, my lady," says she, "I thought I should never have had the happiness to see you *tête-à-tête*, till your agent, the Quaker, in Haydon-yard, in the Minories, carelessly left a direction for me in her own window; however she is a good woman, for she released me out of a jail, in which, I believe, that base wretch, (pointing to Amy who was coming to herself,) caused me to be confined." As soon as Amy recovered, she flew at her like a devil, and between them there was so much noise, as alarmed the servants, who all came to see what was the matter. Amy had pulled down one of my husband's swords, drawn it, and was just going to run her through the body, as the servants came in, who not knowing anything of the matter, some of them secured Amy, others held the girl, and the rest were busy about me, to prevent my fainting away, which was more than they could do, for I fell into strong fits, and in the interim they turned the girl out of the house, who was fully bent on revenge.

My lord, as I now call him, was gone out a hunting I was satisfied he knew nothing of it, as yet, and when Amy and I were thoroughly come to ourselves, we thought it most advisable to find the girl out, and give her a handsome sum of money to keep her quiet. So Amy went out, but in all her searching could hear nothing of her, this made me very uneasy; I guessed she would contrive to see my lord before he came home, and so it proved, as you will presently hear.

When night came on, that I expected his return, I wondered I did not see him; Amy sat up in my chamber with me, and was as much concerned as was possible. Well, he did not come in all that night, but the next morning, about ten o'clock, he rapped at the door, with the girl along with him. When it was opened, he went into the great parlour, and bid Thomas go call down his lady; this was the crisis; I now summoned up all my resolution, and took Amy down with me, to see if we could not baffle the girl, who to an inch, was her mother's own child.

It will be necessary here to give a short account of our debate, because on it all my future misery depended, and it made me lose my husband's love, and own my daughter, who would not rest there, but told my lord how many brothers and sisters she had.

When we entered the room, my lord was

walking very gravely about it, but with his brows knit, and a wild confusion in his face, as if all the malice and revenge of a Dutchman had joined to put me out of countenance before I spoke a word.

"Pray madam," says he, "do you know this young woman; I expect a speedy and positive answer, without the least equivocation?"

"Really, my Lord," replied I, "to give you an answer as quick as you desire, I declare I do not."

"Do not," said he, "what do you mean by that? She tells me, that you are her mother, and that her father run away from you, and left two sons, and two daughters, besides herself, who were all sent to their relations for provision, after which you run away with a jeweller to Paris. Do you know anything of this? answer me quickly."

My lord, said the girl, there is Mrs Amy, who was my mother's servant at that time (as she told me herself about three months ago), knows very well I am the person I pretend to be, and caused me to be thrown into jail for debts I knew nothing of, because I should not find out my mother to make myself known to her before she left England.

After this, she told my lord every thing she knew of me, even in the character of Roxana, and described my dress so well, that he knew it to be mine.

When she had gone quite through her long relation; "Well madam," says he, "now let me see if I cannot tell how far she has told the truth in relation to you. When I first became acquainted with you, it was on the sale of those jewels, in which I stood so much your friend, at a time that you were in the greatest distress, your substance being in the hands of the Jew; you then passed for a jeweller's widow; this agrees with her saying you run away with a jeweller. In the next place, you would not consent to marry me about twelve years ago, I suppose then your real husband was living, for nothing else could tally with your condescension to me in everything except marriage. Since that time, your refusing to come to Holland in the vessel I had provided for you, under a distant prospect of your being with child, though in reality it was your having a child too much, as the captain told me of, when I, being ignorant of the case, did not understand him. Now," continued she, "she says that you were the identical Lady Roxana, which made so much noise in the world, and has even described the robe and head-dress you wore on that occasion, and in that I know that she is right; for, to my own knowledge, you have that very dress by you now, I having seen you dressed in it, at our lodging at the Quaker's. From all these circumstances," says he, "I may be assured that you have imposed grossly upon me, and instead of being a woman of honour, as I took you for, I find that you have been an abandoned wretch, and had nothing to recommend you but a sum of money and a fair countenance, joined to a false unrelenting heart."

These words of my lord's struck such a damp upon my spirits, as made me unable to speak in my turn. But at last, I spoke as follows:—"My lord, I have most patiently stood to hear all it was possible for you to allege against me,

which has no other proof than imagination. That I was the wife of a brewer, I have no reason now to deny, neither had I any occasion before to acknowledge it. I brought him a handsome fortune, which joined to his, made us appear in a light far superior to our neighbours; I had also five children by him, two sons and three daughters, and had my husband been as wise as rich, we might have lived happily together now. But it was not so, for he minded nothing but sporting in almost every branch; and closely following of it soon run out all his substance, and then left me in an unhappy helpless condition. I did not send my children to my relations till the greatest necessity drove me, and after that hearing my husband was dead, I married the jeweller who was afterwards murdered. If I had owned how many children I had, the jeweller would not have married me, and the way of life I was in would not keep my family, so I was forced to deny them, in order to get them bread. Neither can I say that I have either heard or known anything of my children since, excepting that I heard they were all taken care of; and this was the very reason I would not marry you, when you offered it some years since, for these children lay seriously at my heart, and as I did not want money, my inclination was to come to England, and not entail five children upon you the day of marriage."

"Pray, madam," said my lord, interrupting me, "I do not find that you kept up to your resolutions when you got there; you were so far from doing your duty as a parent that you even neglected the civility of acquaintances, for they would have asked after them, but your whole scheme has been to conceal yourself as much as possible, and even when you were found out denied yourself, as witness the case of your daughter here. As to the character of Lady Roxana, which you so nicely managed," said he, "did that become a woman that had five children, whose necessity had obliged you to leave them, to live in a continual scene of pageantry and riot, I could almost say debauchery? Look into your conduct, and see if you deserve to have the title or the estate you now so happily enjoy."

After this speech, he walked about the room in a confused manner for some minutes, and then addressed himself to Amy. "Pray, Mrs Amy," says he, "give me your judgment in this case, for although I know you are as much as possible in your lady's interest, yet I cannot think you have so little charity as to think she acted like a woman of worth or discretion,—do you really think, as you knew all of them from infants, that this young woman is your lady's daughter?"

Amy, who always had spirits enough about her, said at once, she believed the girl was my daughter; "and truly," says she, "I think your man Thomas is her eldest son, for the tale he tells of his birth and education suits exactly with our then circumstances."

"Why indeed," said my lord, "I believe so too, for I now recollect that when we first took him into our service at Dover, he told me he was the son of a brewer in London, that his father had run away from his mother, and left her in a distressed condition with five children, of which he was second child, or eldest son."

Thomas was then called into the parlour, and asked what he knew of his family; he repeated all as above, concerning his father's running away and leaving me; but said that he had often asked and enquired after them, but without any success, and concluded, that he believed his brothers and sisters were distributed in several places, and that his mother died in the greatest distress and was buried by the parish.

"Indeed," said my lord, "it is my opinion that Thomas is one of your sons; do not you think the same?" addressing himself to me.

"From the circumstances that have been related, my lord," said I, "I now believe that these are both my children; but you would have thought me a mad woman to have countenanced and taken this young woman in as my child, without a thorough assurance of it; for that would have been running myself to a certain expense and trouble, without the least glimpse of real satisfaction."

"Pray," said my lord to my daughter, "let me know what is become of your brothers and sisters; give me the best account of them that you can."

"My lord," replied she, "agreeable to your commands, I will inform you to the best of my knowledge; and to begin with myself, who am the eldest of the five, I was put to a sister of my father's with my youngest brother, who, by mere dint of industry, gave us maintenance and education suitable to her circumstances; and she, with my uncle's consent, let me go to service when I was advanced in years; and among the variety of places I lived at, Lady Roxana's was one."

"Yes," said Thomas, "I knew her there, when I was a valet at my Lord D——'s, the next door; it was there I became acquainted with her; and she, by the consent of the gentle woman, pointing to Amy, let me see the Lady Roxana's fine vestment, which she danced in at the grand ball."

"Well," continued my daughter, "after I left this place I was at several others before I became acquainted with Mrs Amy a second time (I knew her before as Roxana's woman), who told me one day some things relating to my mother, and from thence I concluded if she was not my mother herself (as I at first thought she was), she must be employed by her; for no stranger could profess so much friendship, where there was no likelihood of any return, after being so many years asunder."

"After this, I made it my business to find your lady out, if possible, and was twice in her company, once on board the ship you were to have come to Holland in, and once at the Quaker's house in the Minories, London; but as I gave her broad hints of whom I took her for, and my lady did not think proper to own me, I began to think I was mistaken, till your voyage to Holland was put off. Soon after I was flung into White-chapel jail for a false debt, but, through the recommendation of the jailor's wife to the annual charity of the good Lady Roberts, of Mile-End, I was discharged. Whereupon I posted away, seeking my mother all down the Kent road as far as Dover and Deal, at which last place not finding her, I came in a coaster to London, and landing in Southwark was immediately arrested

and confined in the Marshalsea prison, where I remained some time deprived of every means to let any person without the prison know my deplorable state and condition, till my chum, a young woman, my bedfellow, who was also confined for debt, was by a gentleman discharged. This young woman of her own free will, went, my lord, to your lodgings in the Minories, and acquainted your landlady, the Quaker, where I was, and for what sum I was confined, who immediately sent and paid the pretended debt, and so I was a second time discharged. Upon which, going to the Quaker's to return her my thanks soon after, a letter from your lady to her, with a direction in it where to find you, falling into my hands, I set out the next morning for the Hague: and I humbly hope your pardon, my lord, for the liberty I have taken; and you may be assured, that whatever circumstances of life I happen to be in, I will be no disgrace to your lordship or family."

"Well," said my husband, "what can you say of your mother's second child, who I hear was a son?"

"My lord," said I, "it is in my power to tell you, that Thomas there is the son you mention; their circumstances are the same, with this difference, that she was brought up under the care of a good aunt, and the boy forced to run away from a bad one, and shift for his bread ever since; so if she is my daughter, he is my son, and to oblige you, my lord, I own her, and to please myself I will own him, and they two are brother and sister; I had no sooner done speaking, than Thomas fell down before me and asked my blessing. After which, he addressed himself to my lord as follows:—

"My lord," said he, "out of your abundant goodness you took me into your service at Dover, I told you then the circumstances I was in, which will save your lordship much time by preventing a repetition; but, if your lordship pleases, it shall be carefully penned down, for such a variety of incidents has happened to me in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France, and the Isle of Man, in which I have travelled for about eighteen years past, as may prove an agreeable amusement to you, when you are cloyed with better company; for as I have never been anything above a common servant, so my stories shall only consist of facts, and such as are seldom to be met with, as they are all in low life."

"Well, Thomas," said my Lord, "take your own time to do it, and I will reward you for your trouble."

"Now, madam," said my lord to my daughter, if you please to proceed: "My lord," continued she, "my mother's third child, which was a daughter, lived with the relation I did, and got a place to wait upon a young lady, whose father and mother were going to settle at Boulogne, in France; she went with them, and having stayed at this gentleman's (who was a French merchant) two years, was married to a man with the consent of the family she lived in, and her master, by way of fortune, got him to be master of a French and Holland coaster, and this was the very person whose ship you hired to come to Holland in, the captain's wife, was my own

sister, consequently my lady's second daughter; as to my youngest sister, she lived with the uncle and aunt Thomas run away from, and died of the small-pox soon after. My youngest brother was put out apprentice to a carpenter, where he improved in his business, till a gentlewoman came to his master and mistress, (which I take by the description they gave me, to be Mrs Amy), who had him put out to an education fit for a merchant, and then sent him to the Indies, where he is now settled, and in a fair way to get a large estate.

"This, my lord, is the whole account I can at present give of them, and although it may seem very strange, I assure you, it is all the just truth."

When she had finished her discourse, my lord turned to me, and said, that since I that was her mother, had neglected doing my duty, though sought so much after, he would take it upon himself to see both the girl and Thomas provided for, without any advising or letting me know anything about them. And added with a malicious sneer, "I must take care of the child I have had by you too, or it will have but an indifferent parent to trust to in case of my decease."

This finished the discourse, and my lord withdrew into his study, in a humour that I am unable to describe, and left me, Amy, Thomas, and my daughter Susanna, as I must now call her, in the parlour together. We sat staring at each other some time, till at last Amy said, "I suppose, my lady, you have no further business with your new daughter; she has told her story, and may now dispose of herself to the best advantage she can."—"No," said I, "I have nothing to say to her, only that she shall never be admitted into my presence again." The poor girl burst out into tears, and said, "Pray, my lady, excuse me, for I am certain that were you in my circumstances, you would have done the very action I have, and would expect a pardon for committing the offence."

After this, I said to Thomas, "Keep what has been said to yourself, and I shall speak to you by and by;" and then I withdrew, and went upstairs to my closet, leaving Amy with Susanna, who soon dismissed her, and followed me.

When Amy came to me, "Now, my lady, says she, what do you think of this morning's work? I believe my lord is not so angry as we were fearful of."—"You are mistaken in your lord, Amy," said I, "and are not so well acquainted with the deep and premeditated revenge of Dutchmen as I am, and although it may not be my husband's temper, yet I dread it as much, but shall see more at dinner-time."

Soon after this, my husband called Thomas, and bid him order the cloth for his dinner to be laid in his study, and bid him tell his mother that he would dine by himself; when I heard this, I was more shocked than I had been yet. "Now his anger begins to work, Amy," said I, "how must I act?"—"I do not know," answered she, "but I will go into the study, and try what can be done, and, as a faithful mediator, will try to bring you together." She was not long before she returned, and bursting into tears, "I know not what to do," says she, "for your husband is in a deep study, and when I told him you desired him to dine with you in the parlour as usual, he

only said, Mrs Amy, go to your lady, tell her to dine when and where she pleases, and pray obey her as your lady; but let her know from me, that she has lost the tenderness I had for her as a wife, by the little thought she had of her children."

Nothing could have shocked me more than the delivery of this message by Amy; I, almost bathed in tears, went to him myself; found him in a melancholy posture, reading in Milton's 'Paradise Regained'; he looked at me very sternly when I entered his study, told me he had nothing to say to me at that time, and if I had a mind not to disturb him I must leave him for the present. "My lord," said I, "supposing all that has been said by this girl was truth, what reason have you to be in this unforgiving humour? What have I done to you to deserve this usage? Have you found any fault with me since I had the happiness of being married to you? Did you ever find me in any company that you did not approve of? Have you any reason to think that I have wasted any of your substance? If you have none of these things to allege against me, for heaven's sake do not let us now make our lives unhappy, for my having had legitimate children by a lawful husband, at a time that you think it no crime to have had a natural son by me, which I have the most reason to repent of."

I spoke the latter part of these words with a small air of authority, that he might think me the less guilty; but, I believe, he only looked on what I had said as a piece of heroism; for he soon after delivered himself in the following speech: "Madam, do you not think that you have used me in a very deceitful manner? If you think that I have not had that usage I will, in a few words, prove the contrary. When first I knew you, soon after the jeweller's death at Paris, you never mentioned, in all that intricate affair I was engaged in for you, so much as your having any children; that, as your circumstances then were, could have done you no harm, but, on the contrary, it would have moved the compassion of your bitter enemy, the Jew, if he had any. Afterwards, when I first saw you in London, and began to treat with you about marriage, your children, which, to all prudent women, are the first things provided for, were so far neglected as not to be spoken of, though mine were mentioned to you; and as our fortunes were very considerable, yours might very well have been put into the opposite scale with them. Another great piece of your injustice was, when I offered to settle your own fortune upon yourself, you would not consent to it; I do not look on that piece of condescension out of love to me, but a thorough hatred you had to your own flesh and blood; and lastly, your not owning your daughter, though she strongly hinted who she was to you, when she was twice in your company, and even followed you from place to place while you were in England. Now, if you can reconcile this piece of inhumanity with yourself, pray try what you can say to me about your never telling me the life you led in Pall mall, in the character of Roxana? You scrupled to be happily married to me, and soon after came to England, and was a reputed whore to any noble-

man that would come up to your price, and lived with one a considerable time, and was taken by several people to be his lawful wife. If any gentleman should ask me what I have taken to my bed, what must I answer? I must say an inhuman false-hearted whore, one that had not tenderness enough to own her own children, and has too little virtue, in my mind, to make a good wife.

"I own I would," says he, "have settled your own estate upon you with great satisfaction, but I will not do it now; you may retire to your chamber, and when I have any occasion to speak with you, I will send a messenger to you; so, my undeserving lady countess, you may walk out of the room."

I was going to reply to all this, but instead of hearing me he began to speak against the Quaker, who, he supposed, knew all the intrigues of my life; but I cleared her innocence, by solemnly declaring it was a thorough reformation of my past life that carried me to live at the Quaker's house, who knew nothing of me before I went to live with her, and that she was I believed, a virtuous woman.

I went away prodigiously chagrined. I knew not what course to take, I found expostulation signified nothing, and all my hopes depended on what I might say to him after we were gone to bed at night. I sent in for Amy, and having told her our discourse, she said she knew not what to think of him, but hoped it would, by great submission, wear off by degrees. I could eat but little dinner, and Amy was more sorrowful than hungry, and, after we had dined, we walked by ourselves in the garden, to know what we had best pursue. As we were walking about, Thomas came to us, and told us that the young woman who had caused all the words had been at the door, and delivered a letter to my lord's footman, who had carried it up stairs, and that she was ordered to go to his lordship in his study, which struck me with a fresh and sensible grief. I told Thomas, as he was to be her brother, to learn what my lord had said to her, if he could, as she came down; on which he went into the house to obey his order.

He was not gone in above a quarter of an hour before he came to me again, and told me she was gone, and that my lord had given her a purse of twenty guineas, with orders to live retired, let nobody know what or who she was, and come to him again in about a month's time. I was very much satisfied to hear this, and was in hopes of its proving a happy omen; and I was better pleased about two hours after, when Thomas came to me, to let me know that my lord had given him thirty guineas, and bid him take off his livery and new clothe himself, for he intended to make him his first clerk, and put him in the way of making his fortune. I now thought it was impossible for me to be poor, and was inwardly rejoiced that my children (meaning Thomas and Susanna) were in the high road to grow rich.

As Amy and I had dined by ourselves, my lord kept his study all the day, and at night, after supper, Isabel came and told me that my lord's man had received orders to make his bed in the crimson room, which name it received from the colour of the bed and furniture, and was re-

served against the coming of strangers, or sickness. When she had delivered her message she withdrew, and I told Amy it would be to no purpose to go to him again, but I would have her lie in a small bed, which I ordered immediately to be carried into my chamber. Before we went to bed, I went to his lordship to know why he would make us both look so little among our own servants, as to part bed and board so suddenly. He only said, "My lady Roxana knows the airs of quality too well to be informed that a scandal among nobility does not consist in parting of beds, to be now told it; if you cannot lie by yourself, you may send a letter to my lord —, whom you lived with as a mistress in London, perhaps, he may want a bedfellow as well as you, and come to you at once; you are too well acquainted with him to stand upon ceremony."

I left him, with my heart full of malice, grief, shame, and revenge; I did not want a good will to do any mischief; but I wanted an unlimited power to put all my wicked thoughts in execution.

Amy and I lay in our chamber, and the next morning, at breakfast, we were talking of what the servants (for there were thirteen of them in all, viz. two coachmen, four footmen, a groom, and postillion, two women cooks, two housemaids, and a laundry maid, besides Isabel, who was my waiting-maid, and Amy, who acted as housekeeper) could say of the disturbance that was in the family. "Pho!" said Amy, "never trouble your head about that, for family quarrels are so common in noblemen's houses, both here and in England, that there are more families parted, both in bed and board, than live lovingly together. It can be no surprise to the servants, and if your neighbours should hear it, they will only think you are imitating the air of nobility, and have more of that blood in you than you appeared to have when you and your lord lived happily together."

The time, I own, went very sluggishly on, I had no company but Amy and Isabel, and it was given out among the servants of noblemen and gentry that I was very much indisposed; for I thought it a very improper time either to receive or pay visits.

In this manner I lived till the month was up that my daughter was to come again to my lord, for although I went morning, noon, and night, into his apartment to see him, I seldom had a quarter of an hour's discourse with him, and oftentimes one of his valets would be sent to tell me his lord was busy, a little before the time I usually went, which I found was to prevent my going in to him, but this was only when he was in an ill-humour, as his man called it.

Whether my lord used to make himself uneasy for want of mine, or other company, I cannot tell, but the servants complained every day, as I heard by Amy, that his lordship eat little or nothing, and would sometimes shed tears when he sat down by himself to breakfast, dinner, or supper; and, indeed, I began to think that he looked very thin, his countenance grew pale, and that he had every other sign of a grieved or broken heart.

My daughter came to him one Monday morning, and stayed with him in his study near two

nours; I wondered at the reason of it, but could guess at nothing certain; and at last she went away, but I fixed myself so as to see her as she passed by me, and she appeared to have a countenance full of satisfaction.

In the evening, when I went in as usual, he spoke to me in a freer style than he had done since our breach. "Well, madam," (for he had not used the words 'my lady' at any time after my daughter's coming to our house,) said he, "I think I have provided for your daughter."—"As how, my lord, pray will you let me know?" said I. "Yes," replied he, "as I have reason to think you will be sorry to hear of her welfare in any shape; I will tell you. A gentleman who is going factor for the Dutch East India Company, on the coast of Malabar, I have recommended her to; and he, on my character and promise of a good fortune, will marry her very soon; for the company's ships sail in about twelve days; so, in a fortnight, like a great many mothers as there are now-a-days, you may rejoice at having got rid of one of your children, though you neither know where, how, or to whom."

Although I was very glad my lord spoke to me at all, and more especially so at my daughter's going to be married, and settling in the Indies, yet his words left so sharp a sting behind them as was exceeding troublesome to me to wear off. I did not dare venture to make any further enquiries, but was very glad of what I heard, and soon bidding my lord good night, went and found Amy, who was reading a play in the chamber.

I waited with the greatest impatience for this marriage; and when I found the day was fixed, I made bold to ask my lord if I should not be present in his chamber when the ceremony was performed? This favour was also denied me. I then asked my lord's chaplain to speak to him on that head, but he was deaf to his importunities, and bade him tell me that I very well knew his mind. The wedding was performed on a Wednesday evening, in my lord's presence, and he permitted nobody to be there but a sister of the bridegroom's, and Thomas, (now my lord's secretary or chief clerk,) who was brother to the bride, and who gave her away. They all supped together after the ceremony was over, in the great dining room, where the fortune was paid, which was 2,000*l.*, (as I heard from Thomas afterwards,) and the bonds for the performance of the marriage were re-delivered.

Next morning my lord asked me if I was willing to see my daughter before she sailed to the Indies. "My lord," said I, "as the seeing of her was the occasion of this great breach that has happened between us, so, if your lordship will let me have a sight of her and a reconciliation with you at the same time, there is nothing can be more desirable to me, or would more contribute to my happiness during the rest of my life."

"No, madam," says he, "I would have you see your daughter, to be reconciled to her, and give her your blessing, (if a blessing can proceed from you,) at parting; but our reconciliation will never be completed till one of us comes near the verge of life, if then; for I am a man that am never reconciled without ample amends, which is a thing that is not in your

power to give, without you can alter the course of nature, and recall time."

On hearing him declare himself so open, I told him that my curse instead of my blessing would pursue my daughter, for being the author of all the mischiefs that had happened between us. "No, madam," said he, "if you had looked upon her as a daughter heretofore, I should have had no occasion to have had any breach with you; the whole fault lies at your own door; for whatever your griefs may inwardly be, I would have you recollect they were of your own choosing."

I found I was going to give way to a very violent passion, which would, perhaps, be the worse for me, so I left the room and went up to my own chamber, not without venting bitter reproaches both against my daughter and her unknown husband.

However, the day she was to go on shipboard, she breakfasted with my lord, and as soon as it was over, and my lord was gone into his study to fetch something out, I followed him there, and asked him if he would give me leave to present a gold repeating watch to my daughter before she went away? I thought he seemed somewhat pleased with this piece of condescension in me, though it was done more to gain his good will than to express any value I had for her. He told me that he did not know, who I could better make such a present to, and I might give it to her if I pleased. Accordingly I went and got it out of my cabinet in a moment, and bringing it to my lord, desired he would give it her from me. He asked me if I would not give it her myself? I told him no. I wished her very well, but had nothing to say to her till I was restored to his lordship's bed and board.

About two hours after all this, the coach was ordered to the door, and my daughter, and her new husband, the husband's sister, and my son Thomas, all went into it, in order to go to the house of a rich uncle of the bridegroom's, where they were to dine before they went on board, and my lord went there in a sedan about an hour after, and having eaten their dinner, which on this occasion was the most elegant, they all went on board the Indiaman, where my lord and my son Thomas stayed till the ship's crew was hauling in their anchors to sail, and then came home together in the coach, and it being late in the evening, he told Thomas, he should sup with him that night; after which they went to bed in their several apartments.

Next morning when I went to see my lord, as usual, he told me, that as he had handsomely provided for my daughter, and sent her to the Indies with a man of merit and fortune, he sincerely wished her great prosperity; and he added, "To let you see, madam, that I should never have parted from my first engagements of love to you, had you not laid yourself so open to censure for your misconduct, my next care shall be to provide for your son Thomas, in a handsome manner, before I concern myself with my son by you."

This was the subject of our discourse, with which I was very well pleased; I only wished my daughter had been married and sent to the Indies before I had married myself; but I began to hope that the worst would be over when Thomas

was provided for too, and the son my lord had by me, who was now at the university, was at home; which I would have brought to pass, could my will be obeyed; but I was not to enjoy that happiness.

My lord and I lived with a secret discontent of each other for near a twelvemonth, before I saw any provision made for my son Thomas, and then I found my lord bought him a very large plantation in Virginia, and was furnishing him to go there in a handsome manner; he also gave him four quarter parts, in four large trading West-India vessels, in which he boarded a great quantity of merchandize to traffic with, when he came to the end of his voyage; so that he was a very rich man, before he (what we call) came into the world.

The last article that was to be managed, was to engage my son to a wife, before he left Holland; and it happened that the gentleman who was the seller of the plantation my husband bought, had been a Virginia planter in that colony a great many years; but his life growing on the decline, and his health very dubious, he had come to Holland with an intent to sell his plantation, and then had resolved to send for his wife, son, and daughter, to come to him with the return of the next ships. This gentleman had brought over with him the pictures of all his family, which he was showing to my lord, at the same time he was paying for the effects; and on seeing the daughter's picture, which appeared to him very beautiful, my lord enquired if she was married; "No my lord," says the planter, "but I believe I shall dispose of her soon after she comes to me."—"How old is your daughter?" said my lord. "Why my lord," replied the planter, "she is twenty-two years of age." Then my lord, asked my son, if he should like that young lady for a wife? "Nothing, my lord, said Thomas, could lay a greater obligation upon me than your lordship's providing me with a wife."

"Now sir," said my lord to the planter, "what do you say to a match between this young gentleman and your daughter? their ages are agreeable, and if you can, or will, give her more fortune than he has, his shall be augmented; you partly know his substance, by the money I have now paid you."

This generous proposal of my lord's pleased the planter to a great degree, and he declared to my lord that he thought nothing could be a greater favour done him, for two reasons; one of which was, that he was certain the young gentleman was as good as he appeared, because he had taken, for his plantation, so large a sum of money, as none but a gentleman could pay. The next reason was, that this marriage, to be performed as soon as my son arrived there, would be a great satisfaction to his wife, whose favourite the daughter was; "For," added he, "my wife will not only have the pleasure of seeing her daughter settled on what was our own hereditary estate, but also see her married to a man of substance, without the danger of crossing the seas to be matched to a person equal to herself."

"Pray, sir," said my lord, "let me hear what fortune you are willing to give with your daughter; you have but two children, and I know you must be rich."—"Why, my lord," replied

the planter, "there is no denying that; but you must remember I have a son as well as a daughter to provide for, and he I intend to turn into the mercantile way as soon as he arrives safe from Virginia. I have, my lord," continued he, "a very large stock in trade there, as warehouses of tobacco, &c. lodged in the custom-houses of the ports, to the value of 7,000*l.*, to which I will add 3,000*l.* in money, and I hope you will look upon that as a very competent estate; and when the young gentleman's fortune is joined to that, I believe he will be the richest man in the whole American colonies of his age."

It was then considered between my lord and Thomas, that no woman with a quarter of that fortune, would venture herself over to the West Indies with a man that had ten times as much; so it being hinted to the planter that my lord had agreed to the proposals, they promised to meet the next morning to settle the affair.

In the evening my lord, with Thomas in his company, hinted the above discourse to me. I was frightened almost out of my wits to think what a large sum of money had been laid out for my son; but kept what I thought to myself. It was agreed that my son was to marry the old planter's daughter, and a lawyer was sent for, with instructions to draw up all the writings for the marriage settlement, &c. and the next morning a messenger came from the planter with a note to my lord, letting him know, if it was not inconvenient, he would wait on his lordship to breakfast; he came soon after with a Dutch merchant of great estate, who was our neighbour at the Hague, where they settled every point in question, and the articles were all drawn up and signed by the several parties the next day before dinner.

There was nothing now remaining but my son's departure to his new plantation in Virginia; great dispatch was made that he might be ready to sail in one of his own ships, and take the advantage of an English convoy, which was almost ready to sail. My lord sent several valuable presents to my son's lady, as did her father; and as I was at liberty in this case to do as I would, and knowing my lord had a very great value for my son, I thought that the richer my presents were, the more he would esteem me, (but there was nothing in it, the enmity he took against me had taken root in his heart) so I sent her a curious set of china, the very best I could buy, with a silver tea-kettle and lamp, tea-pot, sugar-dish, cream-pot, tea-spoons, &c. and as my lord had sent a golden repeater, I added to it a golden equipage, with my lord's picture hanging to it, finely painted. (This was another thing I did purposely to please him, but it would not do.) A few days after he came to take his leave of me, by my lord's order, and at my parting with him I shed abundance of tears, to think I was then in an almost strange place, no child that could then come near me, and under so severe a displeasure of my lord, that I had very little hopes of ever being friends with him again.

My life did not mend after my son was gone, all I could do would not persuade my lord to have any free conversation with me; and at this juncture it was, that the foolish jade, Amy, who was now advanced in years, was caught in a

conversation with one of my lord's men, which was not to her credit; for it coming to his ears, she was turned out of the house by my lord's orders, and was never suffered to come into it again during his life-time, and I did not dare to speak a word in her favour, for fear he should retort upon me, like mistress like maid.

I could hear nothing of Amy for the first three months after she had left me, till one day, as I was looking out of a dining-room window, I saw her pass by, but I did not dare ask her to come in, for fear my lord should hear of her being there, which would have been adding fuel to the fire; however, she looking up at the house saw me, I made a motion to her to stay a little about the door, and in the mean time, I wrote a note, and dropped it out of the window, in which I told her how I had lived in her absence, and desired her to write me a letter, and carry it the next day to my sempstress's house, who would take care to deliver it to me herself.

I told Isabel, that she should let me know when the milliner came again, for I had some complaints to her about getting up my best suit of Brussels lace night-clothes: on the Saturday following, just after I had dined, Isabel came into my apartment. "My lady," says she, "the milliner is in the parlour, will you be pleased to have her sent up stairs, or will your ladyship be pleased to go down to her?"—"Why, send her up, Isabel," said I, "she is as able to come to me, as I am to go to her, I will see her here."

When the milliner came into my chamber, I sent Isabel to my dressing-room to fetch a small parcel of fine linen which lay there, and in the interim she gave me Amy's letter, which I put into my pocket, and having pretended to be angry about my linen, I gave her the small bundle Isabel brought, and bid her be sure to do them better for the future.

She promised me she would, and went about her business, and when she was gone, I opened Amy's letter, and having read it, found it was to the following purpose, viz. That she had opened a coffee-house, and furnished the upper part of it to let out in lodgings, that she kept two maids and a man, but that the trade of it did not answer as she had reason to expect; she was willing to leave it off, and retire into the country to settle for the rest of her life; but was continually harassed by such disturbance in her conscience as made her unfit to resolve upon any thing, and wished there was a possibility for her to see me, that she might open her mind with the same freedom as formerly, and have my advice upon some particular affairs, and such like discourse.

It was a pretty while before I heard from Amy again, and when I did, the letter was in much the same strain as the former, excepting that things were coming more to a crisis, for she told me in it, that her money was so out, that is, lent as ready money to traders, and trusted for liquors in her house, that if she did not go away this quarter, she should be obliged to run away the next. I very much lamented her unfortunate case, but that could be no assistance to her, as I had it not now in my power to see her when I would, or give her what I pleased, as it had

always used to be; so all I could do was to wish her well, and leave her to take care of herself.

About this time it was that I perceived my lord began to look very pale and meagre, and I had a notion he was going into a consumption, but did not dare tell him so, for fear he should say I was daily looking for his death, and was now overjoyed that I saw a shadow of it; nevertheless, he soon after began to find himself in a very bad state of health, for he said to me one morning, that my care would not last long, for he believed he was seized by a distemper it was impossible for him to get over. "My lord," said I, "you do not do me justice in imagining anything concerning me that does not tend to your own happiness, for if your body is out of order, my mind suffers for it. Indeed had he died then without making a will, it might have been well for me, but he was not so near death as that; and, what was worse, the distemper, which proved a consumption, (which was occasioned chiefly by much study, watchings, melancholy thoughts, wilful and obstinate neglect of taking care of his body, and such like things) held him nine weeks and three days after this, before it carried him off.

He now took country lodgings, most delightfully situated, both for air and prospect, and had a maid and man to attend him; I begged on my knees to go with him, but could not get that favour granted; for, if I could, it might have been a means of restoring me to his favor, but our breach was too wide to be thoroughly reconciled, though I used all the endearing ways I had ever had occasion for, to creep into his favour.

Before he went out of town, he locked and sealed up every room in the house, excepting my bed-chamber, dressing-room, one parlour, and all the offices and rooms belonging to the servants; and, as he had now all my substance in his power, I was in a very poor state for a countess, and began to wish, with great sincerity, that I had never seen him, after I had lived so happy a life as I did at the Quaker's; for notwithstanding our estates, joined together when we were first married, amounted to 3,376*l.* per annum, and near 18,000*l.* ready money, besides jewels, plate, goods, &c., of a considerable value, yet we had lived in a very high manner since our taking the title of earl and countess upon us; setting up a great house, and had a number of servants; our equipage, such as coach, chariot, horses, and their attendants; a handsome fortune my lord had given to my daughter, and a very noble one to my son, whom he loved very well, not for his being my son, but for the courteous behaviour of him, in never aspiring to anything above a valet, after he knew who he was, till my lord made him his secretary, or clerk; besides all these expenses, my lord having flung himself into the trade to the Indies, both East and West, had sustained many great and uncommon losses, occasioned by his merchandize being mostly shipped in English bottoms, and that nation having declared war against the crown of Spain, he was one of the first and greatest sufferers by that power; so that, on the whole, our estate, which was as above, dwindled to about 1,000*l.* per annum, and our home stock, viz., about 17,000*l.*, was entirely gone. This, I believe, was another great mortification to his

lordship, and one of the main things that did help to hasten his end; for he was observed, both by me and all his servants, to be more cast down at hearing of his losses, that were almost daily sent to him, than he was at what had happened between him and me.

Nothing could give more uneasiness than the damage our estate sustained by this traffic; he looked upon it as a mere misfortune that no person could avoid; but I, besides that, thought it was a judgment upon me, to punish me, in the loss of all my ill-got gain; but when I found that his own fortune began to dwindle as well as mine, I was almost ready to think it was possible his lordship might have been as wicked a liver as I had, and the same vengeance as had been poured upon me for my repeated crimes, might also be a punishment for him.

As his lordship was in a bad state of health, and had removed to a country lodging, his study and counting-house, as well as his other rooms, were locked and sealed up; all business was laid aside, excepting such letters as came to him, were carried to his lordship to be opened, read, and answered. I also went to see him morning and evening, but he would not suffer me to stay with him a single night; I might have had another room in the same house, but was not willing the people who kept it should know that there was a misunderstanding between us, so I contented myself to be a constant visitor, but could not persuade him to forgive me the denying of my daughter, and acting the part of Roxana, because I had kept those two things an inviolable secret from him, and everybody else but Amy, and it was carelessness in her conduct at last that was the foundation of all my future misery.

As my lord's weakness increased, so his ill-temper, rather than diminish, increased also; I could do nothing to please him, and began to think that he was only pettish because he found it was his turn to go out of the world first. A gentleman that lived near him, as well as his chaplain, persuaded him to have a physician, to know in what state his health was, and by all I could learn, the doctor told him to settle his worldly affairs as soon as he conveniently could; "For," says he, "although your death is not certain, still your life is very precarious."

The first thing he did after this was to send for the son he had by me, from the university; he came the week afterwards, and the tutor with him, to take care of his pupil. The next day after, my lord came home, and sending for six eminent men that lived at the Hague; he made his will, and signed it in the presence of them all, and they, with the chaplain, were appointed the executors of it, and guardians of my son.

As I was in a great concern at his making his will unknown to me, and before we were friends, I thought of it in too serious a manner not to speak about it. I did not know where to apply first, but after mature consideration sent for the chaplain, and he coming to me, I desired he would give me the best intelligence he could about it. "My lady," said he, "you cannot be so unacquainted with the duty of my function, and the trust my lord has reposed in me, but you must know I shall go beyond my trust in relating

anything of that nature to you; all that I can say on that head is, that I would have you make friends with my lord as soon as you possibly can, and get him to make another will, or else, take the best care of yourself as lies in your power; for I assure you, if his lordship dies, you are but poorly provided for.

These last words of the chaplain's most terribly alarmed me; I knew not what to do, and, at last, as if I was to be guided by nothing but the furies, I went to his chamber; and after inquiring how he did, and hearing that he was far from well, I told him I heard he had made his will. "Yes," said he, "I have, and what then?"—"Why, my lord," replied I, "I thought it would not have been derogatory to both our honours for you to have mentioned it to me before you did it, and have let me known in what manner you intended to settle your estate; this would have been but acting like a man to his wife, even if you had married me without a fortune; but as you received so handsomely with me, you ought to have considered it was my substance, as well as your own, that you were going to dispose of."

My lord looked somewhat staggered at what I had said, and pausing a little while, answered, that he thought, and also looked upon it as a granted opinion, that after a man married a woman, all that she was in possession of was his, excepting he had made a prior writing or settlement to her of any part or all she was then possessed of. "Besides, my lady," added he, "I have married both your children, and given them very noble fortunes, especially your son; I have also had great losses in trade, both by sea and land, since you delivered your fortune to me, and even at this time, notwithstanding the appearance we make in the world, I am not worth a third of what I was when we came to settle in Holland; and then, here is our own son shall be provided for in a handsome manner by me, for I am thoroughly convinced there will be but little care taken of him if I leave anything in your power for that purpose,—witness Thomas and Susanna."

"My lord," said I, "I am not come into your chamber to know what care you have taken of our child; I do not doubt but you have acted like a father by it; what I would be informed in is, what I am to depend upon in case of your decease, which I, however, hope, may be a great many years off yet?"—"You need not concern yourself about that," said he; "your son will take care that you shall not want. But yet, I will tell you, too," said he, "that it may prevent your wishing for my death,—I have in my will left all I am possessed of in the world to my son, excepting 1,500*l.*; out of that, there is 500*l.* for you; 500*l.* among my executors, and the other 500*l.* is to bury me, pay my funeral expenses, and what is overplus I have ordered to be equally divided among my servants."

When I had heard him pronounce these words I stared like one that was frightened out of his senses. "Five hundred pounds for me!" says I. "Pray, what do you mean? What! am I, that brought you so handsome a fortune, to be under the curb of my son, and ask him for every penny I want. No, sir," said I, "I will not ac-

cept it; I expect to be left in full possession of one half of your fortune, that I may live the remainder of my life like your wife."—"Madam," replied my lord, "you may expect what you please. If you can make it appear, since I found you out to be a jilt, that I have looked upon you as my wife, everything shall be altered and settled just as you desire, which might then be called your will; but as the case now stands, the will is mine, and so it shall remain."

I thought I should have sunk when I had heard him make this solemn and premeditated declaration; I raved like a mad-woman, and, at the end of my discourse, told him, that I did not value what could happen to me, even if I was forced to beg my bread, for I would stand the test of my own character; and as I could get nothing by being an honest woman, so I should not scruple to declare, that the son you have left what you have to is a bastard you had by me several years before we were married.

"Oh," says he, "madam, do you think you can frighten me? No, not in the least; for if you ever mention any thing of it, the title, as well as all the estate, will go to another branch of my family, and you will then be left to starve in good earnest, without having the least glimpse of hope to better your fortune; for," added he, "it is not very probable that you will be courted for a wife by any man of substance at these years; so if you have a mind to make yourself easy in your present circumstances, you must rest contented with what I have left you, and not prove yourself a whore to ruin your child, in whose power it will be to provide for you in a handsome manner, provided you behave yourself with that respect to him and me as you ought to do; for if any words arise about what I have done, I shall make a fresh will, and, as the laws of this nation will give me liberty, cut you off with a shilling."

My own unhappiness, and his strong and lasting resentment, had kept me at high words, and flowing in tears, for some time, and as I was unwilling anybody should see me in that unhappy condition, I stayed coolly talking to him, till our son, who had been to several gentlemen's houses about my lord's business, came home, to tell his father the success he had met with abroad. He brought in with him bank-notes to the amount of 12,000*l.*, which he had received of some merchants he held a correspondence with, at which my lord was well pleased, for he was pretty near out of money at this juncture. After our son had delivered the accounts and bills, and had withdrew, I asked my lord, in a calm tone, to give me the satisfaction of knowing in what manner the losses he had complained to have suffered consisted. "You must consider, my lord," said I, "that according to what you have been pleased to inform me of, that we are upwards of 2,000*l.* per annum, besides about 17,000*l.* ready money, poorer than we were when we first came to settle in Holland."

"You talk," replied my lord, "in a very odd manner; do not you know that I had children of my own by a former wife, and of these I have taken so much care as to provide with very handsome fortunes, which are settled irrevocably upon them; I have, Providence be thanked, given each

of them 5,000*l.*, and that is laid in East India Stock, sufficient to keep them genteelly, above the frowns of fortune, and free from the fear of want. This, joined to the money I mentioned to you before, as losses at sea, deaths and bankruptcies, your children's fortunes (which are larger than my own children's), the buying the estate we live on, and several other things, which my receipts and notes will account for, as you may see after my decease; I have, to oblige you, on this head, almost descended to particulars, which I never thought to have done; but as I have, rest yourself contented, and be well assured, that I have not wilfully thrown any of your substance away."

I could not tell what he meant by saying, he had not wilfully thrown any of my substance away; these words puzzled me, for I found by his discourse I was to have but 500*l.* of all I had brought him, at his decease, which I looked upon to be near at hand. I had but one thing that was any satisfaction to me, which was this, I was assured by him that he had not bestowed above the 15,000*l.* he mentioned to me, on his children by his former wife; and, on an exact calculation he made it appear, that he had bestowed on my son Thomas alone near 13,000*l.* in buying the plantation, shares in vessels, and merchandize, besides several valuable presents sent to his wife, both by him and me; and as for my daughter Susanna, she was very well married to a factor, with a fortune of 2,000*l.*, which was a great sum of money for a woman to have, who was immediately to go to the East Indies; besides some handsome presents given to her both by him and me. In fact, her fortune was in proportion as large as her brother's, for there is but very few women in England or Holland with 2,000*l.* fortune, that would venture to the coast of Malabar, even to have married an Indian king, much more to have gone over with a person, that no one could tell what reception he might meet with, or might be recalled at the pleasure of the company upon the least distaste taken by the merchants against him; neither would I, though her own mother, hinder her voyage, for she had been the author of all the misfortunes that had happened to me, and if my speaking a word would have saved her from the greatest torment, I believe I should have been quite silent. And I have but one reason to allege for the girl's going so hazardous a voyage, which is, she knew that the match was proposed by my lord, and if he had not thought it would have been advantageous for her, he would never have given 2,000*l.* to her husband as a fortune; and again, as my lord was the only friend she had in our family, she was cunning enough to know that the bare disobliging of him would have been her ruin for ever after; to which I may add, that it is possible, as she had made so much mischief about me, she was glad to get what she could, and go out of the way, for fear my lord and I should be friends; which, if that had happened, she would have been told never to come to our house any more.

As my lord's death began to be daily the discourse of the family, I thought that he might be more reconciled if I entered into the arguments again, *pro* and *con*, which we had together before;

I did so, but all I could say was no satisfaction, till I importuned him on my knees, with a flood of tears. "Madam," said he, "what would you have me do?"—"Do, my lord," said I, "only be so tender to my years and circumstances, as to alter your will, or, at least, add a codicil to it; I desire nothing more, for I declare I had rather be a beggar, than live under my child's jurisdiction." To this he agreed with some reluctance, and he added a codicil to his will.

This pleased me greatly and gave me comfort, for I dreaded nothing so much, after all my high living, as being under any person, relation, or stranger, and whether they exercised any power over me or not.

I saw the lawyer come out of the chamber first, but was above asking him any questions, the next were the executors and chaplain; I asked the last how they came to have words: he did not answer me directly, but begged to know whose pleasure it was to have the codicil annexed.—"It was mine, sir," replied I, "and it made me very uneasy before I could have the favour granted."—He only replied, by saying, "Ah! poor lady, the favour, as you are pleased to term it, is not calculated for any benefit to you; think the worst you can of it."

I was terribly uneasy at what the chaplain had said, but I imagined to myself that I could not be worse off than I thought I should be, before the codicil was annexed; and, as he withdrew without saying any more, I was fain to rest satisfied with what I had heard, and that amounted to nothing.

The next day after this, the physicians that attended my lord, told him, it was time for him to settle his worldly affairs, and prepare himself for an hereafter. I now found all was over, and I had no other hopes of his life, than the physician's declaration of his being near his death. For it often happens that the gentlemen of the faculty give out that a man is near his death, to make the cure appear to be the effect of their great skill in distempers and medicine; as others when they cannot find out the real disease, give out that a man's end is near, rather than discover their want of judgment; and this I thought might be the case with our doctors of physic.

Our son was still kept from the University, and lodged at the house of one of his future guardians; but when he heard that his father was so near his end, he was very little out of his presence, for he dearly loved him. My lord sent the day before his death, to lock and seal up all the doors in his dwelling-house at the Hague; and the steward had orders, in case of my lord's decease, not to let anybody come in, not even his lady (who had for some time lodged in the same house with her lord), without an order from the executors.

The keys of the doors were carried to him, and as he saw his death approach, he prepared for it; and in fact, resigned up the keys of everything to the executors, and having bid them all a farewell, they were dismissed; the physicians waited, but as the verge of life approached, and it was out of their power to do him any service, he gave them a bill of 100*l.* for the care they had taken of him, and dismissed them.

I now went into the chamber, and kneeling by

his bed-side, kissed him with great earnestness, and begged of him, if ever I had disoblighd him in any respect, to forgive me. He sighed, and said, he most freely forgave me everything that I had reason to think I had offended him in; but, he added, "If you had been so open in your conversation to me before our marriage as to discover your family and way of life, I know not but that I should have married you as I did; I might now have been in a good state of health, and you many years have lived with all the honours due to the Countess de Wintelsheim." These words drew tears from my eyes, and they being the last of any consequence he said, they had the greater impression upon me. He faintly bid me a long farewell, and said, as he had but a few moments to live, he hoped I would retire, and leave him with our son and chaplain. I withdrew into my own chamber, almost drowned in tears, and my son soon followed me out, leaving the chaplain with his father, offering up his prayers to heaven for the receiving of his soul into the blessed mansions of eternal bliss.

A few minutes after, our son went into the chamber with me again, and received his father's last blessing. The chaplain now saw him departing, and was reading the prayer ordered by the church for that occasion; and while he was doing it, my lord laid his head gently on the pillow, and turning on his left side, departed this life with all the calmness of a composed mind, without so much as a groan, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

As soon as he was dead, an undertaker was sent for, by order of the executors, who met together immediately to open his will, and take care of all my son's effects. I was present when it was opened and read; but how terribly I was frightened at hearing the codicil repeated any person may imagine by the substance of it, which was to this effect:—That if I had given me any more after his decease than the 500*l.* he had left me, the 500*l.* left to his executors, and the 1000*l.* of my son's estate, (which was now a year's interest,) was to be given to such poor families at the Hague as were judged to be in the greatest want of it; not to be divided in equal sums, but every family to have according to their merit and necessity. But this was not all; my son was tied down much harder; for if it was known that he gave me any relief, let my condition be ever so bad, either by himself, by his order, or in any manner of way, device, or contrivance that he could think of, one half of his estate, which was particularly mentioned, was to devolve to the executors for ever; and if they granted me ever so small a favour, that sum was to be equally divided among the several parishes where they lived, for the benefit of the poor.

Any person would have been surprised to have seen how we all sat staring at each other; for though it was signed by all the executors, yet they did not know the substance of it till it was publicly read, excepting the chaplain; and he, as I mentioned before, had told me the codicil had better never have been added.

I was now in a fine dilemma; had the title of a countess, with 500*l.*, and nothing else to subsist on, but a very good wardrobe of clothes, which were not looked upon by my son and the ex-

ecutors to be my late lord's property, which were worth, indeed, more than treble the sum I had left me.

I immediately removed from the lodgings, and left them to bury the body when they thought proper, and retired to a lodging at a private gentleman's house, about a mile from the Hague. I was now resolved to find out Amy, being, as it were, at liberty; and accordingly went to the house where she had lived, and finding that empty, inquired for her among the neighbours, who gave various accounts of what had become of her; but one of them had a direction left at his house where she might be found. I went to the place and found the house shut up, and all the windows broken, the sign taken down, and the rails and benches pulled from before the door. I was quite ashamed to ask for her there, for it was a very scandalous neighbourhood, and I concluded that Amy had been brought to low circumstances, and had kept a house of ill-fame, and was either run away herself, or was forced to it by the officers of justice. However, as nobody knew me here, I went into a shop to buy some trifles, and asked who had lived in the opposite house (meaning Amy's). "Really, madam," says the woman, "I do not well know; but it was a woman who kept girls for gentlemen; she went on in that wickedness for some time, till a gentleman was robbed there of his watch and a diamond ring, on which the women were all taken up and committed to the house of correction; but the young ones are now at liberty, and keep about the town."—"Pray," said I, "what may have become of the old beast that could be the ruin of those young creatures?"—"Why, I do not well know," says she; "but I have heard, that as all her goods were seized upon, she was sent to the poor-house; but it soon after appearing that she had the French disease to a violent degree, was removed to an hospital to be taken care of, but I believe she will never live to come out; and if she should be so fortunate, the gentleman that was robbed, finding that she was the guilty person, intends to prosecute her to the utmost rigour of the law."

I was sadly surprised to hear this character of Amy; for I thought whatever house she might keep, that the high-day of her blood had been over; but I found that she had not been willing to be taken for an old woman, though near sixty years of age; and my not seeing or hearing from her for some time past was a confirmation of what had been told me. I went home sadly dejected, considering how I might hear of her; I had known her for a faithful servant to me, in all my bad and good fortune, and was sorry that at the last such a miserable end should overtake her, though she, as well as I, deserved it several years before.

A few days after, I went pretty near the place I had heard she was, and hired a poor woman to go and inquire how Amy ——— did, and whether she was likely to do well. The woman returned, and told me, that the matron, or mistress, said, the person I enquired after died in a salivation two days before, and was buried the last night in the cemetery belonging to the hospital.

I was very sorry to hear of Amy's unhappy and miserable death; for when she came first

into my service, she was really a sober girl, very witty and brisk, but never impudent, and her notions in general were good, till my forcing her, as it were, to have an intrigue with the jeweller. She had also lived with me between thirty and forty years, in the several stages of life as I had passed through; and, as I had done nothing but what she was privy to, so she was the best person in the universal world to consult with and take advice from, as my circumstances now were.

I returned to my lodgings much chagrined, and very disconsolate; for, as I had for several years lived at the pinnacle of splendour and satisfaction, it was a prodigious heart-break to me now to fall from upwards of 3,000*l.* per annum to a poor 500*l.* principal.

A few days after this I went to see my son, the Earl of Wintselsheim; he received me in a very courteous (though far from a dutiful) manner; we talked together near an hour upon general things, but had no particular discourse about my late lord's effects, as I wanted to have. Among other things he told me, that his guardians had advised him to go to the university for four years longer, when he would come of age, and his estate would be somewhat repaired; to which he said he had agreed: and for that purpose, all the household goods and equipages were to be disposed of the next week, and the servants dismissed. I immediately asked, if it would be looked upon as an encroachment upon his father's will if I took Isabel (who had been my waiting-maid ever since I came from England) to live with me. "No, my lady," very readily replied he, "as she will be dismissed from me, she is certainly at liberty and full freedom to do for herself as soon and in the best manner she possibly can." After this I staid about a quarter of an hour with him, and then I sent for Isabel, to know if she would come and live with me on her dismissal from her lord's. The girl readily consented, for I had always been a good mistress to her; and then I went to my own lodgings in my son's coach, which he had ordered to be got ready to carry me home.

Isabel came, according to appointment, about ten days after, and told me the house was quite cleared both of men and movables, but said, her lord (meaning my son) was not gone to the university as yet, but was at one of his guardian's houses, where he would stay about a month, and that he intended to make a visit before his departure, which he did, attended by my late chaplain; and I being in handsome lodgings, received them with all the complaisance and love as was possible, telling them, that time and circumstances having greatly varied with me, whatever they saw amiss, I hoped they would be so good as to look over it at that time, by considering the unhappy situation of my affairs.

After this visit was over, and I had myself and Isabel to provide for, handsome lodgings to keep, (which were as expensive as they were fine), and nothing but my principal money to live on, (I mean what I happened to have in my pocket at my lord's death,—for I had not been paid my 500*l.* as yet,) I could not manage for a genteel maintenance as I had done some years before. I thought of divers things to lay my small sums out

to advantage, but could fix on nothing; for it always happens that when people have but a trifle, they are very dubious in the disposal of it.

Having been long resolving in my mind, I at last fixed on merchandize as the most genteel and profitable of anything else. Accordingly, I went to a merchant who was intimate with my late lord, and letting him know how my circumstances were, he heartily condoled with me, and told me he could help me to a share in two ships, one was going a trading voyage to the coast of Africa, and the other a privateering. I was now in a dilemma, and was willing to have a share in the trader, but was dubious of being concerned in the privateer; for I had heard strange stories told of the gentlemen concerned in that way of business. Nay, I had been told, but with what certainty I cannot aver that there was a set of men who took upon them to insure ships, and as they always knew to what port they are bound, notice was sent to their correspondent abroad, to order out their privateers on the coast the others sailed, and they knowing the loading, and the number of hands and guns were on board, soon made prizes of the vessels, and the profits were equally divided, after paying what was paid for their insurance, among them all.

However, I at last resolved, by the merchant's advice, to have a share in the trader, and the next day he over-persuaded me to have a share in the privateer also. But that I may not lay out my money before I have it, it may not be amiss to observe, that I went to the executors and received my 500*l.* at an hour's notice, and then went to the merchant's, to know what the shares would come to, and being told 1,500*l.*, I was resolved to raise the money; so I went home, and, with my maid Isabel, in two days' time disposed of as many of my clothes as fetched me near 1,100*l.*, which, joined to the above sum, I carried to the merchant's, where the writings were drawn, signed, sealed, and delivered to me, in the presence of two witnesses, who went with me for that purpose. The ships were near ready for sailing; the trader was so well manned and armed, as well as the privateer, that the partners would not consent to insure them, and out they both sailed, though from different ports, and I depended on getting a good estate between them.

When I was about this last ship, a letter came from the count, my son, full of tender expressions of his duty to me, in which I was informed, that he was going again to the university at Paris, where he should remain four years; after that, he intended to make the tour of Europe, and then come and settle at the Hague. I returned him thanks in a letter for his compliment, wished him all happiness, and a safe return to Holland, and desired that he would write to me from time to time, that I might hear of his welfare, which was all I could now expect of him. But this was the last time I heard from him, or he from me.

In about a month's time, the news came that the privateer (which sailed under British colours, and was divided into eight shares,) had taken a ship, and was bringing it into the Texel, but that it accidentally foundered, and, being chained to the privateer, had, in sinking, like to have lost

that too. Two or three of the hands got on shore, and came to the Hague; but how terribly I was alarmed, any one may judge, when I heard the ship the privateer had was the Newfoundland, merchantman, as I had bought two shares in out of four. About two months after, news was current about the Hague, of a privateer or merchantman, one of them of the town, though not known which, having an engagement in the Mediterranean, in which action, both the privateer and trader was lost. Soon after, their names were publicly known, and, in the end, my partners heard that they were our ships, and unhappily sailing under false colours, (a thing often practised in the time of war), and never having seen each other, had at meeting, a very smart engagement, each fighting for life and honour, till two unfortunate shots, one of them, viz. the privateer was sunk by a shot between wind and water, and the trader unhappily blown up by a ball falling in the powder-room; there were only two hands of the trader, and three of the privateer that escaped, and they all fortunately met at one of the partner's houses, where they confirmed the truth of this melancholy story, and to me a fatal loss.

What was to be done now? I had no money, and but few clothes left, there was no hope of subsistence from my son or his guardians, they were tied down to be spectators of my misfortunes, without affording me any redress, even if they would.

Isabel, though I was now reduced to the last penny, would live with me still, and, as I observed before, and may now repeat, I was in a pretty situation to begin the world; upwards of sixty years of age, friendless, scanty of clothes, and but very little money.

I proposed to Isabel to remove from lodgings, and retire to Amsterdam, where I was not known, and might turn myself into some little way of business, and work for that bread now, which had been too often squandered away upon very trifles. And upon consideration, I found myself in a worse condition than I thought, for I had nothing to recommend me to Heaven, either in works or thoughts; had even banished from my mind all the cardinal and moral virtues, and had much more reason to hide myself from the sight of God, if possible, than I had to leave the Hague, that I might not be known of my fellow

creatures. And further to hasten our removing to Amsterdam, I recollected I was involved in debt, for money to purchase a share in the Newfoundland trader, which was lost, and my creditors daily threatened me with an arrest to make me pay them.

I soon discharged my lodgings, and went with Isabel to Amsterdam, where I thought, as I was advanced in years, to give up all I could raise in the world, and on the sale of every thing I had, to go into one of the Proveniers' Houses, where I should be settled for life; but as I could not produce money enough for it, I turned it into a coffee-house near the Stadt House, where I might have done well; but as soon as I was settled, one of my Hague creditors arrested me for a debt of 75*l.*, and I not having a friend in the world of whom to raise the money, was, in a shameful condition, carried to the common jail, where poor Isabel followed me with showers of tears, and left me inconsolable for my great misfortunes. Here, without some very unforeseen accident, I shall never go out of it until I am carried to my grave, for which may my much offended God prepare me as soon as possible.

The Continuation of the Life of ROXANA, by Isabel Johnson, who had been her waiting maid, from the time she was thrown into jail to the time of her death.

After my lady, as it was my duty to call her, was thrown into jail for a debt she was unable to pay, she gave her mind wholly up to devotion, whether it was from a thorough sense of her wretched state, or any other reason I could never learn; but this I may say, that she was a sincere penitent, and in every action had all the behaviour of a Christian: by degrees all the things she had in the world were sold, and she began to find an inward decay upon her spirits. In this interval she repeated all the passages of her ill spent life to me, and thoroughly repented of every bad action, especially the little value she had for her children, which were honestly born and bred. And having, as she believed, made her peace with God, she died with mere grief, on the 2d of July 1742, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, and was decently buried by me in the churchyard belonging to the Lutherans in the city of Amsterdam.

A NEW
VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

BY A

COURSE NEVER SAILED BEFORE.

BEING

A VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN BY SOME MERCHANTS, WHO AFTERWARDS
PROPOSED THE SETTING UP AN EAST INDIA COMPANY
IN FLANDERS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY

A. BETTESWORTH, AT THE RED LION, IN PATERNOSTER ROW;
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NEW VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

It has for some ages been thought so wonderful a thing to sail the tour or circle of the globe, that when a man has done this mighty feat he presently thinks it deserves to be recorded, like Sir Francis Drake's. So, as soon as men have acted the sailor, they come ashore and write books of their voyage, not only to make a great noise of what they have done themselves, but, pretending to show the way to others to come after them, they set up for teachers and chart-makers to posterity. Though most of them have had this misfortune, that whatever success they have had in the voyage, they have had very little in the relation, except it be to tell us that a seaman, when he comes to the press, is pretty much out of his element, and a very good sailor may make but a very indifferent author.

I do not in this lessen the merit of those gentlemen who have made such a long voyage as that round the globe; but I must be allowed to say, as the way is now a common road, the reason of it thoroughly known, and the occasion of it more frequent than in former times; so the world has done wondering at it; we no more look upon it as a mighty thing, a strange and never heard of undertaking; this cannot be now expected of us, the thing is made familiar, every ordinary sailor is able to do it, if his merchants are but qualified to furnish him for so long a voyage; and he that can carry a ship to Lisbon, may with the same ease carry it round the world.

Some tell us, it is enough to wonder at a thing nine days, one would reasonably then conclude that it is enough that sailing round the world has been wondered at above a hundred years: I shall therefore let the reader know, that it is not the rarity of going round the world that has occasioned this publication, but if some incidents have happened in such a voyage, as either have not happened to others, or as no other people, though performing the same voyage, have taken notice of, then this account may be worth publishing, though the thing, viz. The voyage round the world, be in itself of no value.

It is to be observed of the several navigators whose voyages round the world have been published, that few, if any of them, have diverted us with that variety which a circle of that length must needs offer. We have very little account of their landings, their diversions, the accidents which happened to them, or to others by their

means; the stories of their engagements, when they have had any scuffle either with natives or European enemies, are told superficially and by halves; the storms and difficulties at sea or on shore have nowhere a full relation; and all the rest of their accounts are generally filled up with directions for sailors coming that way, the bearings of the land, the depth of the channels, entrances, and bars, at the several ports, anchorage in the bays and creeks, and the like things, useful indeed for seamen going thither again, and how few are they? but not at all to the purpose when we come expecting to find the history of the voyage.

Another sort of these writers have just given us their long journals, tedious accounts of their log work, how many leagues they sailed every day; where they had the winds, when it blew hard, and when softly; what latitude in every observation, what meridian distance, and what variation of the compass. Such is the account of Sir John Narbrough's voyage to the South Seas, adorned with I know not how many charts of the famous Strait of Magellan, a place only now famous for showing the ignorance of Sir John Narbrough, and a great many wise gentlemen before him, and for being a passage they had no need to have troubled themselves with, and which nobody will ever go through any more.

Such also are the voyages of Captain John Wood to Nova Zembla, at the charge of the public, in King Charles II's time, and Martin Forbisher to the North West Passages, in Queen Elizabeth's time; all which are indeed full of their own journals, and the incidents of sailing, but have little or nothing of story in them for the use of such readers who never intend to go to sea, and yet such readers may desire to hear how it has fared with those that have, and how affairs stand in those remote parts of the world.

For these reasons, when I first set out upon a cruising and trading voyage to the east, and resolved to go anywhere and everywhere that the advantages of trade or the hopes of purchase should guide us. I also resolved to take such exact notice of everything that passed within my reach, that I should be able, if I lived to come home, to give an account of my voyage, differing from all that I had ever seen before, in the nature of the observations, as well as in the manner of relating them: and as this is perfectly new in

its form, so I cannot doubt but it will be agreeable in the particulars, seeing either no voyage ever made before had such variety of incidents happening in it, so useful and so diverting, or no person that sailed on those voyages has thought fit to publish them after this manner.

Having been fitted out in the river of Thames so lately as the year 1713, and on a design perhaps not very consistent with the measures taking at that time for the putting an end to the war, I must be obliged to own I was at first obliged to act not in my own name, but to put in a French commander into the ship, for the reasons which follow, and which those who understand the manner of trade upon closing the late war, I mean the trade with Spain, will easily allow to be just and well grounded.

During the late war between Great Britain and her confederates on one side, and the united crowns of France and Spain on the other side, we all know the French had a free trade into the South Seas; a trade carried on with the greatest advantage, and to the greatest degree, that any particular commerce has been carried on in the world for many ages past; insomuch that we found the return of silver that came back to France by those ships, was not only the enriching of the merchants of St Malo, Rochelle, and other ports in France, some of whom we saw get immense estates in a few years, even to a million sterling a man. But it was evident the king of France himself was enabled, by the circulation of so much bullion through his mints, to carry on that war with very great advantage.

It was just at the close of this war, when some merchants of London looking with envy on the success of that trade, and how the French, notwithstanding the peace, would apparently carry it on, for some years at least, to infinite advantage, began to consider whether it might not be possible to come in for a snack with France, as they were allied to Spain, and yet go abroad in the nature of a private cruiser.

To bring this to pass it was thought proper in the first place to get a share, if possible, in a new design of an East India trade in Flanders, just then intended to be set up by some British merchants, by the assistance of an imperial charter, or, at least, under colour of it; and so we might go to sea in a threefold capacity, to be made use of as occasion might present; viz. when on the coast of New Spain we sought to trade we were Frenchmen, had a French captain, and a sufficient number of French seamen, and Flemish or Walloon seamen, who spoke French, so to appear on all proper occasions. When at sea we met with any Spanish ship worth our while, we were English cruisers, had letters of marque from England, had no account of the peace, and were fitted for the attack. And when in the East Indies we had occasion to trade, either at the English or Dutch settlements, we should have imperial colours, and two Flemish merchants, at least in appearance, to transact everything as we found occasion. However, this last part of our project failed us, that affair not being fully ripe.

As this mysterious equipment may be liable to some exceptions, and perhaps to some inquiries, I shall for the present conceal my name,

and that of the ship also. By inquiries I mean inquiries of private persons concerned; for as to public inquiries, we have no uneasiness, having acted nothing in contradiction to the rules and laws of our country; but I say, as to private persons, it is thought fit to prevent their inquiries, to which end the captain, in whose name I write this, gives me leave to make use of his name, and conceal my own.

The ship sailed from the river the 20th of December, 1713, and went directly over to the coast of Flanders, lying at anchor in Newport Pitts, as they are called, where we took in our French Captain Jean Michael Mirlotte, who, with thirty-two French seamen, came on board us in a large snow from Dunkirk, bringing with them one hundred and twenty-two small anchors or rundlets of brandy, and some hampers and casks of French wine, in wickered bottles. While we were here we lay under English colours, with pendants flying, our ship being upwards of five hundred tons, and had forty-six guns mounted, manned with three hundred and fifty-six men. We took the more men on board, because we resolved, as occasion should present, to fit ourselves with another ship, which we did not question we should meet with in the South Seas.

We had also a third design in our voyage, though it may be esteemed an accident to the rest, viz. we were resolved to make some attempts for new discoveries, as opportunity offered; and we had two persons on board who were exceedingly well qualified for our direction in this part, all which was derived from the following occasion:

The person who was principally concerned in the adventure was a man not only of great wealth, but of great worth; he was particularly addicted to what we call new discoveries, and it was indeed upon his genius to such things that the first thought of the voyage was founded. This gentleman told us that he had already sent one ship, fully equipped and furnished, for a new attempt upon the north-west or north-east passages, which had been so often in vain tried by former navigators; and that he did not question the success, because he had directed them by new measures, and to steer a course that was never attempted yet; and his design in our voyage was to make like discoveries towards the South Pole; where, as he said, and gave us very good reasons for it, he did not doubt but we might discover even to the Pole itself, and find out new worlds and new seas, which had never been heard of before.

With these designs this gentleman came into the other part of our project, and contributed the more largely, and with the more freedom, to the whole, upon that account; in particular, all the needful preparations for such discoveries were made wholly at his expense, which I take notice of here, as being most proper in the beginning of our story, and that the reader may the less wonder at the odd way we took to perform a voyage which might with much more ease have been done by the usual and ordinary way.

We sailed from the coast of Flanders the second of January, and without any extraordinary

incident made the coast of Galloway in Ireland the tenth, where we staid and took in a very extraordinary store of provisions, three times as much as usual; the beef being also well pickled or doubled packed, that we might have a sufficient reserve for the length of our voyage, resolving also to spare it as much as possible.

We had a very rich cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of British manufacture suitable for the Spanish trade in their West Indies; and as we aimed at nothing of trade till we came to the Spanish coast, we sailed directly for the Canary Islands; having not fully resolved whether we would make our voyage to the South seas first, and so round the globe by the East Indies, as has been the ordinary way, or whether we would go first by the East Indies, and upon the discoveries we were directed to, and then cross the great Pacific Ocean to the west coast of America, as was at last resolved.

We made the Canaries the eleventh of February, and coming to an anchor there to take in some fresh water, we put out French colours, and sent our boat on shore, with a French boat-swain and all French seamen, to buy what we wanted. They brought us on board five butts or pipes of wine and some provisions, and having filled our water, we set sail again the thirteenth. In this time we called a council among ourselves by which way we should go, as above.

I confess I was for going by the Cape of Good Hope first, and so to the East Indies, then keeping to the south of Java, go away to the Moluccas, where I made no doubt to make some purchase among the Dutch Spice Islands, and so go away to the Philippines; but the whole ship's company, I mean of officers, were against me in this scheme, although I told them plainly that the discoveries which would be made in such a voyage as that were the principal reasons why our chief owner embarked in the adventure, and that we ought to regard the end and design of our voyage; that it would certainly in the close of things amount to the same, as to trade, as if we went the usual way, seeing the places we were to go to were the same one way as the other, and it was only putting the question which we should go to first; that all the navigators on such voyages as these went by the South seas first, which would be no honour to us at all; but if we went by the East Indies first, we should be the first that ever went such a voyage, and that we might make many useful discoveries and experiments in trying that course; that it would be worth our while, not only to go that way, but to have all the world take notice of it, and of us for it.

I used a great many arguments of the like nature, but they answered me most effectually, with laying before me the difficulties of the voyage, and the contrary methods of trade, which, in a word, made the going that way impracticable: First, the difficulty of the voyage over the vast ocean called the Pacific sea, or South sea, which, if we kept a southern latitude, and took the variable winds as we should find them, as I proposed to do, might very well be a voyage of six or eight months, without any sight of land, or supply of provisions or water, which was intolerable; that, as to trade, it was preposterous,

and just setting the voyage with the bottom upward; for, as we were laden with goods, and had no money, our first business was to go to the South seas, where our goods were wanted, and would sell for money, and then to the East Indies, where our money would be wanting, to buy other goods to carry home, and not to go to the East Indies first, where our goods would not sell, and where we could buy no other for want of money.

This was so strong a way of reasoning that they were all against me, as well French as English, and even the two agents for discoveries submitted to it; and so we resolved to stand away from the Canaries to the coast of Brazil, thence upon the eastern coast of South America to Cape Horn, and then into the South seas; and if we met with anything that was Spanish by the way, we resolved to make prize of it, as in a time of war.

Accordingly we made the coast of Brazil in about twenty-six days, from the Canary islands, and went on shore at Cape St Augustine for fresh water, afterwards we put into the Bay of All Saints, got some fresh provisions there, and about a hundred very good hogs, some of which we killed and pickled up their flesh, and carried the rest on board alive, having taken on board a great quantity of roots and maize, or Indian corn, for their food, which they thrived on very well.

It was the last of March when we came to the Bay, and having stayed there fourteen days to furnish ourselves with all things we wanted, we got intelligence there that there were three ships at the Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata, which were preparing to go for Europe, and that they expected two Spanish men-of-war to be their convoy, because of the Portuguese men-of-war which were in Brazil, to convoy the Brazil fleet.

Their having two Spanish men-of-war with them for their convoy took away a great deal from the joy we had entertained at the news of their being there, and we began to think we should make little or nothing of it: however, we resolved to see the utmost of it, and particularly if our double appearance would not now stand us in some stead.

Accordingly we went away for the river of Plate, and, as usual, spreading French colours, we went boldly up to Buenos Ayres, and sent in our boat, manned with Frenchmen, pretending to be homeward bound from the South seas, and in want of provisions. The Spaniards received us with civility enough, and granted us such provisions as we wanted; and here we found, to our great satisfaction, that there was no such thing as any Spanish man-of-war there; but they said they expected one, and the governor there for the King of Spain asked our French officer if we would take one of their ships under our convoy; Monsieur Mirlotte answered him warily, that his ship was deep laden and foul, and he could not undertake anything, but if they would keep him company, he would do them what service he could; but that, also, as they were a rich ship, they did not design to go directly to France, but to Martinico, where they expected to meet with some French men-of-war to convoy them

nome. This answer was so well managed, though there was not one word of truth in it, that one of the three ships, for the other two were not ready, resolved to come away with us, and, in an evil hour for them, they did so.

To be short, we took the innocent Spaniard into our convoy, and sailed away to the northward with them, but were not far at sea before we let them know what circumstances they were in, by the following method:—We were about half a league ahead of them, when our captain, bringing too and hauling up our courses, made a signal to the Spaniards for the captain to come on board, which he very readily did. As soon as he was on board our captain let him know that he was our prisoner, and all his men, and immediately manning their boat with thirty of our own men, we sent them on board their ship to take possession of her, but ordered them that they should behave civilly to the men on board, and plunder nothing, for we made a promise to the Spanish captain that his ship should not be plundered, upon condition he would give us a just account of his lading, and deliver peaceably to us what riches he had on board; then we also agreed that we would restore him his ship, which, by the way, we found was chiefly laden with hides, things of no value to us, and that the ship also was an old vessel, strong, but often doubled, and therefore a very heavy sailer, and consequently not at all fit for our purpose, though we greatly wanted a ship to take along with us, we having both too many men and being too full of goods, as I have said above.

The Spanish captain, though surprised with the stratagem that had brought him thus into the hands of his enemies, and greatly enraged in his mind at being circumvented, and trepanned out of his ship, yet showed a great presence of mind under his misfortune; and, as I verily believe, he would have fought us very bravely if we had let him know fairly what we were, so he did not at all appear dejected at his disaster, but capitulated with us as if he had been talking sword in hand; and one time when our captain and he could not agree, and the Spanish captain was a little threatened, he grew warm; told the captain that he might be ill used, being in his hands, but that he was not afraid to suffer whatever his ill fortune had prepared for him, and he would not, for fear of ill usage, yield to base conditions; that he was a man of honour, and if he (our captain) was so too, he demanded to be put on board his own ship again, and he should see he knew how to behave himself. Our captain smiled at that, and told him he was not afraid to put him on board his own ship and fight for her again, and that if he did so he was sure he could not escape him; the Spanish captain smiled too, and told him he should see (if he did) that he knew the way to heaven from the bottom of the sea, as well as any other road, and that men of courage were never at a loss to conquer their enemy one way or other, intimating that he would sink by his side rather than be taken, and that he would take care to be but a very indifferent prize to him if he was conquered.

However, we came to better terms with him afterward; and, in short, having taken on board all the silver, which was about 200,000 pieces of

eight, and whatever else we met with that was valuable, among the rest his ammunition and six brass guns, we performed conditions and sent him into the Rio de la Plata again with his ship to let the other Spanish captains know what scouring they had escaped.

We got a good booty here, indeed, but were disappointed of a ship; however, we were not so sensible of that disappointment now as we were afterwards; for, as we depended upon going to the South Seas, we made no doubt of meeting with vessels enough for our purpose; what followed, we shall soon see.

We had done our work here, and had neither any occasion or any desire to lie any longer on this coast, where the climate was bad and the weather exceedingly hot, and where our men began to be very uneasy, being crowded together so close all in one ship, so we made the best of our way south.

We met with some stormy weather in these seas, and particularly a north-west blast, which carried us for eleven days, or thereabouts, a great way off to sea; but as we had sea-room enough, and a stout strong-built ship under us, perfectly well prepared, tight and firm, we made light of the storms we met with, and soon came into our voyage's way again; so that about the 4th of May we made land in the latitude of 45 degrees 12 minutes south.

We put in here for fresh water, and finding nothing of the land marked in our charts, we had no knowledge of the place, but coming to an anchor about a league from the shore, our boat went in quest of a good watering-place; in pursuit of this they went up a creek about two leagues more, where they found good water, and filled some casks, and so came on board to make their report.

The next day we came into the creek's mouth, where we found six to eight fathom water within cable's length of the shore, and found fresh water enough, but no people or cattle, though an excellent country for both.

Of this country I made many observations, suitable to the design and desire of our ingenious employer and owner, and which are one end of publishing this voyage. I shall mention only one here, because I shall come to speak of it again on another occasion more largely. My observation here is as follows:—

An observation concerning the soil and climate of the continent of America, south of the River de la Plata, and how suitable to the genius, the constitution, and the manner of living of Englishmen, and consequently of an English colony.

THE particular spot which I observe upon is that part of the continent of America which lies on the shore of the North Seas, as they are called, though falsely, for they are more properly the East Seas, being extended along the east shores of South America. The land lies on the same east sides of America, extended north and south from Costa Deserta, in 42 degrees, to Port St Julian, in 49 and a half degrees, being almost 500 miles in length, full of very good harbours, and some navigable rivers; the land is a plain

for several scores of miles within the shore, with several little rising hills, but nowhere mountainous or stony, well adapted for enclosing, feeding, and grazing cattle; also for corn, all sorts of which would certainly not only grow, but thrive very well here, especially wheat, rye, peas, and barley, things which would soon be improved by Englishmen, to the making the country rich and populous, the raising great quantities of grain of all sorts, and cattle in proportion. The trade which I propose for the consumption of all the produce, and the place whither to be carried, I refer to speak of by itself, in the further pursuit of this work.

I return now to the pursuit of our voyage. We put to sea again the tenth of May, with fair weather and a fair wind, though a season of the year, it is true, when we might have reason to expect some storms, being what we might call the depth of their winter. However, the winds held northerly, which there are to be esteemed the warm winds, and bringing mild weather; and so they did, till we came into the latitude of fifty degrees, when we had strong winds and squally weather, with much snow and cold, from the S. W. and S. W. by W., which blowing very hard, we put back to Port St Julian, where we were not able to stir for some time.

We weighed again the 29th, and stood south again, passed the mouth of the straits of Magellan, a strait famous for many years for being thought to be the only passage out of the North Seas into the South Seas, and therefore, I say, famous some ages, not only in the discovery of it by Magellan, a Spanish captain, but of such significance, that for many years it was counted a great exploit to pass this strait, and few have ever done it of our nation but that they have thought fit to tell the world of it, as an extraordinary business, fit to be made public, as an honour to their names. Nay, King Charles the Second thought it worth while to send Sir John Narbrough on purpose to pass and take an exact survey of this strait, and the map or plan of it has been published by Sir John himself, at the public expense, as a useful thing.

Such a mighty and valuable thing also was the passing this strait, that Sir Francis Drake's going through it gave birth to that famous old wives' saying, viz., that Sir Francis Drake shot the gulf, a saying that was current in England for many years, I believe near a hundred after Sir Francis Drake was gone his long journey of all, as if there had been but one gulf in the world, and that passing it had been a wonder next to that of Hercules cleaning the Augean stable.

Of this famous place I could not but observe on this occasion, that as ignorance gave it its first fame, and made it for so many ages the most eminent part of the globe, as it was the only passage by which the whole world could be surrounded, and that it was every man's honour that had passed it as above; so now it has come to the full end or period of its fame, and will, in all probability, never have the honour to have any ship, vessel, or boat, go through it more, while the world remains, unless (which is very improbable) that part of the world should come to be fully inhabited. I know some are of opinion that before the full period of the earth's existence

all the remotest and most barren parts of it shall be peopled; but I see no ground for such a notion, but many reasons which would make it appear to be impracticable, and indeed impossible, unless it should please God to alter the situation of the globe, as it respects the sun, and place it in a direct, as it now moves in an oblique position; or that a new species of mankind should be produced, who might be as well qualified to live in the frozen zone as we are in the temperate, and upon whom the extremity of cold could have no power. I say, as there are several parts of the globe where this would be impracticable, I shall say no more than this, that I think it is a groundless suggestion.

But to return to our voyage. We passed by the mouth of this famous strait De Magellan, and those others which were passed through by Le Maire, the Dutchman, afterwards, and keeping an offing of six or seven leagues, went away south, till we came to the latitude of fifty-eight, when we would, as we had tried three days before, have stretched away south-west, to have got into the South Seas, but a strong gale of wind took us at W. N. W., and though we could (lying near to it) stretch away to the southward, yet, as it over-blown, we could make no westward way; and though we had under us an excellent strong-built vessel, that valued not the waves, and made very good work of it, yet we went away to leeward in spite of all we could do, and lost ground amain. We held it out, however, the weather being clear, but excessive cold, till we found ourselves in the latitude of sixty-four.

We called our council several times, to consider what we should do, for we did but drive to leeward; the longer we strove with it, the gale held still, and to our apprehensions, it was set in, blowing like a kind of monsoon, or trade wind, though in these latitudes I know there is no such thing, properly called, as a trade wind.

We tried (the wind abating) to beat up again to the north, and we did so, but it was by running a great way to the east; and once, I believe, we were in the latitude of St Helena, though so far south, but it cost us infinite labour, and near six weeks' time; at length we made the coast, and arrived again at the port of St Julian the 20th of June, which, by the way, is the depth of their winter.

Here we resolved to lay up for the winter, and not attempt to go so far south again at that time of year; but our eager desire of pursuing our voyage prevailed, and we put out to sea again, having taken in fresh provisions, such as are to be had there, that is to say, seals, penguins, and such like trade, and with this recruit we put to sea, I say, a second time.

We had this time worse luck than we had before, for the wind setting in at south-west, blew a storm, and drove us with such force away to sea eastward, that we were never able to make any way to the southward at all, but were carried away with a continued storm of wind, from the same corner, or near it, our pilot, or master as we called him, finding himself often obliged to go away before it, and it kept us out so long at sea, and we were gone so far to the north-east eastward, that he advised us to stand

away for the Cape of Good Hope; and accordingly we did so, and arrived at the Cape the last day of July. We were now dead-hearted indeed, and I began to revive my proposal of going to the East Indies, as I had at first intended; and to answer the objection which they made against it, as being against the nature of trade, and that we had nothing on board but European goods, which were not fitted for the East Indies, where money only was suitable to the market we were to make. I say to answer this objection, I told them I would engage that I would sell our whole cargo at the Philippine Islands, as well as on the coast of America; so that those islands being Spanish, our disguise of being French would serve us as well at the Philippines as it would in New Spain; and with this particular advantage, that we should sell here for four times the value as we should on the coast of Chili or Peru; and that when we had done, we could load our ship again there, or in other places in the Indies, with such goods as would come to a good market again in New Spain.

This I told them was indeed what had not been practised, nor at any other time would it be practicable. For as it was not usual for any ships to go from the East Indies to the Philippines, so neither was it usual for any European ships to trade with freedom to the South Seas, till since the late war, when the French had the privilege; and I could not but be amazed that the French had never gone this way, where they might have made three or four voyages in one, and with much less hazard of meeting with the English or Dutch cruisers; and have made twice the profits which they made the other way, where they were frequently out three or four years upon one return; whereas here they might make no less than three returns, or perhaps four, in the same voyage, and in much less time.

They were now a little surprised, for in all our first debates we had nothing of this matter brought in question; only they entertained a notion that I was going upon strange projects, to make discoveries, search for the South Pole, plant new colonies, and I know not how many whims of their own, which were neither in my design, or in my instructions. The person therefore who was our supercargo, and the other captain whose name I have not mentioned, together with the French Captain Merlotte, and the rest who had all opposed me before, came cheerfully into my proposal, only the supercargo told me in the name of the rest that he began to be more sensible of the advantages of the voyage I had proposed than he was before; but that as he was intrusted, together with me, in the government of the trading part, for I was empowered equally with him too, he begged I would not take it ill that he desired I would let him further into that particular, and explain myself at least as far as I thought fit.

This was so just a request, and so easy for me to do, and, above all, was made with so much good manners and courtesy, that I told him, if I had been otherwise determined, the courteous and good-humoured way with which he required it, would constrain me to it; but that, however, I was very ready to do it, as he was intrusted

with the cargo equally with me, and that it was a piece of justice to the owners, that whom they thought fit to trust, I should trust also; upon this I told him my scheme was as follows:—

First, I told him, that as the Philippine Islands received all their European goods from Acapulco, in America, by the King of Spain's ships, they were obliged to give what price was imposed upon them by the merchants, who brought those goods by so many stages to Acapulco. For example, the European goods, or suppose English goods in particular, with which they were laden, went first from England to Cadiz, from Cadiz by the galloons to Porto Bello, from Porto Bello to Panama, from Panama to Acapulco; in all which places, the merchants had their several commissions and other profits upon the sale; besides the extravagant charges of so many several ways of carriage, some by water, some by land, and besides the king's customs in all those places; and that after all this, they were brought by sea from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, which was a prodigious voyage, and were then generally sold in the Philippine Islands at three hundred per cent. advance.

That in the room of all this, our cargo being well bought and well sorted, would come to the Philippine Islands at once, without any landing or relanding, and without any of all the additions of charge to the first cost, as those by the way of New Spain had upon them; so that if we were to sell them at the Philippine Islands a hundred per cent. cheaper than the Spaniards usually sold, yet we should get abundantly more than we could on the coast of Peru, though we had been allowed a free trade there.

That there were but two objections to this advantage, and these were, our liberty of trading, and whether the place would consume the quantity of goods we had. And to this I had much to answer; first, that it was well known at the Philippine Isles, that the Kings of France and Spain were united firmly together; that the King of Spain had allowed the King of France's subjects a free trade in his American dominions, and consequently that it would not be denied there; but, on the other hand, that if it was denied by the governor, yet there would be room to find out a trade with the inhabitants, and especially with the Chinese and Japan merchants, who were always there, which trade the governor could not prevent; and thus we could not fear a market for all our cargo, if it was much greater than it was.

That as to the returns, we had the advantage either way. For first, we should be sure to receive a great part of the price of our goods in Chinese or Japan gold and silver, or in pieces of eight; or, if we thought fit to trade another way, we might take on board such a quantity of China damasks, and other wrought silks, muslins, and chintz, China ware, and Japan ware; all which would be immediately sold in America; that we should carry a cargo of these goods to New Spain, infinitely to our advantage, being the same cargo which the four great Acapulco ships carry back with them every year. That when we had gone to the South Seas with this cargo, of which we knew we should make a good market, we had nothing to do but to come back

if we thought fit, to the East Indies again, where we might load, for England or Flanders, such goods as we thought proper; or, if we did not think fit to take so great a run, we might go away to the south, and round by Cape Horn into the Atlantic Ocean, and perfect those discoveries which we made part of in the beginning of our voyage.

This was so clear a scheme of trade, that he seemed surprised with it, and fully satisfied in every part of it. But the captain then objected against the length of the voyage to the South Seas from the Philippines, and raised several scruples about the latitude which we should keep in such a voyage; that we should not be able to carry any provisions which we could take on board in these hot countries, that would keep for so long a run, and several other difficulties; to all which, I made answer, that when we had sold our cargo at the Philippines, and found our advantages there to answer our desires, I would not oppose our returning from thence directly to England, if they found it needful; or if they thought a further adventure would not answer the risks we were to expect in it, and that we would never have any dispute about that.

This satisfied them fully, and they went immediately with the news to the men, as what they thought would please them wonderfully, seeing they were mighty uneasy but two or three days before, about their being to go back again to the south of America, and the latitude of 64, where we had not only been twice driven back, as if Heaven had forbidden us to pass that way, but had been driven so far to the south that we had met with a most severe cold, and which pinched our men exceedingly, who being come, as we might say, a hot weather voyage, were but ill furnished for the weather usual in the latitudes of 64.

But we had a harder task to go through than we expected upon this occasion, and it may stand here upon record, as a buoy or beacon, to warn officers and commanders of ships, supercargoes, and such as are trusted in the conduct of the voyage, never to have any disputes among themselves (I say not among themselves) about the course they shall take, or whither they shall go; for it never fails to come among the men after them; and if once the debate is but named on the outside of the great cabin door, it becomes immediately a dispute among the officers upon the quarter-deck, the lieutenants, mates, purser, &c.; from thence it gets afore the mast, and into the cook-room, and the whole ship is immediately divided into factions and parties; every foremast man is a captain; every boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cockswain, nay, and even the cook, sets up for a leader of the men; and if two of them join parties, it is ten to one but it comes to a mutiny, and perhaps to one of the two last extremes of all mutinies, viz., running away from the ship, or running away with the ship.

Our case was exactly thus, and had issued accordingly, for ought I know, if we had not been in a port where we got immediate assistance, and that by a more than ordinary vigour in the management too.

I have mentioned the first time when we called a council about our voyage at the Canaries, and

how it was carried against my opinion not to go to the East Indies, but to go to the South Seas, about by Cape Horn. As the debate of this was not at all concealed, the officers of the ship, viz., the two lieutenants and two mates, the purser, and others, came in and went out, and not only heard all we said, but talked of it at liberty on the quarter-deck, and where they pleased, till it went among the whole ship's crew. It is true, there came nothing of all this at that time, because almost all the votes being against my opinion, as I have said already, the ship's company seemed to join in naturally with it, and the men were so talked into the great prospects of gain to themselves by a voyage to the South Seas, that they looked upon me, who at the bottom had the chief direction of things, to be nobody, and to have only made a ridiculous proposal, which was against all their interest; and I perceived clearly after this, that they looked upon me with an evil eye, as one that was against their interest, nay, and treated me with a sort of contempt too, as one that had no power to hurt them, but as one, that if things were left to me, would carry them on a wild-goose chase, they knew not whither.

I took no notice of this at first, knowing that in the process of things I should have opportunity enough to let them know I had power to oblige them many ways; as also, that I had authority sufficient to command the whole ship, and that the direction of the voyage was principally in me, though I being willing to do everything friendly, had too easily, and I may say, too foolishly, put that to the vote which I had a right to have commanded their compliance with, the consequences of which appeared not for some time, but broke out upon the occasion of our new measures, as you shall hear.

As soon as we had determined, as you have heard, our voyage among ourselves in the great cabin, the supercargo and Captain Mirlotte, as above, went out upon the quarter-deck, and began to talk of it among the officers, midshipmen, &c.; and, to give them their due, they talked of it very honestly, not with any complaint of being overruled, or over-persuaded, or the like, but as a thing that was fully agreed to among us in the great cabin.

The boatswain, a blunt, surly, bold fellow, as soon as he heard of it—"Very well" says he; "so we are all come back into Captain ——'s blind proposal. Why this is the same that every body rejected at the Canaries; and now, because we are driven hither by contrary winds, those winds must be a reason why we must undertake a preposterous, ridiculous voyage, that never any sailor would have proposed, and that man never went before. What! does Captain —— think that we cannot find our way to the coast of America again? and because we have met with cross winds we must never meet with fair ones? I warrant him, let us but go up the heights of St Helena, we will soon reach the Rio de la Plata and Port St Julian again, and get into the South Seas too, as others have done before us.

The gunner took it from the boatswain, and he talks with one of the midshipmen in the same dialect. "For my part," says he, "

shipped myself for the South Seas when I first came on board the ship, and in hopes of good booty, and if we go thither, I know nothing can hinder us, wind and weather permitting; but this is such a voyage as no man ever attempted before; and whatever he proposes can have nothing in it for the men but horrid fatigue, violent heats, sickness, and starving."

One of the mates takes it from him, and he says as openly, "I wonder what a plague the rest of the gentlemen mean, they were all against Captain ——— when he started this whimsical voyage before, and now they come all into it of a sudden, without any consideration; and so the project of one man must ruin the most promising voyage in the world, and be the death of above two hundred as stout fellows as ever were together in one ship in this part of the world."

One of the midshipmen followed the mate, and said we were all promised that another ship should be gotten, either purchased or taken, and that the first ship we took, should be manned and victualled out of this ship, where we were double manned and crowded together enough to bring an infection among us, in such hot climates as we are going into; and if we were in the South Seas, we should easily buy a ship, or take a ship for our purpose, almost where we would; but in all this part of the world there is no such thing as a ship fit for an Englishman to set his foot in. We were promised too, that when we got into such a ship, we that entered as midshipmen should be preferred to offices as we were qualified, and as our merit should recommend us. What they are going to do with us now I can't imagine, unless it be to turn us afore the mast when half the foremast men are dead, and thrown overboard.

The master or pilot of the ship heard all these things, and sent us word into the great cabin of all that passed, and, in short, assured us, that if these things went a little further, he was afraid they would come up to a mutiny; that there was great danger of it already, and that we ought to apply some immediate remedy to it, or else he thought it would be too late. He told me the particulars also, and how the whole weight of their resentment seemed to tend to a quarrelling at my command, as believing that this project of going to the East Indies, was wholly mine; and that the rest of the officers being a little influenced by the accident of our being driven so far out of our way, were only biassed in the rest by my opinion; and as they were all against it before, would have been so still if it had not been for me; and he feared, if they went on, they might enter into some fatal measures about me, and perhaps resolve to set me ashore in some barren, uninhabited land or other, to give me my bellyful of new discoveries, as it seems some of them had hinted, and the second mate in particular.

I was far from being insensible of the danger I was in, and indeed of the danger the whole voyage, ship and all, was in; for I made no question, but that if their brutish rage led them to one villanous action, they would soon go on to another; and the devil would take hold of that handle to represent the danger of their being punished for it when they came home; and so,

as has often been the case, prompt them to mutiny against all command, and run away with the ship.

However, I had presence of mind enough to enter into proper measures for our general safety, and to prevent the worst in case of any attempt upon me, first I represented the case to the rest of the gentlemen, and asked if they would stand by me, and by the resolutions which we had taken for the voyage; then I called in to our assistance the chief mate, who was a kinsman of one of our owners, a bold, resolute gentleman, and the purser, who we knew was faithful to us; as also, the surgeon and the carpenter: I engaged them all to give me first their opinions whether they were convinced of the reasonableness of my scheme for the voyage I had proposed; and that they might judge for themselves, laid it all before them again, that they were convinced entirely of its being the most rational prospect of the voyage for us, of any we could go about.

When I had done this, I recommended it to them to expostulate with the men, and, if possible, to keep them in temper, and keep them to their duty; but at the same time, to stand all ready, and upon a signal which I gave them, to come all to the steerage, and defend the great cabin door with all the other hands, whom they could be sure of; and in the mean time to be very watchful over the motions of the men, and see what they drove at.

At the same time, I fortified myself with the French captain, and the supercargo, and the other captain; and by the way, all the French captain's men were true to him (and he true to us) to a man. We then brought a sufficient store of ammunition and small arms into the great cabin, and secured the steerage, as also the round-house, so that we could not possibly be surprised.

There was nothing done that night; but the next morning I was informed that the gunner and second mate were in close cabal together, and one or two of the midshipmen, and that they had sworn to one another, not that they would not go the voyage as was proposed, for that might have ended in their running away, which I should not have been sorry for; but in short, their oath was, that the ship should not go the voyage, by which I was presently to understand that they had some measures to take to prevent my design of the voyage to the Philippines, and that perhaps this was to run away with the ship to Madagascar, which was not far off.

I had, however, this apparent encouragement in this case, viz., that as the contrivance was yet but two days old, for it was but two days since they had any notice of our intentions to go, they would be some days caballing and forming an interest among the men, to make up a party strong enough to make any attempt, and that as I had a strong set of men who would be as diligent the other way, they would be heaving and contriving one way and the other way to get the men over to their opinion, so that, at least, it would be some time before they could make their party up.

The thing was rightly conjectured, and the three men above, who had made themselves the head of the mutineers, went on apace, and my

men increased too, as much as could be desired for the time; but the Friday after, which was about five days from the first discovery, one of the midshipmen came and desired to speak with me, and desired it might not, if possible, be known that he was with me. I asked him if he desired to be alone; he said no, I might appoint who I thought convenient that I could trust, but that what he had to say was of the last importance to all our lives, and that therefore he hoped I would be very sure of them who I trusted in such a case. Upon this I told him I would name the chief mate, the French captain, and the supercargo, and in the meantime I bid him not be too much surprised, for that I had already some warning of the thing which I believed he had to tell me of, and that I was preparing all things to disappoint it; that, however, I should not value his fidelity the less, and that he might speak freely his mind before those men, for they were all in the secret already, and he might be sure both of protection and reward.

Accordingly, I bid him go out upon the quarter-deck, and walk there, and that when the chief mate went off into the round-house, he should go down between decks, as if he was going into his cabin to sleep, and that when he heard the chief mate call the cabin-boy, a black of mine, whose name was Spartivento, he should take that for a signal that the steerage was clear, and he might come up, and should be let into the great cabin; all which was so managed, and in so short a time, that he was with us in the great cabin in a quarter of an hour after the first conference, and none of the men perceived it.

Here he let me into the whole secret, and a black project it was, viz., that the second mate, the gunner, three midshipmen, the cockswain, and about six-and-thirty of the men, had resolved to mutiny and seize upon all us who were in the new project, as they called it; and to confine us first, then to set us on shore, either there where we were, or somewhere else, and so carry the ship away to the South Seas, and then to do as they found convenient; that is to say, in a word, to seize upon me, the other captain, the French captain, the supercargo, chief mate, doctor, and carpenter, with some others, and run away with the ship.

He told me that they had not fully consulted all their measures, nor gained so many of the men as they intended; that they were to sound some more of the men the next morning; and as soon as they had made their number up fifty, they were resolved to make the attempt, which they did not question would be by Thursday, and this was Monday morning; and that if they were then ready, they would make the onset at changing the watch the same evening. He added, that as they were to go on shore the next morning for fresh water, I should know the truth of it by this, that the second mate would come to me, and tell me that they wanted more water, and to know, if I pleased, the boats should go on shore, and that, if I pleased, he would go with them, or any else whom I pleased to appoint; and that upon supposition that I would leave it to him, to take who he thought fit to go with him, he would then take occasion to choose the

principal conspirators, that they might, when they were on shore, consult their measures for good and all.

I had all that day (Monday) to order my preparations, and upon this plain intelligence I resolved to lose no time, nor was it long before I resolved what to do; for as their design was desperate, so I had nothing but desperate remedies to provide. Having therefore, as I say, settled my measures, I called for the cockswain, and bid him man the pinnace, for that I was to go on shore, and I appointed only the supercargo, and the surgeon, and the French captain to go with me.

There were no English ships in the road, but there were about five Dutch ships, homeward bound, waiting for more, and three outward bound. As I passed by one of the outward bound East India ships, the French captain, as we had agreed before, pretended to know the ship, and that the commander was his old acquaintance, and asked me to give him leave to visit him, and told me he was sure he would make us all welcome. I seemed unwilling at first, telling him I intended to go on shore, and pay my respects to the governor, and, as was usual, to ask him leave to buy some provisions, and that the governor would take it very ill if I did not go. However, upon his alleging that we would not stay, and that the Dutch captain, upon his going on board, would, he was sure, give us a letter of recommendation to the governor, by which we should have everything granted that we could desire. Upon this, and his importunity, I seemed to consent, and we all went on board.

Captain Merlotte, who spoke Dutch very well, hailed the ship, asked the captain's name, and then asked if he was on board; they answered yes. Then he bid them tell him that the captain of the English ship was come to visit him; upon which, immediately, their chief mate bade them man the side, and stood at the side to receive us, and before we could get up, the Dutch captain came upon the quarter-deck to meet me, and with great civility invited me into his cabin; and while we were there, the chief mate, by the captain's order, entertained the boat's crew with like civility.

When we were in the cabin, Captain Merlotte told the Dutch captain that we came indeed to him in the form of a visit, but that our business was of the greatest importance, and begged we might speak to him of it in the hearing of none but such as he could trust. The captain told us with the greatest open-heartedness imaginable, that though we were strangers to him, yet we looked like honest men, and he would grant our desire; we should speak it in the hearing of none but those we could trust, for there should be nobody by but ourselves.

We made him fully sensible that we knew how obliging that compliment was, but begged he would admit any whom he thought worthy to be trusted with a secret of the last importance. He then carried it as far the other way, and told us, that then he must call in the whole ship's company, for that there was not a man in the ship but he could trust his life in his hands. However upon the whole, he sent everybody out

of the cabin but us three and himself, and then desired we would speak our minds freely.

Captain Merlotte, who spoke Dutch, began, but the captain interrupted him, and asked if the English captain (meaning me) spoke Dutch; he said no; upon which he asked Captain Merlotte if he spoke English, and he said, "Yes." Upon which he let me know that he understood English, and desired I would speak to him in English.

I was heartily glad of this, and began immediately with the story, for we had time little enough. I told him that he was particularly happy that, as he said, he could put his life in the hand of any man, the meanest in his ship; that my men were unhappily the reverse of his; and then beginning at the first of the story, I gave him a full account of the whole, as related above.

He was extremely affected with it, and asked me what he could do to serve me, and assured me that he would not only do what in him lay, but would engage all the ships in the road to do the like, and the governor also on shore. I thanked him very sincerely, and told him, that what at present was the thing I thought lay before me was this, viz., that the chief conspirators would be on shore to-morrow, with one, or perhaps two, of our boats, to fetch water, and get some fresh provisions, and I would be very glad to have them seized upon by surprise when they were on shore, and that I then thought I could master the rest on board well enough.

"Leave that to me," says he, "I'll give the governor notice this evening, and as soon as they come on shore they shall be all seized. But," says he, "if you think they may incline to make any resistance, I'll write a line to the governor, and give it you now; then, when your men go on shore, order one or two of the principal rogues to go and wait on the governor with the letter from you, and when he receives it, he shall secure them there; so they will be divided and taken with the more ease."

"In the meantime," adds he, "while this is doing on shore, I'll come on board your ship, with my long-boat and pinnace, and as many men as you please, to repay you the compliment of this visit, and assist you in reducing the rest."

This was so kind and so completely what I desired, that I could have asked nothing more or less; and I accepted his visit in his barge, which I thought would be enough, but was afraid that if more came, our men might be alarmed, and take arms before I was ready; so we agreed upon that, and that if I desired more help, I should hang out a signal, viz., a red antient on the mizen top.

All things being thus consulted, I returned on board, pretending to our men that I had spent so much time on board the Dutch ship, that I could not go on shore; and indeed some of my men were so drunk that they could scarce sit to their oars; and the cockswain was so very drunk, that I took occasion to ask leave publicly to leave him on board till the next day, giving the Dutch captain, also, a hint that he was in the conspiracy, and I should be glad to leave him on that account.

The next day, about nine o'clock, the second

mate came to me, and told me they wanted more water, and if I pleased to order the boat on shore, he would go, if I thought fit, and see if he could get any fresh provisions, the purser being indisposed. I told him—Yes, with all my heart, that the Dutch captain, last night, had given me a letter to the governor, to desire we might be furnished with whatever we had occasion for, and that I had thoughts of calling for him to go on shore and deliver it, and that perhaps the governor might make him some present in compliment to the English nation.

He seemed extremely pleased at this, and even elevated, and going out to give orders about the boat, ordered the long-boat and the shallop, and came in again, and asked me who I pleased to have go along with him. I answered smilingly to him, "Pick and choose them yourself; only leave the pinnace's crew, that went with me yesterday, because they must go on board again to carry the Dutch captain a little present of English beer that I am going to send him, and fetch a-board their drunken cockswain, who was so drunk we were fain to leave him behind us."

This was just what he wanted; and we found he chose all the chief rogues of the conspiracy; such as the boatwain, the gunner, the midshipmen we spoke of, and such of the foremast-men as he had secured in his design; and of the rest, we judged they were in the plot, because he took them with him; and thus, having the long-boat and the shallop, with about six-and-thirty men with them, away they went to fill water.

When they came on shore they had presently three Dutchmen, set by the Dutch captain, unperceived by them, to be spies upon them, and to mark exactly what they did; and at the same time, they found three boats of Dutchmen at the watering-place, for the captain had gotten two boats to go on shore from two other ships, full of men also, having acquainted them with the design. As soon as our boats came on shore, the men appeared to be all very much engaged in something more than ordinary, and instead of separating, as it was expected they should, they went all into one boat, and there they were mighty busily engaged in discourse one with another.

The Dutch captain had given the charge of these things to a brisk, bold fellow, his mate, and he took the hints the captain gave him so well, that nothing could have been better; for finding the men thus in a kind of cabal, he takes four of his men, with muskets on their shoulders, like the governor's men, and goes with them to the Englishmen's boat, and asks for their officer, the second mate, who upon this appears. He tells them he comes from the governor, to know if they were Englishmen, and what their business was on shore there. The mate answered, they came from on board the English ship, that they were driven there from stress of weather, and hoped they might have leave to fill water and buy necessaries for their money. He told them he supposed the governor would not refuse them when he knew who they were, but that it was but good manners to ask leave. The Englishman told him that he had not yet filled any water, or bought any provisions, and that he had

a letter to the governor from the captain, which he supposed was to pay the usual civilities to him, and to give him the civility of asking leave, as was expected.

The Dutchman answered, that was "Hael weel," that he might go and carry it, if he pleased, then, and if the governor gave them leave, all was right, and as it should be; but that the men could not be admitted to come on shore till his return. Upon this, away goes the second mate of our ship, and three of the men with him, whereof the gunner was one; for he had asked the Dutchman how many he might carry with him, and he told him, three or four; and those he took, you may be sure, were of the particular men whom he had a confidence in, because of their conversing together by the way.

When they came to the governor, the mate sent in a message first, viz.—That he was come from on board the English ship in the Road, and that he had a letter from the captain to his excellency. The governor, who had notice given him of the business, sends out word, that the gentlemen should send in the letter, and the governor would give them an answer. In the meantime, there appeared a guard of soldiers at the governor's house, and the four Englishmen were let into the outer room, where the door was shut after them, and the soldiers stood without the door, and more soldiers in another room, between them and the parlour which the governor sat in.

After some time the mate was called in, and the governor told him that he had read the letter which he had brought, and asked him, by an interpreter, if he knew the contents of it. He answered—No. The governor replied, he supposed not; for if he had, he would scarce have brought it; at the same time told him, he was obliged to make him and all his men prisoners, at the request of their own captain, for a conspiracy to raise a mutiny, and run away with the ship. Upon which two great fat Dutchmen came up to him, and bid him deliver his sword, which he did, with some reluctance, for he was a stout, desperate, and strong fellow; but he saw it all to no purpose to dispute or resist.

At the same time, the three men without were made prisoners also by the soldiers. When the governor had thus secured these men, he called them in, and inquired the particulars of the case, and expostulated with them very courteously upon such a horrid, villanous practice, and inquired of them what the occasion could be, and hearing all they had to say in their defence, told them he could do nothing in it more till their captain came on shore, which would be in a day or two, and that in the mean time they must be content to remain in custody, which they did, separated from one another. They were very civilly treated, but strictly kept from speaking with one another, or sending any messages to one another, or to the boats.

When this was done, the governor sent six files of musqueteers down to the watering-place, with orders to secure all the Englishmen in the two boats, which was done. They pretended to make some resistance at first, being all very well armed; but the seamen of the three Dutch long-boats, joining themselves to the soldiers, and

notice being given to the English seamen, that if they fired one gun, they should have no quarter, and especially their two principal men, the chief mate and the gunner, being absent, they submitted, and were all made prisoners also.

When this was done, of which the Dutch captain had notice by a signal from the shore, he came off in his shallop, with about sixteen seamen, and five or six gentlemen and officers, to pay his visit to me. I received him with all the appearance of ceremony imaginable, caused a handsome dinner to be prepared for him, and caused his men to be all treated upon the deck, and made mighty preparations for a feast.

But in the middle of all this Captain Merlotte, with all his Frenchmen, being thirty-two, appeared in arms on the quarter-deck; the Dutch captain's attendants stood to their arms on the main deck, and I, with the supercargo, the doctor, and the other captain, leaving the Dutch captain and some men in the great cabin as a reserve, came to the steerage-door, cleared the steerage behind me, and stood there with a cutlas in my hand, but said nothing; neither was there a word spoke anywhere all the while.

In this juncture the chief mate, the faithful midshipmen, the carpenter, and the gunner's mate, with about twenty men who they could trust, went fore and aft between decks, and secured all the particular men that we had the least suspicion of, being no less than thirty-five more; these they secured, bringing them up into the steerage, where their hands were tied behind them, and they were commanded not to speak one word to another, upon pain of present death.

When this was done the chief mate came to me to the steerage-door, and passing by, went forward on with his men, entered the cook-room, and posted himself at the cook-room door. There might be still about eighty men upon the forecastle, and midships upon the open decks; and there they stood staring, and surprised at what what was doing; but not being able to guess in the least what was meant, what was the cause of it, or what was intended to be done farther.

When I found all things ready, I stepped forward a step or two, and beckoning to the mate to command silence, I told the men that I was not disposed to hurt any man, nor had I done what I now did, but by necessity, and that I expected they should all submit; that if any one of them made the least resistance he was a dead man, but that if they would be easy and quiet, I should give a very good account to them all of every part of the voyage, or scheme of a voyage which I had laid, and which had been so ill represented to them.

Then I caused my commission, or letter of marque, to be read to them all, by which it appeared that I was really chief commander of the ship, and had a right to direct the voyage as I thought best; with a paper of written instructions, signed by the owners and adventurers, and directed to me, with another paper of instructions to all the officers, to be directed by me in all things; which indeed was all news to them, for they did not think I was the chief captain or commander of the ship and voyage.

When I had done this, I gave them a long and

full account of the reasons why I thought it best, as our present circumstances were stated, not to go to the South Seas first, but to go away to the Philippine Islands, and what great prospect of advantage to the owners there was, as well as to the men; and that I wondered much that such measures were taking in the ship, as I heard there were; and that I was not, they might see, unprovided of means to reduce every one of them to their duty by force, and to punish those that were guilty as they deserved; but that I rather desired to win them by kindness; and that therefore, I had resolved, that if any of them had any reason to dislike the voyage, they should be fairly set on shore, and should go to the second mate and his comrades; and as I named the second mate I told them what circumstances they were in, and how effectually they were secured.

This astonished them, and surprised them exceedingly, and some of them inquired more particularly into the circumstances of the said second mate and his fellows. I told them they were safe enough, and should remain so; for as I could prove they had all a villanous design to run away with the ship, and set me on shore, either here or in a worse place, I thought that only on account of my own safety, such men were not fit to go in the ship, being once capable to entertain such horrid, mischievous thoughts, or that could be guilty of such villany; and that if any of them were of their minds, they were very welcome, if they thought fit, to go to them. At this word, some bold rogues upon the fore-castle, which I did not discern by reason of the number that stood there, cried out—"One and all,"—which was a cry at that time of mutiny and rebellion, that was certain, and its kind, very dangerous.

However, to let them see I was not to be daunted with it, I called out to one of the men among them, who I saw upon the fore-castle,—“You Jones,” says I, “tell me who that was, and come away from them, for I’ll make an example of him, whoever he is.” Will Jones slunk in among the rest, and made me no answer, and immediately “One and all” was cried again, and a little huzza with it, and some of the men appeared to have some fire-arms with them. There was a great many of them, and I presently foresaw, that if I went to the extremity, I should spoil the voyage though conquered them; so I bridled my passion with all my might, and said calmly, “Very well, gentlemen, let me know what it is you mean by ‘One and all;’ I offered any of you that did not like to go the voyage, might quit the ship. Is it that you intend by ‘One and all?’ If so, you are welcome, and pray take care to do it immediately. As for what chests and clothes you have in the ship, you shall have them all with you. Upon this I made the chief mate, who was now come to me again, advance a little with some more men, and get between the men upon the fore-castle and those who were upon the main deck; and, as if he had wanted room, when he was gotten between them, he said to them, “Stand a little aft, gentlemen,”—and so crowded them towards me.

As they came nearer and nearer to where I stood, I had opportunity to speak to them singly,

which I did calmly and smiling:—“Why, how now, Tom,” says I to one of them, “what! are you among the mutineers?”—“Lord, sir,” says Tom, “not I, they are mad, I think, I have nothing to say to them, I care not where I go, not I; I’ll go round the globe with you; it’s all one to me.”—“Well, Tom,” says I, “but what do you do among them, then? Come away into the steerage, and show yourself an honest man.” So Tom comes in, and after him another, and then two more. Upon my saying to Tom, “What do you do among them?” one of the fellows says to one of the officers that stood at a little distance from me, “What does the captain mean by saying ‘among them.’ What! does he reckon us to be in the plot? He is quite wrong; we are all ignorant, and quite surprised at it.” He immediately tells me this, and I was glad, you may be sure, to hear it, and said aloud to the man he spoke to,—“If they are honest men, and would not appear in this villany, let them go down between decks, and get out of the way, that they may have no share in the punishment, if they have none in the crime.” “With all my heart,” says one. “God bless you, captain,” says another.”—And away they dropped, one by one, in at the steerage door, and down between decks, every one to his hammock or cabin, till there was not above five or six of them left.

By this time our two boats appeared from the shore, being both manned with Dutchmen, viz., the Dutch captain’s mate, and about twenty of his men, all the water-casks full, but not a man of mine with them, for they were left a shore in safe custody.

I waited till they came on board, and then, turning to the men on the fore-castle, I told them they should go on board the boats immediately, as soon as the butts of water were hoisted in. They still said, “One and all,” they were ready, and desired they might go and fetch their clothes. “No, no,” says I, “not a man of you shall set your foot any more into the ship; but go, get you into the boats, and what is your own shall be given you into the boat.”

As I spoke this in an angry tone, and with a kind of passion, that looked provoked to a high degree, they began to see they had no room to choose; and some of them slipped down the scuttle into the cook-room. I had ordered the officer who was there, who was one of the midshipmen, to wink at it, and let as many come down as offered it; and the honest man did more than that; for he went to the scuttle himself, and as if he had whispered, so that I should not hear him, called them one by one by their names, and argued with them:—“Prithee, Jack,” says he to one of them, “don’t you be distracted and ruin yourself, to gratify a rash drunken humour; if you go into the boat, you are undone, you will be seized as soon as you come ashore, as the rest are, and will be sent to England in irons, and there you will be infallibly hanged. Why you are certainly all mad.” Jack replies, he had no design to mutiny, but the second mate drew him in, and he did not know what to do; he wished he had not meddled, but he was undone; now what could he do? “Do,” says the midshipman, “leave them for shame, and slip

down here, and I'll see and get you off, if I can." Accordingly, he pulled him down, and after him so many got out of sight the same way, that there was not above seventeen or eighteen left upon the fore-castle.

I seemed to take no notice of that; till at last one of the men that was left there, with his hat in his hand, stepping just to the edge of the fore-castle, which was next to me, said in a very respectful manner, that I saw how many had slunk away and made their peace, or at least obtained pardon, and that I might, perhaps, know that they who were left were only such as had their duty there, being placed there of course, before the mutiny began, and that they had no hand in it, but abhorred it with all their hearts, which he hoped I would consider, and not join them with those that had offended, merely because they came upon the fore-castle, and mixed there with the men who had the watch.

I told him if that was true it would be in their favour, but I expected he would prove it to my satisfaction before I accepted that for an excuse. He told me it might, perhaps, be hard to prove it, seeing the boatswain and his mate, and the second mate were gone, but the rest of the ship's crew could all testify that they were a part of the men whose watch it was, and that they were upon the fore-castle by the necessity of their duty, and no otherwise, and called such and such men who were upon duty with them to witness it, who did confirm it.

Upon this I found myself under a necessity, in justice to the men, to approve it: but my own management was a bite upon myself in it; for though I did allow the midshipmen to wink at their slipping away as before, yet I made no question but I should have some left to make examples of; but as I could not go back from the promise of mercy which I had allowed the midshipman to offer in my name, so I tricked myself by their mistake into a necessity of pardoning them all, which was very far from my design; but there was no remedy.

However, the men, when they were so happily escaped, desired the midshipmen, who had been instrumental to deliver them, to assure me, that as they were sensible they had deserved very ill at my hands, and that yet I had treated them thus kindly, they would not only reveal to me all the particulars of the conspiracy and the names of those principally concerned in it, but that they would assure me they would never more dispute any of my measures, but were very ready to do their duty as seamen to what part of the world soever I might think fit to go, or which way I thought fit to carry them; whether outward or homeward, and that they gave me the tender of their duty in this manner with the utmost sincerity and with thankfulness for my having forgiven them that conduct which was the worst that a seaman could be guilty of.

I took this very kindly, and sent them word I did so, and that they should find they had taken the wiser course, that I had an entire confidence in their fidelity, and that they should never find I would reproach them with or use them the worse for what had passed.

I must confess I was very glad of this submission of the men; for though by the measures

I had taken I was satisfied I should conquer them, and that I was safe from their attempts; yet carrying it on by resentment, and doing justice upon the offenders, whatever advantage it had one way, had this disadvantage in the consequence, viz., that it would ruin the voyage, for at least half the men were in the plot.

But having thus conquered them by good usage, I thought my next work was to inquire into the mistakes which had been the foundation of all this; so before I parted with the men who had returned to their duty, I told them that as I had freely forgiven what was past, so I would keep my word with them that I would never reproach them with it; but that I thought it was necessary their judgments should be convinced how much they were imposed upon, as well as their tempers be reduced by my kindness to them. That I was of opinion that they had been abused in the account given them of what I had designed to do, and of the reasons I had to give for doing it; and I would desire them to let me know afterwards whether they had been faithfully informed of things or not; and whether, in their own judgment, now when they were freed from the prepossessions they were under, they could object anything against it or no.

This I did with respect to the other men whom I had made prisoners in the steerage, whom I had the same desire to be kind to as I had to these; but upon whom I resolved to work this way, because, after all, I might have this work to do over again, if I should meet with any disappointment or miscarriage in the voyage; or especially if we should be put to any straits or distress in the pursuing of it.

In order to this, I caused the voyage itself, and the reasons of it, the nature of the trade I was to carry on by it, the pursuit of it to the South Seas,—in a word, everything just as we had argued and settled it in the great cabin, to be put in writing and read to them.

The fellows, every one of them, declared they were fully satisfied in the voyage itself, and that my reasons for it were perfectly good; and that they had received a quite different account of it; as that I would carry them into the island of the Moluccas, which was the most unhealthy part of the East Indies; that I would go away to the south for new discoveries; and that I would go away thence to the South Seas; which was a voyage of such a length that no ship could victual for; that it was impossible to carry fresh water such a length; and, in a word, that it was a voyage that would destroy us all.

It was the chief mate and the midshipman who took them all down the scuttle that brought me this account from them; so I made him take two of those penitent mutineers with him, and go to the men in the steerage, whom he had made prisoners at first, and see whether their delusions were of the same kind, and what kind of temper they were in. Accordingly, he went to them directly, for this was not a business that admitted giving them time to club and cabal together, and form other societies or combinations which might have consequences fatal to us still.

When he came to them, he told them the captain was willing to do all the justice possible to his men, and to use them on all occasions with

equity and kindness; I ordered him to inquire calmly what it was had moved them to these disorders, and what it was which they had been made to believe was doing, that they could enter into measures so destructive to themselves, and to those who had entrusted them all with the ship and cargo; for that in a voyage, every foremast-man, in his degree, is trusted with the safety of the whole ship.

They answered it was the mate: that they had never shown themselves discontented, much less disorderly in the ship; that they had on all occasions done their duty through the whole voyage till now, and that they had no ill design upon any one, much less had they any design to destroy the voyage, or injure the captain; but that they were all told by the second mate that the captain had imposed upon them, that he had proposed a mad voyage to the South Pole, that would murder them all, and that they were to lay aside the trading and cruising voyages which they came out upon, and were now to spend the whole voyage in new discoveries, by which the men could propose nothing to themselves but hardships, and perhaps perishing with hunger and cold; whereas, had they gone to the South Seas, as was intended, they might all have been made, and that the hazards, with that prospect, had some sense in them; whereas in this project there was nothing but certain destruction.

The mate delivered them a copy of the scheme I had proposed, the reasons of it, the trade I had designed, the return I was to make, and everything as I have already mentioned it, and bid them take it and consider of it.

As I was justly provoked to see how I had been abused and misrepresented to the men, so they were astonished when they read my scheme, and saw what mischiefs they had been led into, for they know not what, and without any reason or just consideration. And after they had debated things a while among themselves, they desired the chief mate might come to them again, which he did. Then they told him that, as they had been thus grossly abused and drawn into mischiefs which they never designed, by such plausible pretences, and by being told such a long story full of lies, and to carry on a hellish project of the second mate's, they hoped then, being so much imposed upon would a little extenuate their fault; that they were convinced that the captain had proposed nothing but what was very rational, and a voyage that might be very profitable to the owners and to themselves, and that they entirely threw themselves upon the captain's mercy, and humbly begged pardon; that if I pleased to forgive them, they would endeavour to merit such forgiveness by their future behaviour; and that in the meantime they submitted to what punishment I pleased to lay upon them; and particularly, that as they had forfeited, by their conspiracy, all the claim they had upon the ship, and might justly have been turned ashore at the first land they came to, they were willing to sign a discharge for all their wages due to them, which was now near eight months a-man, and to be considered for the rest of the voyage as they deserved; that they would all take a solemn oath of fidelity to me to do their duty, to go wherever I would carry them, and

to behave with the greatest submission and diligence, in hopes to regain my favour by their future behaviour, and to show their gratitude for the pardon I should grant them.

This was, indeed, just as I would have it, for I wanted nothing more than to have something offered, which I might give them back again; for I ever thought, and have found it by experience to be the best way, and men were always secured in their duty by a generous kindness, better than by the absolute dominion and severity; indeed my opinion was justified in all the measures I took with these men; for as I found they were sufficiently humbled, and that I had brought them low enough, I let them know that it was not their punishment, but their amendment I desired; that I scorned to make a prey of them, and take that forfeiture they had offered, so putting the wages due to them for their labour in my pocket. But I sent them word I was very glad to hear that they were sensible how much they had been imposed upon; that as it was not my design to offer anything to them which they or any honest men ought to refuse, so it was not my desire to make any advantages of their follies, but what might tend to bring them back to their duty; that as I had no prospect that was inconsistent with their safety and interest, so I scorned to make a profit of their submission; that as to their wages, though they had forfeited it by their mutiny, yet God forbid I should make it my profit; and, since forgiving their offence was in my power, the crime being in one particular an offence against me, they should never be able to say I made a gain of their submission, and like the Pope, should sell them my pardon; that upon their solemn engaging to me never to offer the least disturbance of any kind in the ship for the future, but to do their duty faithfully and cheerfully, I would forget all that was past, only this excepted, viz., that two of them who were particularly guilty of threatening the life of Captain Merlotte, should be punished as they deserved.

They could not deny but this was most just; and they did not so much as offer to intercede for those two; but when one of the two moved the rest, they answered they could not do it, for they had received favour enough for themselves, and they could not desire anything of the captain for their sakes, for they had all deserved punishment as well as they.

In a word, the two men were brought to the geers, and soundly whipped and pickled; and they all proved very honest ever after. And these, as I said at first, were two-and-thirty in all.

All this while Captain Merlotte, with his Frenchmen, were in arms, and had possession on the quarter-deck, to the number of twenty-three stout men; I had possession of the main-deck, with eighteen men and the sixteen Dutchmen, and my chief mate, with the midshipman, had possession of the cook-room and the quarter-deck; the Dutch captain, our supercargo, the surgeon, and the other captain, kept the great cabin, with a guard of twelve musqueteers without the door, and about eight more within, besides servants. Captain Merlotte's men, also,

had a guard of eight men in the round-house. I had now nothing to do but with my men who were on shore; and of these, six of them were indifferent, being men not embarked in the design, but carried on shore by the chief mate, with a design to engage them with him; so that indeed, they fell into a punishment before they fell into the crime, and what to do with these men was the case.

The first thing I did was to dismiss my visitor, the Dutch captain, whom I had a great deal of reason to think myself exceedingly obliged to; and first, I handsomely rewarded his men, to whom I gave four pieces of eight a-man; and having waited on the captain to the ship's side, and seen him into his boat, I fired him twenty-one guns at his going off, for which he fired twenty-five when he came on board his ship. The same afternoon, I sent my pinnace on board for my drunken cockswain, and with the pinnace I sent the captain three dozen bottles of English beer, and a quarter-cask of Canary, which was the best present I had to make him, and sent every one of his other seamen a piece of eight per man; and indeed the assistance I had from the ship deserved it; and to the mate, who acted so bravely with my men on shore, I sent fifty pieces of eight.

The next day, I went on shore to pay my respects to the governor, when I had all the prisoners delivered up to me; the six men, I caused to be immediately set at liberty, as having been innocent, and brought all the rest on board, tied hand and foot, as prisoners, and continued them so a great while afterward, as you shall hear. As for the second mate, I tried him formally by a council of war, as I was empowered by my commission to do, and sentenced him to be hanged at the yard-arm; and though I suspended the execution from day to day, yet I kept him in expectation of the halter every hour, which, to some, would have been as grievous as the hanging itself.

Thus we conquered this desperate mutiny, all principally proceeding from suffering the private disputes among ourselves, which ought to have been the arcana of the whole voyage, and kept as secret as death itself could have kept it, I mean so as not to come among the seamen afore the mast.

We lay here twelve days, during which time we took in fresh water, as much as we had casks for, and were able to stow. On the 13th day of August we weighed and stood away to the east, designing to make no land any more till we came to Java Head, and the Straits of Sunda, for that way we intended to sail; but the wind sprung up at E., and at E. S. E., and blew so fresh that we were obliged, after two days' beating against it, to bear away afore it, and run back to the Cape of Good Hope.

While we were here, there came in two Dutch East Indiamen more, homeward bound, to whom had happened a very odd accident, as follows:—They had been attacked by a large ship of forty-four guns, and a stout sloop of eight guns; the Dutch ships, resolving to assist one another, stood up to the Frenchman, for such it seems he was, and fought him very warmly. The engagement lasted six or seven hours, in which the

privateer had killed them some men; but in the heat of the fight, the sloop received a shot, which brought her main-mast by the board, and this caused the captain of the frigate to sheer off, fearing his sloop would be taken; but the sloop's men took care of themselves, for hauling a little out of the fight, they got into their own boats, and a boat which the frigate sent to their help, and abandoned the sloop, which the Dutchmen perceiving, they manned out their boats, and sent and took the sloop, with all that was in her, and brought her away with them.

The Dutchmen came into the road at the Cape with this prize while our ship was there the second time, and we saw them bringing the sloop in a tow, having no mast standing but a little pole-mast set up for the present, and her mizen, which was also disabled and of little use to her.

I no sooner saw her, but it came into my thoughts that if she was anything of a sea-boat, she would do our business to a tittle; and as we had always resolved to get another ship, but had been disappointed, this would answer our end exactly. Accordingly, I went with my chief mate in our shallop, on board my old acquaintance the Dutch captain, and inquiring there, was informed of the case, that it was a prize, taken as above, and that in all probability the captain that took her would be glad to part with her, and the captain promised me to go on board the ship that brought her in, and inquire about it, and let me know.

Accordingly, the next morning, the captain sent me word I might have her; that she carried eight guns, had good store of provisions on board, with ammunition sufficient, and I might have her and all that was in her for 1,200 pieces of eight. In a word, I sent my chief mate back with the same messenger and the money, giving him commission to pay the money and take possession of her, if he liked her, which he did; and the Dutch captain, my friend, lent him twelve men to bring her off to us, which they did the same day.

I was a little put to it for a mast for her, not having anything on board that we could spare that was fit for a main-mast; but resolving at last to mast her, not as a sloop, but as a brigantine, we made shift with what spare pieces we had, and a spare foretop-mast, which one of the Dutch ships helped me to, so we fitted her up very handsomely, made her carry twelve guns, and put sixty men on board. One of the best things we found on board her was cask, which we greatly wanted, especially for barrelling up beef, and other provisions, which we found very difficult; but our cooper eked them out with making some new ones out of her old ones.

After staying here sixteen days more, we sailed again, indeed. I thought once we should never have gone away at all; for it is certain above half the men in the ship were made uneasy, and there remained still some misunderstanding of my design, and a supposition of all the frightful things the second mate had put into their heads; and by his means, the boatswain and gunner. As these three had the principal management of the conspiracy, and that I had pardoned all the rest, I had some thoughts of making an example

of these. I took care to let them know it, too, in a manner that they had no room to think it was in jest, but that I intended to have them all three hanged; I kept them above three weeks in suspense about it. However, as I had no intention to put them to death, I thought it was a piece of cruelty, something worse than death, to keep them continually in expectation of it, and in a place, too, where they had but little more than room to breathe.

So having been seventeen days gone from the Cape, I resolved to relieve them a little, and yet at the same time remove them out of the way of doing me any capital injury, if they should have any such design still in their heads. For this purpose, I caused them to be removed out of the ship into the brigantine, and there I permitted them to have a little more liberty than they had on board the great ship, and where two of them entered into another devilish conspiracy, as wild and foolish as ever I heard of, or as, perhaps, was ever heard of, of which I shall say more in its place.

We were now to sail in company, and we went away from the Cape the third of September, anno 1740. We found the brigantine an excellent sea-boat, and could bear the weather to a miracle, and no bad sailer; she kept pace with us on all occasions, and in a storm we had at S. S. E., some days after, she shifted as well as we did in the great ship, which made us all in love with her.

This storm drove us away to the northward, and I once thought we should have been driven back to the Cape again; which if it had happened, I believe we should never have gone on with the voyage; for the men began to murmur again, and say we were bewitched, that we were beaten off first from the south of America, that we could never get round there, and now driven back from the South of Africa; so that it looked as if Fate had determined this voyage to be pursued no further. The wind continued, and blew exceeding hard; and in short, we were driven so far to the north, that we made the south point of the island of Madagascar.

My pilot knew it to be Madagascar as soon as he had a clear view of the land, and having beaten so long against the sea to no purpose, and being in want of many things, we resolved to put in; and accordingly made for Port St Augustine, on the west side of the island, where we came to an anchor in eleven fathom water, and a very good road.

I could not be without a great many anxious thoughts upon our coming into this island, for I knew very well that there were a gang of desperate rogues here, especially on the northern coast, who had been famous for their piracies, and I did not know but that they might be either strong enough as pirates to take us, or rogues enough to entice a great many of my men to run away; so I resolved neither to come near enough the shore to be surprised, nor to suffer any of my men to go on shore, such excepted as I could be very secure of.

But I was soon informed by a Dutchman, who came off to me with some natives in a kind of a canvas boat, that there were no Europeans there but himself, and that the pirates were on

the north part of the island; that they had no ship with them of any force, and that they would be glad to be fetched off by any Christian ship; that they were not above two hundred in number, their chief leaders, with the only ships of force they had, being out a cruising on the coast of Arabia and the Gulf of Persia.

After this, I went on shore myself, with Captain Merlotte, and some of the men who I could trust, and we found it true, as the Dutchman had related. The Dutchman gave us a long history of his adventures, and how he came to be left there by a ship he came in from Europe, which, he running up into the country for sport, with three more of his comrades, went away without them, and left them among the natives, who, however, used them very well, and that now he served them for an interpreter and a broker, to bargain for them with the European ships for provisions. Accordingly, he engaged to bring us what provisions we pleased, and proposed such trinkets in return as he knew the natives desired, and as were of value little enough to us, but he desired a consideration for himself in money, which, though it was of no use to him there, he said it might be hereafter; and as his demand was but twenty pieces of eight, we thought he very well deserved it.

Here we bought a great quantity of beef, which, having no casks to spare, we salted, and then cured it in the sun, by the Dutchman's direction, and it proved of excellent use to us through the whole voyage, for we kept some of it till we came to England, but it was then so hard that a good hatchet would hardly cut it.

While we lay here, it came into my thoughts that now was a good time to execute justice upon my prisoners; so I called a council of war, and proposed it to them in general terms, not letting them know my mind as to the manner of it. They all agreed that it was necessary, and the second mate, boatswain, and gunner, had so much intelligence of it from the men, that they prepared for death as much as if I had signed a death-warrant for their execution, and that they were to be hanged at the yard-arm. But in the middle of those resolves I told the council of officers that my design was to the north part of the island, where a gang of pirates were said to be settled, and that I was persuaded I might get a good ship among them, and as many men as we desired, for that I was satisfied the greatest part of them were so wearied of their present government, that they would be glad of an opportunity to come away, and especially such as had by force, or rash hasty resolutions, been, as it were, surprised into that sort of life; that I had been informed they were very far from being in such a formidable posture as they had been represented to us in Europe, or anything near so numerous, but that on the contrary we should find them poor, divided, in distress, and willing to get away upon any terms they could.

Some of the officers of the ship differed from me in my opinion; they had received such ideas of the figure those people made at Madagascar, from the common report in England, that they had no notion of them, but as of a little commonweath of robbers; that they were immensely rich, that Captain Avery was king of

the island; that they were near eight thousand men, that they had a good squadron of stout ships, and that they were able to resist a whole fleet of men-of-war, having a harbour so well fortified at the entrance into it that there was no coming at them without a good army for land service and the like.

I convinced them how impossible this was to be true, and told them all the discourse I had had with the Dutchman at the place where I now was, who had had a full account of it from several of them who had come down to St Augustine's in little boats, in order to make their escape from them, and to get passage for Europe, whom he had always assisted, and got them off as any ship touched at that port, and who all agreed in their relation of their particulars, which were indeed miserable enough, saving that they wanted neither victuals nor clothes.

In a word, I soon brought them to enter into the reason of it, and to be of my opinion; and accordingly I ordered to get ready, and in three days' time weighed, and stood away for the north of the island; for, by the way, we did not now communicate our debates or resolves to the men before the mast, as had been done before,—we had indeed had enough of that already.

While we were thus coasting the island to the north, and in the channel or sea between the island and the main of Africa, it came into my thoughts that I might now make use of my traitors to my advantage and their own too, and that I might, if they were honest, gain my end, and get full intelligence of the people I had my eye upon, and if they were still traitors, they would desert and go over to the pirates, and I should be well rid of them, without the necessity of bringing them to the yard-arm; for I was very uneasy in my mind about hanging them too, nor could I ever have been brought to do it, I believe, whatever risk I had run from their mutinous disposition.

I was now got into the latitude of fifteen degrees and a half south of the line, and began to think of standing in for the shore, when I ordered the second mate, who lay in irons in the brigantine, to be brought on board the ship, and to be called up into the great cabin. He came in great concern; though he was of himself a very bold and resolute fellow, yet as he made no doubt that he was sent for to execution, he appeared thoroughly softened, and quite another man than he was before.

When he was brought in, I caused him to be set down in a nook of the cabin, where he could not stir to offer any violence to me, if he had had any will to it, two large chests being just before him; and I ordered all my people to withdraw, except Captain Merlotte and the supercargo, and then, turning myself to the criminal, I told him he knew his circumstances, I need not repeat them, and the fact for which he was brought into that condition; that I had hitherto from time to time delayed his execution, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the chief officers, who in full council had unanimously condemned him; that I had a sudden thought came into my head, which, if he knew how to merit mercy, and to retrieve his circumstances by his future fidelity, might once again put it into his power not only

to save his life, but to be trusted in the ship again, if he inclined to be honest; that, however, if he had no inclination to merit by his service, I would put it to his choice, either to undertake with courage and fidelity what I had to propose to him, in which case he might expect to be very well treated, or if not, I would pardon him as to the death he had reason to expect, and he, with his two fellow criminals, should be set on shore, to go whither they pleased.

He waited, without offering to speak a word, till I made a full stop, and then asked me if I gave him leave to answer; I told him, yes; then he asked me if I gave him leave to speak freely, and would not take offence at what he might say. I told him he should speak as freely as if he had never offended; and that as I had given him his life, I would now give him my word nothing he could say should revoke the grant; and that he should not only go freely on shore, for I expected by his words that he had made that choice, but that I would give him the lives of his two fellow-prisoners, and would give them arms and ammunition, and anything else that was reasonable for them to ask, or necessary to their subsisting on shore in such a country.

He told me then that, had it been any other part of the world than at Madagascar, he would readily have chosen to have gone on shore; nay, though the place had been really desolate and uninhabited; that he did not object because my offer was not very generous and kind, and it would be always with regret that he should look back upon the mercy he should have received, and how ill he had deserved it at my hands.

But that as it was at this place that I mentioned setting him at liberty, he told me that though he had been mutinous and disorderly, for which he acknowledged he had deserved to die, yet he hoped I could not think so ill of him as to believe he could turn pirate, and begged that, rather than entertain such hard thoughts of him, I would execute the worst part of the sentence, and send him out of the world a penitent, and an honest man; which he should esteem far better than to give him his life in a condition in which he could preserve it upon other terms than those of being the worst of villains. He added, that if there was anything he could do to deserve so much mercy as I intended him, he begged me that I would give him room to behave himself as became him, and he would leave it wholly to me to use him as he should deserve, even to the recalling the pardon that I had granted him.

I was extremely satisfied with what he said, and more particularly with the manner of his speaking it; I told him I was glad to see that he had a principle of so much honesty at the bottom of a part so unhappy as he had acted; that I would be very far from prompting him to turn pirate, and much more from forcing him to do so; and that I would, according to his desire, put an opportunity into his hands to show himself a new man; and by his fidelity to wipe out all that was past: and then without any more ceremony, I told him my whole design, which was to send him, and four or five more men with him, on shore among the pirates as spies, to see what condition they were in, and to see whether

there was any apprehensions of violence from them, or whether they were in the mean circumstances that I had reason to believe they were in; and, lastly, whether they had any ship or vessel that might be bought of them, and whether men might be had to increase our company; that is to say, such men as being penitent for their rogueries, and tired with their miseries, would be glad of the opportunity of turning honest men before they were brought to it by distress and the gallows.

He embraced the opportunity with the greatest readiness, and gave me all the assurances that I could desire of his fidelity. I then asked him whether he thought his two fellow prisoners might be trusted upon the same foot. He asked me if I would take it for a piece of sincerity if, after a trial, he should tell me his mind, and would not be displeased if he declined speaking his thoughts till he had talked with them. I told him he should be at liberty to give his further answer after he had proposed it to him; but I insisted upon his opinion first, because it was only his opinion that I asked now; whereas, if he reported it to them, then he had no more to do but to report their answer. He then asked me if I would please to grant him one thing, namely, that whatever his opinion should be, that what he should say should be no prejudice to them in their present condition; I told him it was a reasonable caution in him, and I would assure him that whatever he said should not do them any prejudice, and to convince him of it, I gave him my word that I would not put them to death on any account whatsoever, merely for his sake. He bowed, and thanked me very heartily for that grant, which he said obliged him to be the plainer with me on that head, and as, he said, he would not deceive me in anything whatever, so he would not in this especially; and therefore told me it was his opinion they would not serve me faithfully; and he referred me to the experience I should find of it; and added, that he would be so just to me in the beginning, as that while he begged me to be merciful to them, yet for my own sake he would also beg me not to trust them.

I took the hint, and said no more at that time, but ordered his irons to be taken off, and ordered him to have leave to go to his former cabin, and to have his chests and things restored to him; so that he was at full liberty in the ship, though not in any office, or appointed to any particular business. A day or two after this we made land, which appeared to be the north-west part of the island, in the latitude of thirteen degrees thirty minutes; and now I thought it was time to put our design in execution; for I knew very well that it could not be a great way from this part of the island where the pirates were to be heard of: so I ordered the boat on shore, with about sixteen men, to make discoveries, and with them my new restored man. I gave him no instruction for anything extraordinary at this time, our work being now only to find out where they were. The boat came on board again at night, or we had now stood in within two leagues of the shore, and brought us an account that there were no English or Europeans at all thereabouts, but they were to be heard of a great

way farther. So we stood away to the north all the night, and the next day the wind being fair and the sea smooth, and by our reckoning we went in that time about forty leagues.

The next evening the same company went on shore again, and were showed by some of the natives where the pirates inhabited; which, in short, was about five or six-and-twenty miles further north still, in a river very commodious for shipping, where they had five or six European built ships, and two or three sloops; but they were all laid up, except two sloops, with which they cruised sometimes a great distance off to the north, as far as the Arabian Gulf. He returned with this intelligence the same night, and by his direction we stood in as close under the shore as we could conveniently, about six leagues further north; here we found a very good road under a little Cape, which kept us perfectly undiscovered; and in the morning before day my man went on shore again with the boat, and, keeping only four men with him, sent the boat on board again, agreeing on a signal for us to send the boat for him again when he should return.

There was a pretty high ledge of hills to the north of the place where he landed, and which running west, made the little Cape under the lee of which our ship rode at an anchor as above. As soon as he came to the top of those hills he plainly discovered the creek or harbour where the pirate ships lay, and where they had formed their encampment on the shore. Our men took such proper observations of the situation of the place they were in upon the hill, that they might not fail to find their way back again, though it were in the night; and having agreed in the account they should give of themselves, so that they might be all found in the same tale, they boldly went down the hill, and came to the edge of the creek, the pirates' camp being on the other shore.

Here they fired a gun to raise a kind of alarm among them, and then hanging out a white cloth on the top of a pole, a signal of peace, they hailed them in English, and asked them if they would send a boat and fetch them over.

The pirates were surprised at the noise of the piece, and came running to the shore with all speed; but they were much surprised when they heard themselves hailed in English. Upon the whole they immediately sent a boat to fetch them over, and received them with a great deal of joy.

Our men pretended to be overjoyed at finding them there, told them a long story that they came on shore on the west side of the island, where, not far off, there were two English ships, but that the natives quarrelling with their men, upon some rudeness offered to their women, and they being separated from their fellows, were obliged to fly, that the natives had surrounded the rest, and they believed had killed them all; that they wandered up to the top of the hill, intending to make signals to their ship to send them some help; when seeing some ships they believed some Europeans were there, and so came down to take shelter; and they begged of them a boat to carry them round the Cape to their comrades, unless they would give them

leave to stay with them, and do as they did, which they were very willing to do.

This was all a made story; but, however, the tale told so well, that they believed it thoroughly, and received our men very kindly, led them up to their camp, and gave them some victuals.

Our men observed they had victuals enough, and very good, as well beef as mutton; that is to say, of goats' flesh, which was excellent good; also pork and veal, and they were tolerable good cooks too, for they found they had built several furnaces and boilers, which they had taken out of their ships, and dressed a vast quantity of meat at a time; but they observed they had no liquor, upon which the mate pulled a large bottle of good cordial waters out of his pocket, and gave it about as far as it would go, and so did two others of the men, which their new landlords took very kindly.

They spent good part of the first day in looking about them, seeing the manner of the pirates living there, and their strength; and soon perceived that they were indeed but in a sorry condition every way, except that they had cattle and flesh meat sufficient. They had a good platform of guns indeed, and a covered place pallisadoed round where they lodged their ammunition. But as for fortifications to the landward they had none, except a double pallisado round their camp, and a sort of a bank thrown up within to fire from, and stand covered from the enemies lances, which was all they had to fear from the natives. They had no bread but what they made of rice, and the store they had of that was very small. They told our men indeed, that they had two ships abroad, which they expected back every day with a quantity of rice, and what else they could get, especially with some arrack, which they were to trade for with the Arabian merchants, or take it by force, which should first offer.

Our men pretended to like their way of living mighty well, and talked of staying with them, if they would let them, and thus they passed the first day of conversation.

Our men had two tents or huts given them to lodge in, and hammocks hung in the huts very agreeably, being such I suppose as belonged to some of their company that were dead, or were out upon adventures, here they slept very secure, and in the morning walked about, as strangers might be suffered to do to look about them; but my new manager's eye was chiefly here upon two things, first, to see if they had any shipping for our purpose, and, secondly, to see if he could pitch upon one man more particular than the rest, to enter into some confidence with, and it was not long before he found an opportunity for both, the manner was thus:—

He was walking by himself, having ordered his other men to straggle away two and two, this way and that, as if they had not minded him, though always to keep him in sight, I say, he walked by himself towards that part of the creek, where, as was said, three of their biggest ships lay by the walls, and when he came to the shore right against them, he stood still looking at them very earnestly; while he was here he observed a boat put off from one of them, with four oars and one sitter only, whom they set on shore just

by him, and then put off again; the person whom they set on shore was, it seems, one who had been with our men the evening before, but having some particular office on board one of those ships, lay on board every night, with about ten or twelve men, just to watch and guard the ship, and so came on shore in the morning, as is usual in men of war laid up.

As soon as he saw our man he knew him, and spoke very familiarly to him, and seeing he was looking so earnestly at the ship, he asked him if he would go on board, our man faintly declined it, as on purpose to be asked again, and upon just as much further pressing as was sufficient to satisfy him that the gunner, for that was his office, was in earnest he yielded, so the gunner called back the boat, and they went on board.

Our man viewed the ship very particularly, and pretended to like everything he saw; but, after some conversation, asks him this home question, namely, why they did not go to sea, and seek purchase, having so many good ships at their command? He shook his head, and told him very frankly that they were in no condition to undertake anything, for that they were a crew of unresolved divided rogues; that they were never two days of a mind; that they had nobody to command, and therefore nobody to obey; that several things had been offered, but nothing concluded; that in short, they thought of nothing but of shifting every one for themselves, as well as they could.

My mate replied, he thought it had been quite otherwise, and that made him tell them last night that he had an inclination to stay with them. "I heard you say so," said the gunner, "and it made me smile; I thought in myself that you would be of another mind when you knew us a little better; for, in a word," said he, "if they should agree to lend you a boat to go back to your ship, they would go together by the ears about who should go with you; for not a man of them that went with you would ever come back again hither, if your captain would take them on board, though the terms were, to be hanged when they came to England."

My mate knew that this was my opinion before, but he was really of another mind himself, till he saw things, and till he talked with this gunner; and this put new things in his head. So he entertained the gunner with a scheme of his own, and told him, if things were so as he related it, and that he had really a mind to come off from that gang, he believed that he could put him in a way how to do it to his advantage, and to take a set of his people with him, if he could pick out some of them that might be depended upon.

The gunner replied that he could pick out a set of very brave fellows, good seamen, and most of them such as having been forced into the pirates' ships, were dragged into that wicked life they had lived, not only against their consciences, but by a mere necessity to save their lives, and that they would be glad at any price to come off. The mate asked him how many such he could answer for. He told him above a hundred. Upon this the mate told him the circumstances we were in, the voyage we were upon,

that we were a letter of marque ship of such force, but that were over-manned and double stored, in hopes of getting a good ship upon our cruise, to man out of the other, that we had been disappointed, and had only got the sloop or brigantine which we bought, as before, at the Cape, that if he could persuade the men to sell us one of their ships, we would pay them for it in ready money, and perhaps entertain a hundred of their men into the bargain.

The gunner told him he would propose it to them, and added, in positive terms, that he knew it would be readily accepted, and that he should take which of the three ships I pleased. The mate then desired that he would lend them his shallop to go on board our ship, to acquaint me with it, and bring back sufficient orders to treat. He told them he would not only do that, but before I could be ready to go he would propose it to the chief men he had his eye upon, and would have their consent, and that then he would go along with him on board to make a bargain.

This was as well as our mate could expect, and the gunner had either so much authority among them, or the men were so forward to shift their station in the world that the gunner came again to our mate in less than two hours, with an order, signed by about sixteen of their officers, empowering him to sell us the ship which the gunner was on board of, and to allot so many guns, and such a proportion of ammunition to her as was sufficient, and to give the work of all their carpenters for so many days as were necessary to repair her, calk and grave her, and put her in condition to go to sea.

She was a Spanish-built ship; where they had her, the gunner said he did not know; but she was a very strong tight ship, and a pretty good sailer. We made her carry two-and-thirty guns, though she had not been used to carry above twenty-four.

The gunner being thus empowered to treat with my mate, came away in their shallop, and brought the said gunner and two more of their officers with him, and eight seamen. The gunner and I soon made a bargain for the ship, which I bought for five thousand pieces of eight, most of it in English goods, such as they wanted; for they were many of them almost naked of clothes, and as for other things they had scarce a pair of shoes or stockings among them. When our bargain was made, and the mate had related all the particulars of the conference he had had with the gunner, we came to talk of the people who were to go with us. The gunner told us that we might indeed have good reason to suspect a gang of men who had made themselves infamous all over the world by so many piracies and wicked actions; but if I would put so much confidence in him, he would assure me that as he should have the power in his hands to pick and choose his men, so he would answer body for body the fidelity of all the men he should choose; and that most, if not all of them, would be such as had been taken by force out of other ships, or wheedled away when they were drunk; and in a word, he told me there never was a ship-load of such penitents went to sea together as he would bring us. When he had said so, he began to move me that I would please to give him the

same post which he held in the ship, viz., that of gunner, which I promised him, and then he desired I would permit him to speak with me in private, and I was not at first very free to it, but he having consented to let the mate and Captain Merlotte be present, I yielded.

When all the rest were withdrawn he told me that having been five years in the pirates' service, as he might call it, and being obliged to do as they did, I might be sure he had some small share in the purchase, and, however, he had come into it against his will, yet as he had been obliged to go with them, he had made some advantage, and that being resolved to leave them, he had a good while ago packed up some of the best of what he had got, to make his escape, and begged I would let him deposit it with me as a security for his fidelity. Upon this he ordered a chest to be taken out of the shallop, and brought into my great cabin, and besides this gave me out of his pocket a bag sealed up, the contents of which I shall speak of hereafter.

The shallop returned the next day, and I sent back the mate with my long boat and twenty-four men to go and take possession of the ship, and appointed my carpenter to go and see to the repairs that were necessary to be done to her; and some days after I sent Captain Marlotte with the supercargo in our sloop, to go and secure the possession, and to cover the retreat of any of the men that might have a mind to come away, and might be opposed by the rest; and this was done at the request of the gunner, who foresaw there might be some squabble about it.

They spent six weeks and some odd days in fitting out this ship, occasioned by the want of a convenient place to lay her on shore in, which they were obliged to make with a great deal of labour; however, she was completely fitted up. When she was fitted they laid in a good store of provisions, though not so well cured as to last a great while. One of the best things we got a recruit of here, was casks; which, as before we greatly wanted, and which their coopers assisted us to trim, season, and fit up.

As to bread, we had no help from them, for they not only had none but what they made of rice, but they had no sufficient store of that, as I have hinted before.

But we had more to do yet; for when the ship was fitted up and our men had the possession of her, they were surprised one morning on a sudden with a most horrible tumult among the pirates, and had not our brigantine been at hand, (as above,) to secure the possession, I believe they had taken the ship from our men again, and, perhaps, have come down with her and their two sloops, and have attacked us. The case was this:—The gunner, who was a punctual fellow to his word, resolved that none of the men should go in the ship but such as he had singled out, and they were such as were generally men taken out of of merchant ships by force, as before; but when he came to talk to the men of who and who should go and stay, truly they would all go to a man, there was not a man of them would stay behind; and, in a word, they fell out about it to that degree, that they came to blows, and the gunner was forced to fly for it,

with about twenty-two men that stood to him, and six or seven were wounded in the fray, whereof two died.

The gunner thus being driven to his shifts, made down to the shore to his boat, but the rogues were too nimble for him, and had got to his boat before him, and prepared to man her and two more, to go on board and secure the ship. In this distress, the gunner, who had taken sanctuary in the woods at about a mile distance, but unhappily above the camp, so that the platform of guns was between him and the ship, had no remedy, but to send one of his men, who swam very well, to take a compass round behind the pirate's camp, and come to the water side below the camp and platform, so to take the water and swim on board the ship, which lay nearly a league below their said camp, and give our men notice of what had happened, to warn them to suffer none of their men to come on board, unless the gunner was with them; and, if possible, to send a boat on shore to fetch off the gunner and his men, who were following by the same way, and would be at the same place, and make a signal to them to come for him.

Our men had scarce received this notice when they saw a boat full of men put off from the platform, and row down under shore towards them; but as they resolved not to suffer them to come on board, they called to them by a speaking trumpet, and told them they might go back again, for they should not come on board, nor any other boat, unless the gunner was on board.

They rowed on for all that, when our men called to them again, and told them if they offered to put off, in order to come on board, or, in short, to row down shore any further than a little point which our man named, and which was just a-head of them, they would fire at them. Well, they rowed on for all this, and that though they were past the point, which our men seeing, they immediately let fly a shot, but fired a little a-head of them, so as not to hit the boat, and this brought them to a stop; so they lay upon their oars a while, as if they were considering what to do; when our men perceived two boats more come off from the platform likewise, full of men, and rowing after the first. Upon this they called again the first boat with their speaking-trumpet, and told them if they did not go immediately on shore they would sink the boat. They had no remedy, seeing our men resolved, and that they lay open to the shot of the ship, so they went on shore accordingly, and then our men fired at the empty boat, till they split her in pieces, and made her useless to them.

Upon this firing, our brigantine, which lay about two leagues off in the mouth of a little creek, on the south of that river, weighed immediately, and stood away to the opening of the road where the ship lay, and the tide of flood being still running in, they drove up towards the ship for her assistance, and came to an anchor about a cable's length a-head of her, but within pistol-shot of the shore, at the same time sending two-and-thirty of her men on board the great ship, to reinforce the men on board, who were but sixteen in number.

Just at this time the gunner and his twenty-one men, who heard the firing, and had quickened

their pace, though they had a great compass to fetch, through woods and untrod paths, and some luggage to carry too, were come to the shore, and made the signal, which our men in the ship observing, gave notice to the officer of the brigantine to fetch them on board, which he did very safely; by the way, as the officer afterwards told us, most of their luggage consisted of money, with which it seems every man of them was very well furnished, having shared their wealth at their first coming on shore. As for clothes, they had very few, and those all in rags; and as for linen, they had scarce a shirt among them all, or linen enough to have made a white flag for a truce, if they had had occasion for it. In short, a crew so rich and so ragged were hardly ever seen before.

The ship was now pretty well manned, for the brigantine carried the gunner and his twenty-one men on board her; and the tide by this time being spent, she immediately unmoored and loosened her topsails, which, as it happened, had been bent to the yards two days before, so, with the first of the ebb, she weighed and fell down about a league further, by which she was quite out of reach of the platform, and rode in the open sea; and the brigantine did the same.

But by this means they missed the occasion of the rest of the gunner's men, who, having got together to the number of between seventy and eighty, had followed him and come down to the shore and made the signals, but were not understood by our ship, which put the poor men to great difficulties; for they had broken away from the rest by force, and had been pursued half a mile by the whole body, and particularly at the entrance into a very thick, woody place, were so hard put to it that they were obliged to make a desperate stand and fire at their old friends, which had exasperated them to the last degree. But, as the case of these men was desperate, they took an effectual method for their own security, of which I shall give a further account presently.

The general body of the pirates were now up in arms, and the new ship was, as it were, in open war with them, or at least they had declared war against it; but as they had been disappointed in their attempt to force it, and found they were not strong enough at sea to attack it, they sent a flag of truce on board. Our men admitted them to come to the ship side, but as my mate, who now had the command, knew them to be a gang of desperate rogues that would attempt anything, though never so rash, he ordered that none of them should come on board the ship, except the officer and two more, who gave an account that they were sent to treat with us. So we called them the ambassadors.

When they came on board they expostulated very warmly with my new agent the second mate, that our men came in the posture of friends, and of friends too in distress, and had received favours from them, but had abused the kindness which had been shown them; that they had bought a ship of them, and had had leave and assistance to fit her up and furnish her, but had not paid for her, or paid for what assistance and what provisions had been given to them; and that now, to complete all, their men had been parti-

ally and unfairly treated; and when a number of men had been granted us, an inferior fellow, a gunner, was set to call such and such men out, just whom he pleased, to go with us, whereas the whole body ought to have had the appointing whom they would or would not give leave to go in the ship; that when they came in a peaceable manner to have demanded justice, and to have treated amicably of these things, our men had denied them admittance, had committed hostilities against them, had fired at their men and staved their boat, and had afterwards received on board their deserters, all contrary to the rules of friendship; and in all these cases they demanded satisfaction.

Our new commander was a ready man enough, and he answered all their complaints with a great deal of gravity and calmness: he told them that it was true we came to them as friends, and had received friendly usage from them, which we had not in the least dishonoured; but that, as friends in distress, we had never pretended to be, and really were not; for that we were neither in danger of anything or in want of anything; that, as to provisions, we were strong enough, if need were, to procure ourselves provisions in any part of the island, and had been several times supplied from the shore by the natives, for which we had always fully satisfied the people who furnished us, and that we scorned to be ungrateful for any favour we should have received, much less to abuse it, or them for it.

That we had paid the full price of all the provisions we had received, and for the work that had been done to the ship, that what we had bargained for, as the price of the ship, had been paid, as far as the agreement made it due, and that what remained was ready to be paid as soon as the ship was finished, which was our bargain.

That as to the people who were willing to take service with us and enter themselves on board, it is true that the gunner and some other men offered themselves to us, and we had accepted of them, and we thought it was our part to accept or not to accept of such men as we thought fit. As for what was among themselves, that we had nothing to do with; that if we had been publicly warned by them not to have entertained any of their men, but with consent of the whole body, then indeed we should have had reason to be cautious; otherwise we were not in the least concerned about it. That it is true we refused to let their boats come on board us, being assured that they came in a hostile manner, either to take away the men by force, which had been entered in our service, or perhaps even to seize the ship itself; and why else was the first boat followed by two more full of men, armed and prepared to attack us? That we not only came in a friendly manner to them, but resolved to continue in friendship with them, if they thought fit to use us as friends; but that considering what part of the world we were in, and what their circumstances were, they must allow us to be on our guard, and not put ourselves in a condition to be used ill.

While he was talking thus with them in the cabin he had ordered a can of flip to be made and given their men in the boat, and every one

a dram of the bottle, but would not suffer them to come on board; however, one or two of them got leave to get in at one of the ports, and got between decks among our men; here they made terrible complaints of their condition, and begged hard to be entertained in our service; they were full of money, and gave twenty or thirty pieces of eight among our men, and by this present prevailed for two men to speak to my mate, who appeared as captain, to take the boat's crew on board; the mate very gravely told the two ambassadors of it, and told them that, seeing they were come with a flag of truce, he would not stop their men without their consent, but the men being so earnest he thought it would do better not to oppose them; the ambassadors, as I call them, opposed it, however, vehemently, and at last desired to go and talk with the men, which was granted them readily. When they came into their boat, their men told them plainly that one and all they would enter themselves with their countrymen; that they had been forced already to turn pirates, and they thought they might very justly turn honest men again by force, if they could not get leave to do it peaceably; and that, in short, they would go on shore no more; that if the ambassadors desired it they would set them on shore with the boat, but, as for themselves, they would go along with the new captain.

When the ambassadors saw this they had no more to do but to be satisfied, and so were set on shore where they desired, and their men stayed on board.

During this transaction my mate had sent a full account to me of all that passed, and had desired me to come on board and give further directions in all that was to come; so I took our supercargo and Captain Merlotte along with me, and some more of our officers, and went to them; it was my lot to come on board just when those famous ambassadors were talking with my mate, so I heard most of what they had to say, and heard the answer my mate gave them, as above, which was extremely to my satisfaction; nor did I interrupt him or take upon me any authority, though he would very submissively have had me shown myself as captain, but I bid him go on, and sat down as not concerned in the affair at all.

After the ambassadors were gone the first thing I did was in the presence of all the company, and having before had the opinion of those I brought with me to tell my second mate how well we were all satisfied with his conduct, and to declare him captain of the ship that he was in, only demanding his solemn oath to be under orders of the great ship as admiral, and to carry on no separate interest from us, which he thankfully accepted, and, to give him his due, as faithfully performed all the rest of our very long voyage, and through all our adventures.

It was upon my seeming intercession, that he gave consent to the boat's crew who brought the ambassadors to remain in our service, and set their statesmen on shore; and, in fine, I told him that as far as about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred men, he should entertain whom he thought fit; thus having settled all things in the ship to our satisfaction, we went back to our great ship the next day.

I had not been many hours on board our ship, but I was surprised with the firing of three muskets from the shore; we wondered what should be the meaning of it, knowing that it was an unusual thing in that place, where we knew the natives of the country had no firearms, so we knew not what to make of it, and therefore took no notice of it other than, as I say, to wonder at it; about half an hour after that we heard three muskets more, and still not knowing anything of the matter, we made them no return to the signal; some time after three muskets were fired again, but all was one, we took no notice, for we knew nothing of what return was to be made to it.

When night came on we observed two great fires upon two several hills on that part of the shore opposite to us, and after that three rockets were fired, such as they were, but they went off ill; I suppose their gunner was ill provided for such things; but all signified nothing. We would have made any return to them that would have been understood, but we knew nothing of any agreed signal; however, I resolved that in the morning I would send a boat on shore well manned, to learn if possible what the meaning of all this was, and accordingly in the morning I sent our long boat and shallop on shore, with thirty-two men in them both, to get intelligence, ordering them, if possible, to speak with somebody before they went on shore, and know how things stood; that then, if it was a party of the pirates, they should by no means come near them but parley at a distance, till they knew what the meaning of it all was.

As soon as my men came near the shore they saw plainly that it was a body of near a hundred of the pirates, but seeing them so strong they stood off, and would not come nearer, nor near enough to parley with them; upon this the men on shore got one of the islanders' canvas boats, or rather boats made of skins, which are but sorry ones at best, and put off, with two men to manage the sails, and one sitter, and two paddles for oars, and away they came towards us, carrying a flag of truce, that is to say an old white rag; how they came to save so much linen among them all was very hard to say.

Our men could do no less than receive their ambassador, and a flag of truce gave no apprehension, especially considering the figure they made, and that the men on shore had no other boats to surprise or attack us with, so they lay by upon their oars till they came up, when they soon understood who they were: viz., that they were the gunner's selected men, that they came too late to have their signal perceived from the other ship, which was gone out of sight of the place they were directed to; that they had with great difficulty, and five days' and nights' marching, got through a woody and almost impassable country, to come at us; that they had fetched a circuit of near an hundred miles to avoid being attacked by their comrades, and that they were pursued by them, with their whole body, and therefore they begged to be taken on board; they said if they should be overtaken by their comrades they should be all cut in pieces, for that they had broke away from them by force, and moreover, had been obliged, at the first of

their pursuit, to face about and fire among them, by which they had killed six or seven of them, and wounded others, and that they had sworn they would give them no quarter if they could come fairly up with them.

Our men told them they must be contented to remain on shore where they were for some time, for that they could do nothing till they had been on board and acquainted their captain with all the particulars; so they came back immediately to me for orders.

As to me, I was a little uneasy at the thoughts of taking them on board. I knew they were a gang of pirates at best, and what they might do I knew not; but I sent them this message, that though all their tale might be very good for ought I knew, yet that I must take so much time as to send an express to the captain of the other ship, to be informed of the faith of it, and that if he brought a satisfactory answer, I would send for them all on board.

This was very uncomfortable news to them, for they expected to be surrounded every hour by their comrades, from whom they were to look for no mercy; however seeing no remedy, they resolved to march about twenty miles farther south, and lie by in a place near the sea, where we agreed to send to them; concluding that their comrades not finding them near the place where we lay, would not imagine they could be gone farther that way. As they guessed, so it proved, for the pirates came to the shore, where they saw tokens enough of their having been there, but concluded that, seeing they could not be found there, they were all gone on board our ship.

The wind proving contrary, it was no less than four days before our boat came back, so that the poor men were held in great suspense; but when they returned, they brought the gunner with them, who had selected those men from all the rest for our new ship; and who, when he came, gave me a long account of them, and what care he had taken to pick them out for our service, delivering me also a letter from my new captain to the same purpose. Upon all which concurring circumstances we concluded to take them on board; so we sent our boats for them, who at twice brought them all on board, and very stout, honest fellows they were.

When they had been on board some days, and refreshed themselves, I concluded to send them all on board the new ship; but upon advice I resolved to send sixty of my own men joined to forty of these, and keep thirty-four of them on board my ship, for their number was just seventy-four, which, with the gunner and his twenty-one men, and the sixteen men who came with the worthy ambassadors, and would not go on shore again, made one hundred and twelve men; and as we all thought were enough for us, though we took in between forty and fifty more afterwards.

We were now ready to go to sea, and I caused the new ship and the brigantine to come away from the place where they lay and join us; which they did, and then we unloaded part of our provisions and ammunition; of which, as I observed at first, we had taken in double quantity; and having furnished the new ship with a proportion

of all things necessary, we prepared for our voyage.

I should here give a long account of a second devilish conspiracy, which my two remaining prisoners had formed among the men, which was to betray the new ship to the pirates; but it is too long a story to put in here, nor did I make it public among the ships' company; but as it was only, as it were, laid down in a scheme, and that they had no opportunity to put it in practice, I thought it was better to make as little noise of it as I could. So I ordered my new captain, for it was he who discovered it to me, to punish them in their own way, and without taking notice of their new villanies, to set them on shore, and leave them to take their fate with a set of rogues whom they had intended to join with, and whose profession was likely, some time or other, to bring them to the gallows; and thus I was rid of two incorrigible mutineers. What became of them afterwards I never heard.

We were now a little fleet; viz. two large ships and a brigantine, well manned and furnished with all sorts of necessaries for any voyage or any enterprise that was fit for men in our posture to undertake; and particularly here, I made a full design of the whole voyage, to be again openly declared to the men, and had them asked, one by one, if they were willing and resolved to undertake it, which they all very cheerfully answered in the affirmative.

Here we had opportunity to furnish ourselves with a vast stock of excellent beef, which, as I said before, we cured with little or no salt by drying it in the sun; and I believe we laid in such a store that in all our three vessels we had near a hundred and fifty tons of it; and it was of excellent use to us, and served us through the whole voyage. There was little else to be had in this place that was fit to be carried to sea, except that as there was plenty of milk, some of our men that were more dexterous than others, made several large cheeses; nor were they very far short of English cheese, only that we were but indifferent dairy-folks. Our men made some butter also, and salted it to keep, but it grew rank and oily, and was of no use to us.

It was on the fifteenth of December that we left this place, a country fruitful, populous, full of cattle, large and excellent good beef, and very fat, and the land able to produce all manner of good things; but the people wild, naked, black, barbarous, perfectly untractable, and insensible of any state of life being better than their own.

We stood away toward the shore of Arabia till we past the line, and came into the latitude of eighteen degrees north, and then stood away east, and east by north, for the English factories of Surat and the coast of Malabar; not that we had any business there, or designed any, only that we had a mind to take on board a quantity of rice, if we could come at it; which at last we effected by a Portuguese vessel, which we met with at sea, bound to Goa from the Gulf of Persia. We chased her and brought her too indeed, as if we resolved to attack and take the ship; but finding a quantity of rice on board, which was what we wanted, with a parcel of coffee; we took all the rice, but paid the supercargo, who was a Persian or Armenian merchant, very

honestly for the whole parcel his full price, and to his satisfaction. As for the coffee we had no occasion for it. We put in at several ports on the Indian coast for fresh water and fresh provisions, but came near none of the factories, because we had no mind to discover ourselves; for though we were to sail through the very centre of the India trade, yet it was perfectly without any business among them. We met, indeed, on this coast with some pearl fishers, who had been in the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and had a large quantity of pearl on board. I would have traded with them for goods, but they understood nothing but money, and I refused to part with it. Upon which the fellows gave our supercargo some scurvy language, which, though he did not well understand what they said, yet he pretended to take it as a great affront, and threatened to make prize of their barks and slaves of the men; upon which they grew very humble, and one of them, a Malabar Indian, who spoke a little English, spoke for them that they would willingly trade with us for such goods as we had; whereupon I produced three bales of English cloth, which I showed them would be of good merchandize at Gomboroon in the Gulf, for that the Persians made their long vests of such cloths.

In short, for this cloth, and some money, we bought a box of choice pearls, which the chief of them had picked out from the rest for the Portuguese merchants at Goa, and which, when I came to London, was valued at two thousand two hundred pounds sterling.

We were near two months on our voyage from Madagascar to the coast of India, and from thence to Ceylon, where we put in on the southwest part of the island to see what provisions we could get, and to take in a large supply of water. The people here we found willing to supply us with provisions, but withal so sharp, imposing upon us their own rates for every thing; and withal so false, that we were often provoked to treat them very rudely. However I gave strict orders that they should not be hurt upon any occasion, at least till we had filled all our water casks, and taken in what fresh provisions we could get, and especially rice, which we valued very much; but they provoked us at last beyond all patience, for they were such thieves when they were on board, and such treacherous rogues when we were on shore, that there was no bearing it; and two accidents fell out upon this occasion, which fully broke the peace between us. One was on board, and the other was on shore, and both happened the same day. The case on board was this:—There came on board us a small boat, in which was eleven men and three boys, to sell us roots, yams, mangoes, and such stuff as it was frequent for them to do every day; but this boat having more goods of that kind than usual, they were longer than ordinary making their market. While they were thus chaffering on board, one of them having wandered about the ship, and pretending to admire everything he saw, and being gotten between decks, was taken stealing a pair of shoes, which belonged to one of the seamen. The fellow being stopt for his theft, appeared angry, raised a hideous, screaming noise to alarm his fellows, and at the same time, having stolen a long pair

of scissars, pulled them out and stabbed the man that had laid hold of him into the shoulder, and was going to double his blow, when the poor fellow that had been wounded having struck up his heels and fallen upon him, had killed him if I had not called to take him off and bring the thief up to me.

Upon this order, they took up the barbarian and brought him up with the shoes and the scissars that he had stolen, and as the facts were plain, and needed no witnesses, I caused all the rest of them to be brought up also; and, as well as we could, made them understand what he had done. They made pitiful signs of fear, lest they should all be punished for his crime, and particularly when they saw the man whom he had wounded brought in; then they expected nothing but death, and they made a sad lamentation and howling, as if they were all to die immediately. It was not without a great deal of difficulty that I found ways to satisfy them, that nobody was to be punished but the man that had committed the fact; and then I caused him to be brought to the geers, with a halter about his neck, and be soundly whipped; and indeed our people did scourge him severely from head to foot; and I believe if I had not run myself to put an end to it, they had whipped him to death.

When this execution was over, they put him into their boat and let them all go on shore; but no sooner were they on shore but they raised a terrible hubbub among all the villages and towns near them, and they were now a few, the country being very populous, and a vast multitude of them came down to the shore, staring at us, and making confused ugly noises, and abundance of arrows they shot at the ship, but we rode too far from the shore for them to do us any hurt.

While this was doing, another fray happened on shore, where two of our men chaffering with an islander and his wife for some fowls, they took his money, or what else it was he was to give, and gave him part of the fowls, but they pretended the woman should go and fetch the rest. While the woman was gone, three or four more of the same sort came to the man that was left, and talking a while together, seeing they were so many, and our men but two, they began to take hold of the fowls they had sold, and would take them away again; at which one of our men stepped up to the fellow that had taken them up, and went to lay hold of him, but he was too nimble for him, and ran away and carried off the fowls and the money too. The seaman was so enraged to be served so, that he took up his piece, for they had both fire-arms with them, and fired immediately after him, and aimed his shot so luckily, that, though the fellow flew like the wind, he shot him through the head, and he dropped down dead upon the spot.

The rest of them, though terribly frightened, yet seeing our men were but two, and the noise bringing twenty or thirty more immediately to them, attacked our men with their lances, and bows and arrows; and in a moment there was a pitched battle of two men only against twenty or thirty, and their number increasing too.

In short, our men spent their shot freely among them as long as it lasted, and killed six or seven, besides wounding ten or eleven more; and this

cooled their courage, and they seemed to give over the battle; and our men, whose ammunition was almost spent, began to think of retreating to their boat, which was near a mile off, for they were very unhappily gotten from their boat so far up the country.

They made their retreat pretty well for about half the way, when, on a sudden, they saw they were not pursued only, but surrounded, and that some of their enemies were before them. This made them double their pace, and seeing no remedy, they resolved to break through those that were before them, who were about eleven or twelve. Accordingly, as soon as they came within pistol shot of them, one of our men having, for want of shot, put almost a handful of gravel and small stones into his piece, and fired among them, and the gravel and stones scattering, wounded almost all of them; for they being naked from the waist upwards, the least grain of sand scratched and hurt them, and made them bleed if it did but touch them.

Being thus completely scared, and, indeed, more afraid than hurt, they all run away except two, who were really wounded with the shot or stones, and lay upon the ground. Our men let them lie, and made the best of their way to their boat, where at last they got safe, but with five hundred of the people at their heels; their fellows did not stay to fire from the boat, but put off with all the speed they could, for fear of their poisoned arrows, and the country people poured so many of their arrows into the boat after them, and aimed them also so true, that two of our men were hurt with them, but whether they were poisoned or no, our surgeons cured them both.

We had enough of Ceylon, and having no business to make such a kind of a war as this must have been, in which we might have lost, but could get nothing, we weighed and stood away to the east; what became of the fellow that we lashed, we know not, but as he had but little flesh left on his back, which was not mangled and torn with our whipping him, and we suppose they are but indifferent surgeons, our people said the fellow could not live; and the reason they gave for it was, because they did not pickle him after it. Truly, they said, that they would not be so kind to him as to pickle him; for though pickling, that is to say, throwing salt and vinegar on the back after the whipping be cruel enough as to the pain it is to the patient, yet 'tis certainly the way to prevent mortification, and causes it to heal again with more ease.

We stood over from Ceylon E. S. E. across the great Bay of Bengal, leaving all the coast of Coromandel, and standing directly for Anchin, on the north point of the great Island of Sumatra, and in the latitude of six degrees thirty-one minutes north.

Here we spread our French colours, and coming to an anchor, suffered none of our men to go on shore but Captain Merlotte and his French men; and having nothing to do there, or anywhere else in the Indian Seas but to take in provisions and fresh water, we stayed but five days; in which time we supplied ourselves with what the place would afford; and pretending to be bound for China, we went on to the south, through the

Straits of Malacca, between the Island of Sumatra, and the Main or Isthmus of Malacca.

We had here a very difficult passage, though we took two pilots on board at Anchin, who pretended to know the Straits perfectly well; twice we were in very great danger of being lost, and once our Madagascar ship was so entangled among rocks and currents that we gave her up for lost, and twice she struck upon the rocks, but she did but touch, and went clear.

We went several times on shore among the Malays, as well on the shore of Malacca itself as on the side of Sumatra. They are a fierce, cruel, treacherous, and merciless set of human devils as any I have met with on the face of the whole earth, and we had some skirmishes with them, but not of any consequence. We made no stay anywhere in this Strait but just for fresh water, and what other fresh provisions we could get such as roots, greens, hogs, and fowls, of which they have plenty and a great variety; but nothing to be had but for ready money, which our men took so unkindly, and especially their offering two or three times to cheat them, and once to murder them; that, after that, they made no scruple to go on shore a hundred or more at a time, and plunder and burn what they could not carry off; till at last we began to be such a terror to them that they fled from us wherever we came.

On the fifth of March we made the southernmost point of the Isthmus of Malacca, and the Island and Straits of Singapore, famous for its being the great outlet into the Chinese sea, and lying in the latitude of one degree fifteen minutes north latitude.

We had good weather through these Straits, which was very much to our comfort; the different currents and number of little islands making it otherwise very dangerous, especially to strangers. We got by very good luck a Dutch pilot to carry us through this Strait, who was a very useful skilful fellow, but withal so very impertinent and inquisitive, that we knew not what to say to him or what to do with him. At last he grew saucy and insolent, and told our chief mate that he did not know but we might be pirates, or at least enemies to his countrymen the Dutch; and if we would not tell him who we were, and whither we were bound, he would not pilot us any further.

This I thought very insolent, to a degree beyond what was sufferable; and I bid the boatswain put a halter about the fellow's neck, and tell him that the moment he omitted to direct the steerage as a pilot, or the moment the ship came to any misfortune, or struck upon any rock, he should be trussed up. The boatswain, a rugged fellow, provides himself with a halter, and coming up to the pilot, asked him, "What it was he wanted to be satisfied in?" The pilot said "He desired to have a true account whither we were going." "Why," says the boatswain, "we are a going to the devil, and I shall send you before us to tell him we are coming;" and with that he pulls the halter out of his pocket, and puts it over his head, and taking the other end of it in his hand, "Come," says the boatswain, "come along with me; do you think we can't go through the Strait

of Singapore without your help? I warrant you," says he, "we will do without you."

By this time, you may suppose the Dutchman to be in a mortal fright, and half choked too with being dragged by the throat with the halter, and full heartily he begged for his life. At length the boatswain, who had pulled him along a good way, stopped, and the Dutchman fell down upon his knees, but the boatswain said he had the captain's orders to hang him, and hang him he would unless the captain recalled his orders; but that he would stay so long if anybody would go up to the captain and tell him what the Dutchman said, and bring back an answer.

I had no design to hang the poor fellow, you may be sure, and the boatswain knew that well enough. However, I was resolved to humble him effectually, so I sent back two men to the boatswain, the first was to tell the boatswain aloud that the captain was resolved to have the fellow hanged for having been so impudent to threaten to run the ship aground: but then the second, who was to stay a little behind, was to call out as if he came since the first from me, and that I had been prevailed with to pardon him on his promises of better behaviour. This was all acted to the life; for the first messenger called aloud to the boatswain that the captain said he would have the Dutchman hanged for a warning to all pilots, and to teach them not to insult men when they were in difficulties, as the midwives do whores in travail, and won't deliver them till they confess who is the father.

The boatswain had the end of the halter in his hand all the while: "I told you so," says he, "before; come, come along, Mynheer," says he, "I shall quickly do your work, and put you out of your pain"—and then he dragged the poor fellow along to the main-mast. By this time the second messenger came in and delivered his part of the errand, and so the poor Dutchman was put out of his fright, and they gave him a dram to restore him a little, and he did his work very honestly afterwards.

And now we were got loose again, being in the open sea, which was what we were very impatient for before. We had now a long run over that part which we call the sea of Borneo, and the upper part of the Indian Arches, called so for its being full of islands, like the Archipelago of the Levant. It was a long run, but as we were to the north of the islands we had the more sea-room, so we steered east half a point, one way or other for the Manillas, or Philippine Islands, which was the true design of our voyage, and, perhaps, we were the first ship that ever came to those islands freighted from Europe since the Portuguese lost their footing there.

We put in on the north coast of Borneo, for fresh water, and were civilly enough used by the inhabitants of the place, who brought us roots, and fruits of several kinds, and some goats, which we were glad of. We paid them in trifles, such as knives, scissars, toys, and several sorts of wrought iron, hatchets, hammers, glass work, looking glasses, drinking glasses, and the like. From hence we went away, as I say, for the Philippine Islands. We saw several islands in our way, but made no stop, except once for water, and arrived at Manilla the 22nd of May,

all our vessels in very good condition, our men healthy, and our ships sound, having met with very few contrary winds, and not one storm in the whole voyage from Madagascar, having been seventeen months and two days on the voyage from England.

When we came hither we saluted the Spanish flag, and came to an anchor, carrying French colours. Captain Merlotte, who now acted as commander, sent his boat on shore the next day to the governor, with a letter in French, very respectful, and telling the governor, that having the King of France's commission, and being come into those seas, he hoped, that for the friendship which was between their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, he should be allowed the freedom of commerce and the use of the port, the like having been granted to his most Christian Majesty's subjects in all the ports of New Spain as well in the Southern as in the Northern Seas. The Spanish governor returned a very civil and obliging answer, and immediately granted us to buy what provisions we pleased for our supply, or anything else for our use; but answered, that as for allowing any exchange of merchandizes, or giving leave for European goods to be brought on shore there, that he was not empowered to grant.

We made as if this answer was satisfactory enough to us, and the next morning Captain Merlotte sent his boat on shore with all French sailors, and a French midshipman, with a handsome present to the governor, consisting of some bottles of French wine, some brandy, two pieces of fine Holland, two pieces of English black baize, one piece of fine French drugget, and five yards of scarlet woollen cloth.

This was too considerable a present for a Spaniard to refuse, and yet these were all European goods, which he seemed not to allow to come on shore. The governor let the captain know that he accepted his present, and the men who brought it were handsomely entertained, by the governor's order, and had every one a small piece of gold, and the officer who went at their head had five pieces of gold given him; what coin it was I could not tell, but I think it was a Japan coin, and the value something less than a pistole. The next day the governor sent a gentleman with a large boat, and in it a present to our captain, consisting of two cows, ten sheep, or goats rather, for they were between both, a vast number of fowls of several sorts, and twelve great boxes of sweetmeats and conserves, which were indeed very valuable, and invited the captain and any of his attendants on shore, offering to send hostages on board for our safe return; and concluding with his word of honour for our safety and free going back to our ships.

The captain received the present with very great respect, and indeed it was a very noble present; for at the same time a boat was sent to both the other ships with provisions and sweetmeats, in proportion to the bigness of the vessels. Our captains caused the gentleman who came with this present to have a fine piece of crimson English cloth given him, sufficient to make a waistcoat and breeches of their fashion, with a very good hat, two pair of silk stockings, and two pair of gloves; and all his people had

a piece of drugget given them sufficient to make them the like suit of clothes. The persons who went to the other ship, and to the brigantine, had presents in proportion.

This, in short, was nothing more or less than trading and bartering, though for the grimace of it, we were in a manner denied. The next day the captain went on shore to visit the governor, and with him several of our officers and the captain of the Madagascar ship, formerly my second mate, and the captain of the brigantine. I did not go myself for that time, nor the supercargo, because whatever might happen I would be reserved on board; besides I did not care to appear in this part of the work.

The captain went on shore like a captain, attended with his two trumpeters, and the ship firing eleven guns at his going off. The governor received him like himself, with prodigious state and formality, sending five gentlemen and a guard of soldiers to receive them on their landing, and to conduct them to his palace. When they came there they were entertained with the utmost profusion and wonderful magnificence, after the Spanish manner, and they all had the honour to dine with his excellency, that is to say, all the officers. At the same time the men were entertained very handsomely in another house, and had very good cheer; but it was observed that they had very little wine, except what we had sent them, which the governor excused, his store, which he had yearly from New Spain, being spent; which deficiency we supplied the next day, and sent him a quarter cask of very good Canary, and a half hogshead of Madeira, which was a present so acceptable, that, in short, after this we might do just as we pleased with him and all his men.

While they were thus conversing together after dinner, Captain Merlotte was made to understand that though the governor could not admit an open avowed trade, yet that the merchants would not be forbid coming on board our ship, and trading with us in such manner as we should be very well satisfied with, after which we should be at no hazard of getting the goods we should sell put on shore; and we had an experiment of this made in a few days, as follows:—

When Captain Merlotte took his leave of the governor, he invited his excellency to come on board our ship, with such of his attendants as he pleased to bring with him, and in like manner offered hostages for his return. The governor accepted the invitation, and, with the same generosity, said, he would take his parole of honour given, as he was the King of France's captain, and in the name of his most Christian majesty, and would come on board.

The governor did not come to the sea side with them, but stood in the window of the palace, and gave them his hat and leg at going into their boats, and made a signal to the platform to fire eleven guns at their boats putting off.

These were unusual and unexpected honours to us, who, but for this stratagem of the French commission, had been declared enemies. It was suggested to me here, that I might with great ease surprize the whole island, nay, all the islands, the governor putting such confidence in us, that we might go on shore in the very port unus-

pected. But though this was true, and that we did play them a trick at the Rio de la Plata, I could not bear the thoughts of it here; besides, I had quite another game to play, which also was more advantageous to us and to our voyage than an enterprise of so much treachery could be to England; which, also, we might not be able to support from England before the Spaniards might beat us out again from Acapulco, and then we might pass our time ill enough.

Upon the whole, I resolved to keep every punctilio with the governor very justly, and we found our account in it presently.

About three days afterwards we had notice that the governor would make us a visit, and we prepared to entertain his excellency with as much state as possible; by the way, we had private notice that the governor would bring with him some merchants, who, perhaps, might lay out some money, and buy some of our cargo; nor was it without a secret information that even the governor himself was concerned in the market that should be made.

Upon this intelligence, our supercargo caused several bales of English and French goods to be brought up and opened, and laid so in the steerage and upon the quarter deck of the ship, that the governor and his attendants should see them of course, as they passed by.

When the boats came off from the shore, which we knew by their fort firing eleven guns, as before, our ship appeared as fine as we could make her, having the French flag at the main top, as admiral, and streamers and pennants at the yard arms, waste cloths out, and a very fine awning over the quarter deck. When his excellency entered the ship we fired twenty-one guns, the Madagascar ship fired the like number, and the brigantine fifteen, having loaded her guns nimbly enough to fire twice.

As the governor's entertainment to us was more meat than liquor, so we gave him more liquor than meat, for as we had several sorts of very good wines on board, we spared nothing to let him see he was very welcome. After dinner we brought a large bowl of punch upon the table, which was a liquor he did not understand at all; however, to do him justice, he drank very moderately, and so did most of those that were with him. As to the men who belonged to his retinue, (I mean servants and attendants, and the crews of the boats,) we made some of them drunk enough.

While this was doing, we found two gentlemen of the governor's company took occasion to leave the rest, and walked about the ship, and in doing this they seemed as it were by chance to cast their eyes upon our bales of cloth and stuffs, and baize, linen, silks, &c., and our supercargo and they began to make bargains apace, for he found they had not only money enough, but had abundance of other things, which we were as willing to take as money, and of which they had brought specimens with them, as particularly spices, such as cloves and nutmegs, China ware, tea, japaned ware, wrought silks, raw silks, and the like.

However, our supercargo dealt with them at present for nothing but ready money, and they paid all in gold. The price he made here was, to us, indeed extravagant, though to them mo-

derate, seeing they had been used to buy these goods from the Acapulco ships, which came in yearly, from whom, to be sure, they bought dear enough. They bought as many goods at this time as they paid the value of fifteen thousand pieces of eight for, but all in gold by weight.

As for carrying them on shore, the governor being with them, no officer had anything to say to them; it seems they were carried on shore as presents made by us to the governor and his retinue.

The next day three Spanish merchants came on board us, early in the morning before it was light, and desired to see the supercargo. They brought with them a box of diamonds and some pearl, and a great quantity of gold, and to work they went with our cargo, and I thought once they would have bought the whole ship's lading; but they contented themselves to buy about the value of two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight, which, I suppose, might cost in England one-sixth part of the money, or hardly so much. We had some difficulty about the diamonds, because we did not understand them very much, but our supercargo ventured upon them at eight thousand pieces of eight, and took the rest in gold. They desired to stay on board till the next night, when, soon after it was dark, a small sloop came on board and took in all their goods, and, as we were told, carried them away to some other island.

The same day, and before these merchants were gone, came a large shallop on board with a square sail, towing after her a great heavy boat, which had a deck, but seemed to have been a large ship's long boat, built into a kind of yacht, but ill masted, and sailed heavily. In these two boats they brought seven ton of cloves in mats, some chests of China ware, some pieces of China silks of various sorts, and a great sum of money also.

In short, they sold so cheap and bought so dear, that our supercargo declared he would sell the whole cargo for goods, if they would bring them, for, by his calculation, he had disposed of as many goods as he received the value of one hundred thousand pieces of eight for, all which, by his accounts, did not amount to, first cost, above three thousand pounds sterling in England. Our ship was now an open fair for two or three days after the vessel came back, which went away in the night, and with them a Chinese jonque and seven or eight Chinese or Japanners; strange, ugly, ill-looking fellows they were, but brought a Spaniard to be their interpreter, and they came to trade also, bringing with them seventy great chests of China ware, exceeding fine, twelve chests of China silks of several sorts, and some lacquered cabinets, very fine. We dealt with them for all those, for our supercargo swept all clean, and took everything they brought. But they were more difficult in the goods, for as for baize, and druggets, and such goods, they would not meddle with them; but our fine cloths and some bales of linen they bought very freely. So we unloaded their vessel, and put our goods on board; we took a good sum of money of them besides, but whither they went we knew not, for they both came and went in the night too, as the other did.

This trade held a good while, and we found that our customers came more from other islands than from the island where the governor resided, the reason of which, as we understood afterwards, was, because, as the governor had not openly granted a freedom of commerce, but privately winked at it, so they were not willing to carry it on openly before his face, or as we say, under his nose, whereas in other islands they could convey their goods on shore with very little hazard, agreeing with the custom-house officer for a small matter.

These boats came and went thus several times, till, in short, we had disposed almost of the whole cargo; and now our men began to be convinced that we had laid out our voyage very right, for never was cargo better sold; and as we resolved to pursue our voyage for New Spain, we had taken in a cargo very proper to sell there, and so perhaps to double the advantage we had already made.

In the meantime all our hands were at work to store ourselves anew with such provisions as could be had here for so long a run as we knew we were to have next, namely, over the vast Pacific Ocean or South Sea, a voyage where we might expect to see no land for four months, except we touched at the Ladrões, as it might happen; and our greatest anxiety was for want of water, of which our whole ship could scarce be able to stow sufficient for our use; and if they could, our want of casks was still as bad as the want of water, for we really knew not what to put water in when we had it.

The Spaniards had helped us to some casks, but not many; those that they could spare were but small, and at last we were obliged to make use of about two hundred large earthen jars, which were of singular use to us. We got a large quantity of good rice here, which we bought of a Chinese merchant, who came in here with a large China vessel to trade, and who bought of us also several of our European goods.

Just as we were ready to sail, a boat came from the town of Manilla, and brought a new merchant, who wanted more English goods, but we had but few left. He brought with him thirty chests of calicoes, muslins, wrought silks, some of them admirably fine indeed, with fifteen bales of romals, and twelve ton of nutmegs. We sold them what goods we had left, and gave them money for the rest, but had them at a price so cheap as was sufficient to let us know that it was always well worth while for ships to trade from Europe to the East Indies, from whence they are sure to make five or six of one. Had more of these merchants come on board, we were resolved to have laid out all the gold and silver we had on board, which, I assure you, was a very considerable quantity.

The last merchant who came on board us was a Spaniard, but I found that he spoke very good French and some English, that he had been in England some years ago, and understood English woollen manufactures very well. He told me they had these goods all from Acapulco, but that they were then excessive dear; he had considerable dealings with the Chinese, and some with the coast of Coromandel, and Bengal, and kept

a vessel or two of his own to go to Bengal, which generally went twice in a year.

I found he had great business with New Spain, and that he generally had one of the Acapulco ships chiefly consigned to him, so that he was full of all such goods as those ships generally carried away from the Manillas; and had we traded with him sooner, we had had more calicoes and muslins than we now had. However, we were exceedingly well stored with goods of all sorts, suitable for a market in Peru, whither I resolved to go.

We continued chaffering after this manner about nine weeks, during which time we careened our ships, cleaned their bottoms, rummaged our gold, and repacked some of our provisions, endeavouring, as much as possible, to keep all our men as fully employed as we could, to preserve them in health, and yet not to overwork them, considering the heat of the climate.

Some time before we were ready to sail, I called all the warrant officers together, and told them, that as we were come to a country where abundance of small things were to be bought, and going to a country where we might possibly have room to sell them again to advantage, I would advance to every officer an hundred dollars, upon account of their pay, that they might lay it out to their advantage here, and dispose it again on the coast of New Spain; this was very acceptable to them, and they acknowledged it. And here, besides this, by the consent of all our superior officers, I gave a largess or bounty of five dollars a man to all our fore-mast men, most of which, I believe, they laid out in arrack and sugar, to cheer them up in the rest of the voyage, which they all knew would be long enough.

We went away from Marcilla in the island of Luzon or Luconia the fifteenth of the month of August and in the year 1714; and sailing awhile to the southward, passed the Straits between that island and Mindanao, another of the Philippines, where we met with little extraordinary, except extraordinary lightning and thunders, such as we never heard or saw before, though it seems it is very familiar in that climate, till about sixteen days sailing we saw the Isle of Guam, one of the Ladrões, or Isle of Thieves, for so much the word imports. Here we came to an anchor, September 3rd, under the lee of a steep shore, on the north side of the Isle of Guam; but, as we wanted no trade here, we did not at first inquire after the chief port, or Spanish governor, or anything of that kind, but we changed our situation the next day, and went through the passage, to the east side of the island, and came to an anchor off of the town.

The people came off, and brought us hogs and fowls, and several sorts of roots and greens, things which we were very glad of, and which we bought the more of because we always found that such things were good to keep the men from the scurvy, and even to cure them of it, if they had it. We took in fresh water here also, though it was with some difficulty, the water lying half a mile from the shore.

When I parted from Manilla, and was getting through the strait between the island Lucon and that of Mindanao, I had some thoughts of steering away north, to try what land we might meet with

to the north-east of the Philippines, and with intent to have endeavoured to make up into the latitude of fifty or sixty degrees, and have come about again to the south, between the Island of California and the main land of America, in which course I did not question meeting with extraordinary new discoveries, and perhaps such as the age might not expect to hear of, relating to the northern world, and the possibility of a passage out of those seas, either east or west, both which I doubt not would be found, if they were searched after this way, and which, for aught I know, remain undiscovered for want only of an attempt being made by those seas, where it would be easy to find whether the Tartarian Seas are navigable or not; and whether Nova Zembla be an island or joined to the main; whether the inlets of Hudson's Bay have any opening into the West Sea; and whether the vast lakes, from whence the Great River of Canada is said to flow have any communication this way or not.

But though these were valuable discoveries, yet when I began to cast up the account in a more serious manner, they appeared to have no relation to or coherence with our intended voyage, or with the design of our employers, which we were to consider in the first place; for though it is true that we were encouraged to make all such kinds of useful discoveries, as might tend to the advantage of trade, and the improvement of geographical knowledge and experience, yet it was all to be so directed as to be subservient to the profits and advantages of a trading and cruising voyage.

It is true that these northern discoveries might be inimitably fine, and most glorious things to the British nation, and infinitely for the future advantage of commerce in general, yet, as I have said, it was evident that they tended directly to destroy the voyage, either as to trading or to cruising, and might perhaps end in our own destruction also; for example, first of all, if adventuring into those northern seas, we should, by our industry, make out the discovery, and find a passage, either east or west, we must follow the discovery so as to venture quite through, or else we could not be sure that it was really a discovery, for these passages would not be like doubling Cape de Bon Esperance, on the point of Africa, or going round Cape Horn, the southernmost point of America, either of which were compassed in a few days, and then immediately gave an opening into the Indian or Southern oceans, where good weather and certain refreshment were to be had.

Whereas, for the discovery of the north, after having passed the northernmost land of Grand Tartary, in the latitude of seventy-four, even to eighty degrees, and perhaps to the very North Pole; there must be a run west beyond the most northerly point of Nova Zembla, and on again W. S. W. about the North Kyn and North Cape above six hundred leagues, before we could have any relief of the climate after that, one hundred and sixty leagues more, and even to Shetland and the north of Scotland, before we could meet with any relief of provisions, which, after the length we must have run, from the latitude of three degrees and a half, where we now were at the Philippine islands, to seventy-four degrees

north, being near five thousand miles, would be impossible to be done, unless we were sure to victual, and furnish ourselves again with provisions and water by the way, and that in several places.

As to the other passage east towards the continent of America, we had this uncertainty also, namely, that it was not yet discovered whether the land of California was an island or a continent, and that if it should prove the latter, so as that we should be obliged to come back to the west, and not be able to find an opening between California and the land of North America, so as to come away to the coast of Mexico, to Aca-pulco, and so into the South Sea, and at the same time should not find a passage through Hudson's Bay, &c., into the North Sea, and so to Europe, we should not only spoil the voyage that way also, but should infallibly perish by the severity of the season and want of provisions.

All these things argued against any attempt that way, whereas on the other hand, for southern discoveries we had this particular encouragement,—that whatever disappointment we might meet with in the search after unknown countries, yet we were sure of an open sea behind us, and that whenever we thought fit to run south, beyond the tropic, we should find innumerable islands, where we might get water and some sort of provisions, or come back into a favourable climate, and have the benefit of the trade winds to carry us either backward or forward, as the season should happen to guide us.

Last of all, we had this assurance, that the dangers of the seas excepted, we were sure of an outlet before us if we went forward, or behind us if we were forced back, and having a rich cargo, if we were to do nothing but go home, we should be able to give our employers such an account of ourselves as that they would be very far from being losers by the voyage; but that if we reached safe to the coast of New Spain, and met with an open commerce there, as we expected, we should perhaps make the most prosperous voyage that was ever made round the globe before.

These considerations put an end to all my thoughts of going northward; some of our secret council,—for, by the way, we consulted our foremast-men no more, but had a secret council among ourselves, the resolutions of which we solemnly engaged not to disclose,—some of these, I say, were for steering the usual course from the Philippines to New Spain, viz., keeping in the latitudes of eleven or thirteen degrees north of the line, and so making directly for California, in which latitude they proposed that we might perhaps, by cruising there about, meet with the Manilla ships, going from New Spain to Manilla, which we might take as a prize, and then stand directly for the coast of Peru.

But I opposed this, principally because it would effectually overthrow all my meditated discoveries to the southward, and secondly, because I had observed that on the north of the line there are no islands to be met with in all the long run of near two thousand leagues, from the Guam, one of the Ladrões, to the land of California, and that we did not find we were able to

subsist during so long a run, especially for want of water, whereas on the south of the line, as well within the tropic as without, we were sure to meet with islands innumerable, and that even all the way, so that we were sure of frequent relief of fresh water, of plants, fowl and fish, if not bread and flesh, almost all the way.

This was a main consideration to our men, and so we soon resolved to take the southern course; yet, as I said, we stood away for the Ladrões first. These are a cluster of islands, which lie in about eleven to thirteen degrees north latitude, north-east from the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, and E. and by N. from that part of the Philippines where we were, and at the distance of about four hundred leagues, and all the ships which go and come between the Philippines and New Spain, touch at them for the convenience of provisions, water, &c., those that go to Spain put in there, in order to recruit and furnish for, and those that come from Spain, to relieve themselves after so long a run as that of six thousand miles, for so much it is at least from Guam to Acapulco; on these accounts and with these reasonings, we came to the islands of the Ladrões.

During our run between the Philippine and Ladrone islands, we lived wholly upon our fresh provisions, of which we laid in a great stock at Manilla, such as hogs, fowls, calves, and six or seven cows, all alive, so that our English beef and pork, which lay well stored, was not touched for a long time.

At the Ladrões we recruited, and particularly took on board, as well alive as pickled up, near two hundred hogs, with a vast store of roots, and such things as are their usual food in that country. We took in also above three thousand cocoa-nuts and cabbages, yams, potatoes, and other roots, for our own use, and in particular we got a large quantity of maize, or Indian wheat, for bread, and some rice.

We stored ourselves likewise with oranges and lemons, and buying a great quantity of very good limes, we made three or four hogsheads of lime-juice, which was a great relief to our men in the hot season, to mix with their water; as for making punch, we had some arrack and some sugar, but neither of them in any quantity, so as to have much punch made afore the mast.

We were eighteen days on our passage from the strait of Mindanao to Guam, and stayed six days at Guam, furnishing ourselves with provisions, appearing all this while with French colours, and Captain Merlotte as commander. However, we made no great ceremony here with the Spanish governor, as I have said already, only that Captain Merlotte, after we had been here two days, sent a letter to him by a French officer, who showing his commission from the King of France, the governor presently gave us product, as we called it, and leave to buy what provisions we wanted. In compliment for this civility, we sent him a small present of fine scarlet camblet, and two pieces of baize; and he made a very handsome return, in such refreshments as he thought we most wanted.

There was another reason for our keeping in this latitude till we came to the Ladrões, namely, that all the southern side of that part of the way

between the Philippines and the Ladrões is so full of islands, that unless we had very good pilots it would have been very hazardous; and add to this, that beyond these islands, south, is no passage, the land which they call Nova Guinea lying away East and E. S. E., farther than has yet been discovered, so that it is not yet known whether that country be an island or the continent.

Having, for all these reasons, gone to the Ladrões, and being sufficiently satisfied in our reasons for going away from thence to the southward, and having stored ourselves as above, with whatever those islands produced, we left the Ladrões about the tenth day of September, in the evening, and stood away E. S. E., with the wind N. N. W., a fresh gale; after this, I think it was about five days, when having stretched by our account about a hundred and fifty leagues, we steered away more to the southward, our course S. E. by S.

And now, if ever, I expected to do something by way of discovery; I knew very well there were few, if any had ever steered that course; or, that if they had, they had given very little account of their travels. The only person who leaves anything worth notice being Cornelius Vanscotton and Francis Le Mare, who, though they sailed very much south, yet say very little to the purpose, as I shall show presently.

The sixteenth day after we parted from the Ladrões being, by observation, in the latitude of seventeen degrees south of the line, one of our men cried, "A sail, a sail,"—which put us into some fit of wonder, knowing nothing of a ship of any bulk could be met with in those seas; but our fit of wonder was soon turned into a fit of laughter, when one of our men from the fore-top cried out, "Land,"—which indeed was the case; and the first sailor was sufficiently laughed at for his mistake, though, give him his due, it looked at first as like a sail as ever any land at a distance could look.

Towards evening, we made the land very plain, distance about seven leagues S. by E. and found that it was not an island, but a vast tract of land, extending, as we had reason to believe, from the side of Gillolo, and the Spice Islands, or that which we call Nova Guinea, and never yet fully discovered; the land lying away from the west N. W. to the S. E. by south, still southerly.

I, that was for making all possible discovery, was willing, besides the convenience of water, and perhaps fresh provisions, to put her in, and see what kind of a country it was; so I ordered the brigantine to stand in for the shore. They sounded, but found no ground within half a league of the shore; so they hoisted out their boat, and went close in with the shore, where they found good anchor-hold in about thirty-six fathom, and a large creek, or mouth of a river; here they found eleven to thirteen fathom soft oozy sand, and the water half fresh at the mouth of the creek.

Upon notice of this we stood in, and came all to an anchor in the very creek; and sending our boats up the creek, found the water perfectly fresh, and very good upon the ebb, about a league up the river.

Among all the islands in this part of the world that is to say, from the Philippines eastward, of which there are an infinite number, we never

came near any but we found ourselves surrounded with canoes, and a variety of boats, bringing off to us cocoa-nuts, plantains, roots, and greens, to traffic for such things as they could get, and that in such numbers that we were tired of them, and sometimes alarmed and obliged to fire at them; but here, though we saw great numbers of people at a distance from the shore, yet we saw not one boat or bark, nor anything else upon the water.

We stayed two or three days taking in fresh water, but it was impossible to restrain our men from going on shore to see what sort of a country it was; and I was very willing they should do so. Accordingly, two of our boats, with about thirty men in both of them, went on shore on the east side of the creek or harbour where our ship lay.

They found the country looked wild and savage enough; but though they could find no houses or speak with the inhabitants, they saw their footsteps and their seats, where they had sat down under some trees; and after wandering about a little, they saw people, both men and women, at a distance; but they ran away from our men at first sight, like frightened deer, nor could they make any signal to them to be understood, for when our men hallooed and called after them, they ran again as if they had been bewitched.

Our men gathered a great variety of green stuff, though they knew not of what kind, and brought it all on board, and we eat a great deal of it; some we boiled and made broth of; and some of our men, who had the scurvy, found it did them a great deal of good; for the herbs eat all spicy, and had a most pleasant agreeable taste, but none of us could tell what to call it, though we had several men on board who had been among the Spice Islands before in Dutch ships.

We were very uneasy that we could get nothing here but a little grass and potherbs, as our men called it, and they moved me to let them have two boats and go up the river, as high as the tide would carry them. This I consented to, being as willing to make the discovery as they; so I ordered the captain of the Madagascar ship, who had, as I have said, been formerly my second mate, I say I ordered him to go along with them.

But in the morning, a little before the flood was made, I was called out of my cabin to see an army, as they told me, coming out to attack us. I turned out hastily enough, you may be sure, and such an army no ship was ever attacked with, for we spied three or four hundred black creatures come playing and tumbling down the stream towards us like so many porpoises in the water. I was not satisfied at first that they were human creatures, but would have persuaded our men that they were sea monsters, and that they were certainly fishes of some strange kind.

But they quickly undeceived us, for they came swimming about our ships, staring and wondering and calling to one another, but said not one word to us, at least if they did we could not understand it.

Some of them came very near our ship, and we made signs to them to come on board, but they would not venture. We tossed one of them

a rope, and he took hold of it boldly, but as soon as we offered to pull, he let go and laughed at us; another of them did the like, and when he let go turned up his black buttocks as in sport at us, the language of which, in our country, we all knew, but whether they meant it so or not, that we cannot tell.

However, this dumb conversing with them we did not like, neither was it to any purpose to us, and I was resolved, if possible, to know something more of them than we could get thus: so I ordered out our pinnace, with six oars, and as many other men well armed, to row among them, and, if possible, to take some of them and bring them on board. They went off; but the six-oared pinnace, though a very nimble boat, could not row so fast as they could swim; for, if pulling with all their might, they came near one of them, immediately, like dog and duck, they would dive and come up again thirty or forty yards off, so that our men did not know which way to row after them. However, at last getting among the thickest of them they got hold of two, and with some difficulty dragged them in; but were surprised to find they were both women: however, they brought them on board naked as they were. When they came on board I ordered they should have two pieces of linen wrapped round their waists to cover them, which they seemed extraordinarily glad of. We gave them also several strings of beads, and our men tied them about their necks and about their arms like bracelets, and they were wonderfully pleased with that. Others of our men gave each of them a pair of scissars, with needles and some thread, and threading the needles, showed them how to sew with them. We gave them food and each of them a dram of arrack, and made signs to know of them where they lived; they pointed up to the river, but we could by no means understand them. When we had dressed them up thus with necklaces, and bracelets, and linen, we brought them up upon the deck and made them call to their country folk, and let them see how well they were used, and ask them to come on board, but they would not venture.

However, as I thought the discovery we were to make would be something the easier on the account of the usage of these two young women, for they were not, as we guessed, above twenty or two and twenty years of age, we resolved that the boat should go on, as we intended, up the river; and that as these two women pointed that way they should carry them along with them.

Accordingly we sent two shallops, or large boats, which carried together sixty men all well armed. We gave them a store of beads, knives, and scissars, and such baubles with them, with hatchets and nails, and hooks, looking-glasses, and the like; and we built up the sides and stern of the boat, and covered them with boards to keep off arrows and darts, if they should find occasion, so that they looked like London barges. In this posture, as soon as the tide of flood was made up, our men went away, carrying a drum and trumpet in each boat, and each boat had also two pattereroes fixed on the gunnel near the bow.

Thus furnished, they went off at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and, to my very great uneasiness, I heard no more of them for four

days; and the whole ship's company were indeed surprised at their stay, and the captain of the sloop would fain have had me let him have sailed up the river with the sloop as far as the channel would serve, which indeed we found was deep enough. Indeed, as I was unwilling to run any more risks, I could not persuade myself but that the force I had already sent was sufficient to fight five thousand naked creatures such as the natives seemed to be; and therefore I was very unwilling to send. However, I consented at last to have our long boat and two smaller boats manned with fifty-four men more, well armed and covered from arrows and darts, as the other had been, go up the river, upon their solemn promise, and with express order to return the next day at farthest; ordering them to fire guns as they went up the river to give notice to their fellows, if they could be heard, that they were coming; and that in the mean time if I fired three guns they should immediately return.

They went away with the tide of flood, a little before noon, and went up the river about five leagues, the tide running but slowly up, and a strong fresh of land water, that checked the tide coming down; so that when the tide was spent they came to an anchor. They found the river, contrary to their expectation, continued both deep enough and was wider in breadth than where the ships were at anchor, and that it had another mouth or outlet into the sea some leagues farther east, so that the land to the east of us, where our men went on shore, was but an island, and had not many inhabitants, if any at all; the people they had seen there having possibly swam over the other arm or branch of the river to observe our ships the nearer.

As our men found they could go no farther for want of the tide, they resolved to come to an anchor; but just as they were sounding, to see what ground they had and what depth, a small breeze at N.E. sprung up, by which they stemmed the current and reached up about two leagues farther, when they hove over their grappling in five fathom water, soft ground; so that all this way, and much farther, all our ships might have gone up the channel, being as broad as the Thames is about Vauxhall.

It must be observed, that all along this river they found the land, after they came past the place where the other branch of the river broke off eastward, was full of inhabitants on both sides, who frequently came down to the water side to gaze and look at our boats; but always when our men called to them, as if they thought our men inquired after their fellows, they pointed up the river, which was as much as to say they were gone farther that way.

However, our men not being able to go any farther against the tide, took no notice of that; but after a little while some of them, in one of the smaller boats, rowed towards the shore, holding a white flag to the people, in token of peace. But it was all one, and would have been all one for aught we know, if they had held up a red flag, for they all ran away, men, women, and children, nor could our men by any persuasions, by gestures and signs of any kind, prevail on them to stay, or hardly so much as to look at them.

The night coming on, our men knew not well

what course to take. They saw several of the Indians' dwellings and habitations, but they were all at a distance from the river, occasioned, as our men supposed, by the rivers overflowing the flat grounds near its banks so as to render those lands not habitable.

Our men had a great mind to have gone up to one of the towns they saw, but he that commanded would not permit it, but told them that if they could find a good landing place that they might all go on shore, except a few to keep the boats, if they would venture: upon which the smallest boat rowed up about a mile, and found a small river running into the greater, and here there they all resolved to land; but first they fired two muskets to give notice, if possible, to their comrades that they were at hand; however, they heard nothing of them.

What impression the noise of the two muskets made among the Indians they could not tell, for they were all run away before.

They were no sooner on shore, but considering they had not above two hours day, and the Indian villages were at least two miles off, they called a council, and resolved not to march so far into a country they knew so little of, and be left to come back in the dark, so they went on board again and waited till morning; however, they viewed the country, found it was a fertile soil, and a great herbage on the ground. There were a few trees near the river; but farther up where the Indian dwellings were, the little hills seemed to be covered with woods, but of what kind they knew not.

In the morning, before break of day, some of our men fancied they heard a gun fired up the river, upon which the officer ordered two muskets to be fired again, as had been done the evening before. In about a quarter of an hour they were answered by the like firing, by which our men knew that their comrades heard them; so without pursuing their intended landing, the tide being then running upwards, they weighed and set to their oars, having little or no wind, and that which was, blowing down the stream.

After they had gone about a league, they heard a confused noise at a great distance, which surprised them a little at first, but as they perceived it drew nearer and nearer, they waited awhile, when they perceived first here and there some people, then more, and then about two or three hundred men and women together, running, and every one carrying something.

Whither it was they were going, or what it was they carried, we could not tell till they came nearer, when we found that they were all loaded with provisions, cocoa nuts, roots, cabbages, and a great variety of things which we knew little of, and all these they were carrying down to our ships, as we understood afterwards, in gratitude for our good usage of the two young women.

When these people saw our men and their three boats, they were at a full stop, and once or twice they were ready to lay down all their loads and run for it; but ours made signs of peace, and held up a white flag to them.

Some of them, it seems, having, as we found, conversed with our men, had a little more courage than the rest, and came to the water side and

looked at the boats. One of our men bethought himself of a stratagem to make known to them our desire of peace with them, and taking a string of beads and some toys, he held them up at the end of the boat-hook staff and showed them to the Indians, pointing to them with his hand, and then pointing with the other hand to what the Indians carried, and to his mouth, intimating that we wanted such things to eat, and would give them the beads for them.

One of the Indians presently understood him, and threw himself into the water, holding a bundle of plants, such as he had trussed up together, upon his head, and swimming with the other hand, came so near the boat where our men held out the staff as to reach the end of the staff, take off the string of beads and toys, and hang his bunch of trash (for it was no better) upon the hook, and go back again, but would come no nearer.

When he got on shore again all his comrades came about him to see what he had got; he hung the string of beads about his neck, and run dancing about with the other things in his hand, as if he had been mad.

What our men got was a trifle of less worth than a good bunch of carrots in England, but yet it was useful, as it brought the people to converse with us; for after this they brought us roots and fruits innumerable, and began to be very well acquainted with us.

By that time our men had chattered thus four or five times, they first heard, and in a little while after saw their two great boats with their fellows coming down the river, at about two miles distance, with their drums and trumpets, and making noise enough.

They had been, it seems, about three leagues higher up, where they had been on shore among the Indians, and had set at liberty the two maidens, for such, they understood, they were; who, letting their friends see how fine they were dressed, and how well they were used, the Indians were so exceedingly obliged, and showed themselves so grateful that they thought nothing too much for them; but brought out all the sorts of provisions which their country produced, which, it seems, amounted to nothing but fruits, such as plantains, cocoa nuts, oranges, and lemons, and such things, and roots, which we could give no name to; but that which was for our use was a very good sort of maize or Indian corn, which made us very good bread.

They had, it seems, some hogs and some goats, but our men got only six of the latter, which were at hand, and were very good. But that which was most remarkable was, that whereas in all the islands within the tropics, the people are thievish, treacherous, fierce, and mischievous, and are armed with lances or darts, or bows and arrows: these appeared to be a peaceable, quiet, inoffensive people, nor did our men notice any weapon among them, except a long staff which most of the men carried in their hands, being made of a cane, about eight feet long, and an inch and a half diameter, much like a quarter-staff, with which they would leap over small brooks of water with admirable dexterity.

The people were black, or rather of a tawny dark brown, their hair long, but curling in very

handsome rings. They went generally quite naked, both men and women, except that in two places our men said they found some of the women covered, from the middle downward. They seemed to have no conversation with the sea at all, nor did we see so much as any one boat among them; nor did any of the inhabitants dwell near the sea, but cultivated their lands very well in their way, having abundance of greens and fruits growing about their houses, and upon which we found they chiefly lived. The climate seemed to be very hot, and yet the country very fruitful.

These people, by all we could perceive, had never had any converse with the rest of the world by sea; what they might have by land we know not; but as they lay quite out of the way of all commerce, so it might be probable they never had seen a ship or boat, whether any European ship, or so much as a periagua of the islands. We have mentioned their nearest distance to the Ladrões, being at least four hundred leagues, and from the Spice Islands, and the country of New Guiana, much more; but as to the European shipping I never heard of any that ever went that way, neither do I believe any ever did.

I take the more notice of these people's not having conversed, as I say, with the world, because of the innocence of their behaviour, their peaceable disposition, and their way of living upon the fruits and produce of the earth; also their cultivation, and the manner of their habitations; no signs of rapine or violence appearing among them. Our stay here was so little that we could make no inquiry into their religion, manner of government, and other customs; nor have I room to crowd many of these things into this account. They went, indeed, naked, some of them stark naked, both men and women; but I thought they differed in their countenances from all the wild people that I ever saw; that they had something singularly honest and sincere in their faces, nor did we find anything of falsehood or treachery among them.

The gratitude they expressed for our kindly using the two young women I have mentioned was a token of generous principles; and our men told us that they would have given them whatever they could have asked, if they had had it.

In a word, it was on their account they sent that little army of people to us, loaded with provisions, which our men met before the two shallops came down; but all the provisions they had consisted chiefly in fruits of the earth, cocoa nuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, &c., and maize, or Indian corn. We had not any sufficient time with them to inquire after what traffic they had, or whether anything fit for us. That they had several fragrant plants, and, I believe, some spices, as particularly cinnamon, that we found; but what else the country produces we know not.

We came away from hence, after seven days' stay, having observed little of the country more than that it seemed to be very pleasant, but very hot. The woods were all flourishing and green, and the soil rich, but no great matter that could be the subject of trade; but an excellent place to be a bait land, or port of refreshment, in any

voyage that might afterwards be undertaken that way.

We set sail, I say, from hence, in seven days, and finding the coast lie fairly on our starboard side, kept the land on board all the way, distance about three leagues; and it held us thus about an hundred and twenty leagues due east, when, on a sudden, we lost sight of the land: whether it broke off, or whether it only drew off farther south, we could not tell.

We went on two or three days more, our course S. E., when we made land again, but found it to be only two small islands, lying S. and by E., distance nine leagues. We stood on to them, and two of our boats went on shore, but found nothing for our purpose; no inhabitants, nor any living creatures, except sea fowls, and some large snakes, neither was there any fresh water. So we called that land Cape Dismal.

The same evening we stood away full south, to see if we could find out the continuance of the former land; but as we found no land, so a great sea coming from the south, we concluded we should find no land that way; and varying our course easterly, we ran, with a fair, fresh gale, at N. W. and by W. for seven days more, in all which time we saw nothing but the open sea every way, and, making an observation, found we had passed the Southern Tropic, and that we were in the latitude of six-and-twenty degrees and thirteen minutes, after which we continued our course still southerly, for several days more, till we found by another observation that we were in two-and-thirty degrees and twenty minutes.

This evening we made land over our starboard bow, distance six leagues, and stood away south and by east; but the wind slackening, we lay by in the night, and in the morning found the land bearing east and by south distance one league and a half; a good shore and sounding we found about five-and-thirty fathom, stony ground. Then we hoisted our boat out, and sent it on shore for discoveries, to sound the depth of the water and see for a good harbour to put in at.

They went quite in with the shore, where they found people, men and women, crowding together to look at us. When our men came close to the land they hung out a white flag, but the wild people understood nothing of the meaning of it, but stood looking and amazed; and we have great reason to believe that they never had seen any ship or bark of any nation in all their lives, but their own. We found no boats, or sails, or anything they had to make use of on the water; but some days after we saw several small canoes, with three or four men in each.

Our men not being able to speak anything for them to understand, or to understand anything they said, the first thing they did was to make signs to them for something to eat; upon which three of them seemed to go away, and coming again in a few minutes, brought with them several bundles or bunches of roots, some plantains, and some green lemons or limes, and laid down all upon the shore. Our men took courage then to go on shore, and taking up what they brought, they set up a stick, and upon the end of it hung five bunches or strings of blue and white beads, and went on board again.

Never was such joy among a wild people dis-

covered as these people showed when they took the beads off the stick: they danced, and capered, and made a thousand antic gestures; and, inviting our men on shore, laid their hands upon their breasts across, and then looked up, intimating a solemn oath not to hurt us.

Our men made signs by which they made them understand that they would come again next morning, and also that they should bring us more eatables; accordingly, we sent three boats the next morning, and our men carried knives, scissors, beads, looking glasses, combs, and any toys they had, not forgetting glass beads, and glass ear-rings in abundance.

The Indians were very ready to meet us, and brought us fruits and herbs as before; but three of them, who stood at a distance, held each of them a creature exactly like a goat, but without horns or beard, and these were brought to traffic with us.

We brought out our goods, and offered every one something, but the variety was surprising to them, who had never seen such things before. But that which was most valuable of all our things was a hatchet, which one of their principal men took up, and looked at it, felt of the edge, and laid it down, then took it up again, and wanted to know the use of it; upon which one of our men took it, and stepping to a tree that stood near, cut off a small bough of it at one blow. The man was surprised, and run to the tree with it, to see if he could do so too; and finding the virtue of it, he laid it down, ran with all his might into the country, and by-and-by returning, came with two men more with him, to show them this wonderful thing called a hatchet.

But if they were surprised with the novelty of a hatchet, our men were as much surprised to see hanging round the ears of both the men that he brought with him large flat pieces of pure gold, and the thread which they hung by was made of the hair of the goats twisted very prettily together, and strong enough.

Our men offering to handle them to see if they were gold, one of the men takes off his two bobs, or what we might call them, and offered them to our men for the hatchet; our men seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if the hatchet was of much greater value than those trifles; upon which, he being, as we found, superior, made the other that came with him pull off his two ear-jewels also; and so our unreasonable people took them all four, being of pure gold, and weighing together some grains above two ounces, in exchange for an old rusty hatchet. Well, however unreasonable the price was, they did not think it so; and so over-fond was he of the hatchet that as soon as he had it for his own he ran to the tree, and in a few minutes had so laid about him with the hatchet that there was not a twig left on it that was within his reach.

This exchange was a particular hint to me; and I presently directed my chief mate and Captain Merlotte to go on shore the next day and acquaint themselves as much as they could with the natives, and, if possible, to find out where they had this gold, and if any quantity was to be found.

They bestowed their time so well, and obliged

the natives so much by the toys and trifles they gave them, that they presently told them that the gold, which they called aarah, was picked up in the rivers that came down from a mountain which they pointed to, a great way off. Our men prevailed with three of them to go with them to one of these rivers, and gave them beads and such things to encourage them, but, by the way, no hatchet; that was kept up at a high rate, and as a rarity, fit only for a king or some great man that wore aarah on his ears.

In a word, they came to the river where they said they found this aarah; and the first thing our men observed there was an Indian sitting on the ground and beating something upon a great stone with another stone in his hand for his hammer. They went to see what he was doing, and found he had picked up a lump of gold in the sand as big as a swan-shot, of no regular shape, but full of corners, neither round nor square, and the man was beating it flat as well as he could.

One of our men, who had a hatchet in his hand, made signs to him to let him flat it for him; and so, turning the back part of the hatchet, which, by the way, turned the hatchet into a hammer, he beat the piece of gold flat in an instant, and then, turning the edges, beat it that way, till he brought it to be round also.

This was so surprising to the man that was beating, that he stood looking on with all the tokens of joy and amazement; and, desiring to see the hatchet, looked this way and that way upon those of his countrymen who came with us, as if asking them if ever they saw the like.

When our man had done he made signs to know if he had any more aarah; the man said nothing, but went down to the brink of the river, and putting his hand into a hole, he brought out three little lumps of gold, and a great many smaller, some of them about as big as a great pin's head; all which he had laid up there in the hollow of a pretty big stone. Our man thought it was too much to take all that for the hatchet, and therefore pulled out some beads and pieces of glass, and such toys; and, in short, bought all this cargo of gold, which, in the whole, weighed near five ounces, for about the value of two shillings.

Though these bargains were very agreeable to us, yet the discovery of such a place and of such a fund of treasure in a part of the world which it is very probable was never seen before by any European eyes, nor so much as inquired after, was the greatest satisfaction imaginable to me, knowing the adventurous temper of the gentleman who was our principal employer. Upon this account, while my men busied themselves in their daily search after gold, and in finding out the rivers from whence it came, or rather where it was found, I employed myself to be fully informed where this place was, whether it was an island or a continent; and having found a tolerable good road for our ships to ride in, I caused my two shallops, well manned, to run along the coast, both east and west, to find which way it lay, and whether they could find any end of it; as also to see what rivers, what people, and what provisions they could meet with.

By my observation I found, as above, that we were in the latitude of seven-and-twenty degrees

and thirteen minutes south meridian; distance from the Ladrões about sixteen degrees east. While my shallops were gone I went on shore, and some of my men set up tents on shore, as well for the convenience of their traffic as for their resting on shore all night, keeping, however, a good guard, and having two of our ship-dogs with them, who never failed giving them notice whenever any of the natives came near them; for what ailed the dogs I know not, but neither of them could bear the sight of the Indians, and we had much to do to keep them from flying at them.

While we rode here we had the most violent storm of wind, with rain and with great claps of thunder, that we had yet sustained since we came out of England. It was our comfort that the wind came off shore, for it blew at south, and shifting between the S. S. E. and S. W. with such excessive gusts, and so furious, and, withal, not only by squalls and sudden flaws, but a settled terrible tempest, that, had it been from off sea, as it was off shore, we must have perished, there had been no remedy; and even as it was, we rode in great danger. My boatswain called twice out to me, to cut my masts by the board, protesting we should either bring our anchors home or founder as we rode; and, indeed, the sea broke over us many times in a terrible manner. As I said before, we had an indifferent good road, and so we had, but not a very good one, for the land was low, and on the east we lay a little open; however, our ground tackle was good, and our ship very tight, and I told the boatswain I would rather slip the cable and go off to sea than cut the masts. However, in about four hours' time more, we found the wind abate, but it blew very hard for three days after that.

I was in great pain for my two shallops in this tempest, but they had both the good luck to lie close under the shore; and one indeed had hauled quite upon the land, where the men lay on shore under their sail, so that they got no damage; and about three days after one of them returned, and brought me word they had been to the west, where they had made very little discovery as to the situation of the country, and whether it was an island or a continent, but they had conversed with the natives very often, and had found several that had pieces of gold hanging, some in their hair, some about their necks; and they made a shift to bring as many with them as weighed, all put together, as seventeen or eighteen ounces, for which they had bartered toys and trifles, as we did; but they found no rivers where they could discover any gold in the sands, as we had done, so that they believed it all came from that side where we were.

But our other shallop had much better luck: she went away to the east, and by the time she had gone about sixteen leagues, she found the shore break off a little, and soon after a little more, till at length they came, as it were, to the land's end; when the shore running due south, they followed, according to their account, near thirteen leagues more.

In this time they went several times on shore, entered three rivers indifferently large, and one of them very large at the mouth, but grew narrow again in three or four leagues, but a deep

channel, with two-and-twenty to eight-and-twenty fathom water in it all the way, as far as they went.

Here they went on shore and trafficked with the natives, whom they found rude and unpolished, but a very mild, inoffensive people; nor did they find them anything thievish, much less treacherous, as in some such countries is the case. They had the good luck to find out the place where, as they supposed, the king of the country resided, which was a kind of a city encompassed with a river almost all round, the river making a kind of double horse-shoe. The manner of their living is too long to describe, neither could our men give any account of their government or of the customs of the place; but what they sought for was gold and provisions, and of that they got pretty considerable.

They found the Indians terribly surprised at the first sight of them, but after some time they found means to let them know they desired a truce, and to make them understand what they meant by it.

At length a truce being established, the king came, and with him near three hundred men; and soon after the queen, with half as many women. They were not stark naked, neither men or women, but wearing a loose piece of cloth about their middles. What it was made of we could not imagine, for it was neither linen or woollen, cotton, or silk; nor was it woven, but twisted and braided by hand, as our women make bone lace with bobbins. It seems it was the stalk of an herb which this was made with, and was so strong that I doubt not it would have made cables for our ships if we had wanted to make such an experiment.

When the king first came to our men, they were a little shy of his company, he had so many with him, and they began to retire, which the king perceiving, he caused all his men to stop and keep at a distance, and advanced himself, with about ten or twelve of his men, and no more.

When he was come quite up, our men, to show their breeding, pulled off their hats, but that he did not understand, for his men had no hats on; but the officer making a bow to him, he understood that presently, and bowed again, at which all his men fell down flat upon their faces, as flat to the ground as if they had been shot to death with a volley of our shot, and they did not fall so quick, but they were up again as nimbly, and then down flat on the ground again; and this they did three times, their king bowing himself to our men at the same time.

This ceremony being over, our men made signs to them that they wanted victuals to eat and something to drink, and pulled out several things, to let the people see they would give something for what they might bring them.

The king understood them presently, and turning to some of his men, he talked awhile to them, and our men observed that while he spoke they seemed to be terrified as if he had been threatening them with death. However, as soon as he had done, three of them went away, and our men supposed they went to fetch something that the king would give them; upon which, that they might be beforehand with them, our

men presented his majesty with two pair of bracelets of fine glass-beads of several colours, and put them upon his arms, which he took most kindly; and then they gave him a knife, with a good plain ivory handle, and some other odd things. Upon receiving these noble presents, he sends away another of his men, and a little after two more.

Our men observed that two of the men went a great way off towards the hill, but the other man that he sent away first went to his queen, who with her retinue of tawny ladies, stood but a little way off, and soon after her majesty came with four women only attending her.

The officer who commanded our men, finding he should have another kind of compliment to pay the ladies, retired a little; and being an ingenious, handy sort of a man, in less than half an hour he and another of his men made a nice garland, or rather a coronet of sundry strings of beads, and with glass bobs and pendants all hanging about it most wonderful gay; and when the queen was come, he went up to the king, and showing it to him, made signs that he would give it to the queen.

The king took it, but was so pleased with it that truly he desired our officer to put it upon his own head, which he did; but when he had got it upon his own head he made bold to let our men see he was king over his wife as well as over the rest of the country, and that he would wear it himself.

With that our man pulled out a little pocket looking-glass, and holding it up, he let his majesty see his own face, which we might reasonably suppose he had never seen before, especially not with a crown on his head too. That till that looking-glass came, and he saw his own face, he was grave and majestic, and carried it something like a king, but he was so ravished with this that he was quite beside himself, and jumped, and capered, and danced about like a madman.

All this while our men saw nothing coming, but that all was given on their side; whereupon they made signs again that they wanted provisions. He made signs again, pointing to a hill a good way off, as if it would come from thence very quickly, and then looked to see if they were coming, as if he was impatient till they came as well as our people.

During this time one of our men observed that the queen had several pieces of gold, as they thought them to be, hanging about her, as particularly in her hair, and large flat plaits of gold upon the hinder part of her head, something in the place of a roll as our women wear; that her hair was wound about it in rolls braided together very curiously; and having informed our officer, he made signs to the king for leave to give the queen something, which he consented to. So he went to her majesty, making a bow as before; but this complaisance surprised her, for upon his bowing himself, on a sudden falls the queen and all her four ladies flat on the ground, but were up again in a moment; and our people wondered how they could throw themselves so flat on their faces and not hurt themselves; nor was it less to be wondered at how they could so suddenly jump up again, for they did not rise up gradually as we must do, with the help of our hands and

knees, if we were extended so flat on our faces, but they with a spring, whether with their hands or their whole bodies we know not, jumped up all at once, and were upon their feet immediately.

This compliment over, our officer stepped up to the queen, and tied about her neck a most delicate necklace of pearl; that is to say, of large, handsome white glass beads, which might in England cost about four-pence halfpenny, and to every one of her ladies he gave another of smaller beads and different colours than those which he gave the queen. Then he presented her majesty with a long string of glass-beads which being put over her head, reached down to her waist before, and joined in a kind of a tassel, with a little knot of blue ribbon, which she was also extremely pleased with; and very fine she was.

The queen made, it seems, the first return, for stepping to one of her women, our men observed that she took something out of her hair, and she let her tie her hair up again; after which she brought it and gave it to our officer, making signs to know if it was acceptable. It was a piece of gold that weighed about two ounces and a half; it had been beaten as flat as they knew how to beat it; but the metal was of much more beauty to our men than the shape.

Our officer soon let them see that he accepted the present, by laying it to his mouth and to his breast, which he found was the way when they liked anything. In short, our officer goes to work again, and in a little while he makes a little coronet for the queen, as he had done before, though less, and without asking leave of the king went up to her and put it upon her head, and then gave her a little looking-glass, as he had done to the king, to look at herself.

She was so surprised with this that she knew not what to do with herself; but to show her gratitude she pulled out another plate of gold out of her own hair, and gave it to our officer; and not content with that, she sent one of her women to the crowd of women that first attended her, and whether she stripped them of all the gold they had we know not, but she brought so many pieces, that when our men had them (for she gave all to them) they weighed almost two pounds weight.

But this was not all; when she was thus dressed up she stepped forward, very nimbly and gracefully, towards the king to show him what she had got; and finding the king dressed up as fine as herself, they had work enough for near two hours to look at one another, and admire their new ornaments.

Our men reported that the king was a tall, well-shaped man, of a very majestic deportment, only that when he laughed he showed his teeth too much, which however were as white as ivory. As for the queen, saying that her skin was of a tawny colour, she was a very pretty woman; very tall, a sweet countenance, admirable features, and, in a word, a completely handsome lady.

She was very oddly dressed; she was quite naked from her head to below her breasts. Her breasts were plump and round, not flaggy and hanging down, as it is general with all the Indian women, some of whose breasts hang as low as

their bellies, but sitting as beautifully up as if they had been laced up with stays round her body; and below her breast she had a broad piece of a skin of some curious creature, spotted like a leopard, or rather, as I believe it was, some fine spotted deer. This was wrapped round her very tight, like a body-girth to a horse; and under this she had a kind of petticoat, as before described, hanging down to her ankles. As for shoes or stockings, they were only such as nature had furnished. Her hair was black, and, as they supposed, very long, being wreathed up, twisted in long locks about the plate of gold she wore; and when she pulled off the plate of gold as above, it hung down her back and upon her shoulders gracefully enough; but it seems she did not think so, for as soon as she found it so fallen down, she caused one of her women to roll it all up and tie it in a great knot, which hung down in her neck, and did not look so well as when it was loose.

While the king and the queen were conversing together about their fine things as above, our men went back to their boat where they left the purchase they had got, and furnished themselves with other things fit to traffic with, as they saw occasion; and they were not quite come up to the king again, when they perceived that the men the king had sent up into the country were returned, and that they brought with them a great quantity of such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted in roots and maize, or Indian corn, and several fruits which we had never seen before: some of them resembled the large European figs, but were not really figs; with some great jars of water, having herbs steeped in it, and roots, that made it look as white as milk, and drank like milk sweetened with sugar, but more delicious, and exceedingly cool and refreshing. They brought also a great quantity of oranges, but they were neither sweet nor sour, and our men believed they were not ripe; but when they were dressed after the manner of the country, which they showed our men how to do: that is to say, to roast them in the fire, they eat admirably well, and our men brought a great many away to us, and when we roasted them, they exceeded all that ever I tasted.

After our men had received what they brought, and shown that they were acceptable to them, the king made signs that he would be gone, but would come again to them the next morning, and pointing to the queen's head, where the plate of gold had been that she gave to our men, intimated that he would bring some of that with him the next day; but while he was making these signs one of his other messengers came back and gave the king something into his hand, wrapped up, which our men could not see. As soon as the king had it, as if he had been proud to show our men that he could make himself and his queen as fine as they could make them, he pulled it out, and first put it on his queen, (a short thing like a robe,) which reached from her neck, for he put it over her head, only down to the spotted skin which she wore before, and so it covered her shoulders and breast. It was made of an infinite number and variety of feathers, oddly and yet very curiously put together, and was spangled, as we may call it, all

over, with little drops or lumps of gold, some no bigger than a pin's head, which had holes made through them and were strung six or seven together, and so tied on to the feathers; some as big as a large pea, hanging single, some as big as a horse bean, and beaten flat, and all hanging promiscuously among the feathers without any order or shape; which, notwithstanding, were very beautiful in the whole, and made the thing look rich and handsome enough.

As soon as he had thus equipped his queen, he put the other on upon himself, which, as it was larger, so it had a particular in its shape, namely, that it covered his arms almost to his elbows, and was so made that it came round under the arm, and being fastened there with a string, made a kind of sleeve.

As the king's robe, or whatever it may be called, was larger, (for it came down to his waist,) so it had a great deal more gold about it, and larger pieces than what the queen wore. When their majesties had thus put on their robes, you may guess how glorious they looked, but especially the queen, who, being a most charming, beautiful creature before, was much more so, when she glittered thus all with gold. Our men looked very narrowly to observe whether there were no diamonds, and particularly whether any pearl was among their finery, but they could not perceive any.

In this manner they parted for that evening; but the people did not leave them so, for they thronged about them, and some brought them jars of the white liquor, some brought them roots, some fruits, some one thing and some another; and our men gave every one of them some small matter or other in proportion to what they brought. At last there came four particularly tall lusty men, with bows and arrows, but before they came close up to our men, they laid down their bows and arrows on the ground and came forward with all the tokens of friendship they were able to make.

They had two youths with them, each of which led a tame fawn of pretty large growth, and when the men came up they gave the two fawns to our men, who, in return, gave each of them a knife and some strings of beads, and such toys as they had.

Our men observed that all these men had little bits of gold, some of one shape and some of another, hanging at their ears; and when our men came to be familiar, they asked them as well as they could where they found that stuff, and they made signs to the sand in the river, and then pointed towards that part of the country where our ships lay, which signified to our men that the gold was most of it where we lay, not there, where the king and queen resided. Nay, when our men pointed again to the river where they were, and went and took up some of the sand, as if they would look for gold in it, they made signs of laughing at it, and that there was nothing to be found there, but that it lay all the other way.

And yet two or three of the men, who, when the tide was out, went up the bank of the river two or three miles upon the sands, peeping and trying the sands as they went, found three or four little bits of pure gold in the sand, though not bigger

than pin's heads; but no doubt, farther up the country, they might have found more.

These four men, seeing how fond our people were of the gold, made signs that they could fetch gold for them if they would give them such things as they liked; and ours again told them they should have anything they pleased, and as earnest gave them pieces of iron and bits of glass of small value, both of which they were much delighted with beforehand.

Early in the morning their four customers came again, and brought several men, who seemed to be servants, along with them, laden with refreshments, such as the white water mentioned above, which they brought in earthen pots, very hard, but made so by the sun, not by any fire. They brought also three small deer with them, and a kind of coney or rabbit, but larger, which our men were very glad of. But that which was above all the rest, they brought a good quantity of gold dust, that is to say, some in small lumps, some in bigger, and one of them had nearly a pound weight, wrapped up in a piece of coney skin, which was all so very small that it was like dust, which, as our men understood afterwards, was reckoned of little worth, because all the bigger lumps had been picked out of it.

Our men, you may be sure, were very willing to trade for this commodity, and therefore they brought out a great variety of things to truck with them, making signs to them to pick out what they liked, but still keeping a reserve for the king and queen, whom they expected. Above all, they had made a reserve for the king of some extraordinary hatchets, which they had not yet suffered to be seen, with a hammer or two, and some drinking glasses and the like, with some particular toys for the queen.

But they had variety enough besides this for the four men, who, in short, bought so many trinkets and trifles, that our men not only got all the gold they brought, but the very pieces of gold out of their ears; in return for which our men gave every one of them a pair of ear-rings to hang about their ears, with a fine drop, some of green glass, some red, some blue, and they were wonderfully pleased with the exchange, and went back, we may venture to say, much richer than they came.

As soon as these had finished their market, and indeed a little before, they perceived at a distance the king and the queen, coming with a great retinue, so they made signs to our men that they must be gone, and that they would not have the king know that they had been there.

I must confess the relation of all this made me very much repent that I had not happened to have put in there with the ships; though, indeed, as the road lay open to the east and south winds, it might have been worse another way, I mean when the storm blew. However, as it is, I must report this part from the account given us by my men.

When the king and queen came the second time they came together, and dressed up, as our men supposed, with the utmost magnificence, having the fine feathered spangled things about their shoulders, and the king had over all his habit a fine spotted robe of deer skins, neatly joined together, and which, as he managed it,

covered him from head to foot ; and, in short, it was so very beautiful that he really looked like a king with it.

When he came to our men and the ceremony of their meeting was over, the king, turning round, showed them that he had brought them stores of provisions, and indeed so he had, for he had at least fifty men attending him, laden with roots, and oranges, and maize, and such things ; in short, he brought them above twenty thousand oranges, a great parcel of that fruit like a fig, which I mentioned above, and other fruits ; after which another party followed, and brought twenty live deer, and as many of their rabbits dead ; the latter as big as our hares.

As they came up, the king made signs to our men to take them ; and our officer making signs to thank his majesty, he orders one of the attendants to give him one of the feathered robes, such an one as the king himself had on, and made mighty fine with lumps and tassels of gold, as the other ; and the tawny lass advancing to him, offered to put it over his head, but he took it in his hand and put it on himself, and looked as like a jackpudding in it as any one could desire, for it made no figure at all upon him, compared to what it did upon the Indians.

When they had received all this, they could not but make a suitable return ; and therefore our officer caused his reserve to be brought out ; and first he gave his majesty a dozen very handsome drinking-glasses, of several sizes, with half-a-dozen glass beakers, or cups, to the queen, for the same use. Then he gave the king a little hanger, and a belt to wear by his side, and showed him how to buckle it on and take it off, and how to draw it out and put it in again.

This was such a present, and the king was so delighted with it, that our officer said, he believed the king, for two hours together, did nothing but draw it and put it up again, put it on and pull it off, and the like.

Besides this, he gave the king three hatchets, and showed them the uses of them ; also, two hammers and a pair of very large shears, particularly showing him, that with those hammers they might beat out the gold lumps which they found in the rivers, and with the shears might cut the edges round, or into what shape they pleased, when they were beaten thin.

To the queen he gave six little knives, and a dozen small looking-glasses for her ladies. Six pair of scissars, and a small box full of large needles ; he then gave her some coarse brown thread, and showed her how to thread the needle, and sow anything together with the thread ; all which she admired exceedingly, and called her tawny maids of honour about her, that they might learn also. And whilst they were standing all together, our officer (to make the king laugh) sewed two of her women to one another by the lap of their waistcoats, or what else it might be called ; and when they were a little surprised at it, and began (as he thought) to be a little uneasy, he took the scissars, and at one snap, set them at liberty again ; which passed for such an extraordinary piece of dexterity, that the king would needs have two of them sewed together again, on purpose to see it cut again ; and then the king desired he might have a needle and thread himself,

and a pair of scissars ; then he would sew some things together, and cut them asunder again several times, and laugh most heartily at the ingenuity of it.

Besides these things, they gave her majesty a pair of ear-rings, to hang on her ears, the glass in them looking green like an emerald ; a ring of silver with false stones in it, like a rose diamond ring, the middle stone red like a ruby, which she went presently and gave to the king ; but our officers made signs that he had one that was bigger for the king, and accordingly gave the king one that was much larger. And now they had done giving presents, as they thought, when the king made a sign to the queen, which she understood, and calling one of her women, she brought a small parcel, which the queen gave our officer into his hand ; wherein was about eleven pounds weight of gold-dust, but, as before, no big lumps in it.

Our men having thus finished their traffic, and being about to come away, they made signs to the king, that they would come again and bring him more fine things, at which the king smiles, and pointed to the gold, as if telling them he would have more of that for them when they came again.

Our men had now their expectations fully answered ; and as I said, had ended their traffic, and taking leave of the king and all his retinue, retired to their shallop, and the king and queen going away to their city as above ; the wind blowing northerly, they were seven days before they got down to us in the ship, during which time they had almost famished the deer they had left, five of which they had kept to bring us alive, and yet they went two or three times on shore to get food for them by the way.

We were all glad to see them again, and I had a great deal of reason to be satisfied with the account of their traffic, though not so much with their discovery ; for they were not able to give us the least account whether the land was a continent or an island.

But let that be how it will, it is certainly a country yet unfrequented by any of the Christian part of mankind, and perhaps may ever be so, and yet be as rich as any other part of the world yet discovered. The mountains in most of the islands, as well as of the main land in those parts, abounding in gold or silver, and no question, as well worth searching after as the coast of Guinea, where, though the quantity they find is considerable, yet, it is at this time sought after by so many, and the negroes taught so well how to value it, that but a little is brought away at a time, and so much given for it, that computing the charge of the voyage, is oftentimes more than it is worth.

Whereas, though it is true that what gold is found here is a great way off, yet I am persuaded such quantities are to be had, and the price given for it so very trifling, that it would be well worth searching for.

I reckon, that including the gold our shallop brought, and what we got on shore where we lay, we brought away about twenty-four pound weight of gold, the expense of which we could not value at above ten or eleven pounds in Eng-

land, put it all together, and reckoning for all the provisions we got there, which supplied us for twenty days after we came away.

For while our shallop was making her visit thus to the royal family, &c., as is related, our men were not idle on shore, but partly by trade with the natives, and by washing the sands in the small rivers, we got such a quantity of gold as well satisfied us for the stay we made.

We had been about eighteen days here when our shallop returned, and we stayed a week more, trafficking with the people; and I am persuaded, if we had a mind to have settled there, and stay till now, we should have been very welcome to the people. We saw neither horse or cow, mule, ass, dog or cat, or any of our European sort of creatures (except that our men shot some wild ducks, and wigeon, exactly the same which we see in England, and very fat and good, but much easier to shoot than in England, having never been acquainted with the flash and noise of guns, as ours have been). We also found a sort of partridge in the country, not much unlike our own, and a great many of the whistling plover, the same with ours.

Though this month's stay was unexpected, yet we had no reason to think our time ill spent. However, we did not think we ought to lie here too long, whatever we got; so we weighed and stood off to sea, steering still S. E., keeping the shore of this golden country in sight, till our men told us they found the land fall off to the south; then we steered away more southerly for six or eight days, not losing sight of land all the time, till by an observation we found we were in the latitude of thirty-four degrees and a half, south of the line; our meridian distance from the Ladrões, twenty-two degrees, thirty minutes east; when a fresh gale of wind springing up at south and by east, obliged us to haul close for that evening; at night it blew such a storm that we were obliged to yield to the force of it, and go away afore it to the N., or N. by W., till we came to that point of land we passed before; here, the land tending to the west, we ran in under the lee of a steep shore, and came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, being the same country we were in before. Here we rode very safe for five days, the wind continuing to blow very hard all the time from the south-east.

My men would fain have had me gone a-shore again, and traffic with the people for more gold; but I, who was still in quest of further discoveries, thought I knew enough of this place to tempt my friend the merchant, whose favourite design was that of making new discoveries, to another voyage there, and that was enough for me; so I declined going on shore again, except that we sent our boats for a recruit of fresh water; and our men, while they were filling it, shot a brace of deer, as they were feeding by the side of a swamp, or moist ground; and also some wild ducks. Here we set up a great wooden cross, and wrote on it the names of our ships and commanders, and the time that we came to an anchor there.

But we were obliged to a rather discovery of this country than we intended, by the following accident:—We had unmoored early in the

morning, and by eight o'clock were under sail; by ten we had doubled the point I mentioned above, and stood away S., keeping the shore on board, at the distance of about two leagues west.

The next day, the officer who had been with the shallop showed us the opening or mouth where he put in, and where he had made his traffic with the king of the country, as you have heard.

We went on for two days more, and still we found the land extending itself south, till the third day in the morning, we were a little surprised to find ourselves as it were embayed, being in the bottom of a deep gulf, and the land appearing right a-head, distance about three leagues, the coast having turned away to the east and by south, very high land, and mountainous, and the tops of some of the hills covered with snow.

Our second mate and the boatswain, upon this discovery, were for coming about, and sent to me for orders to make signals to the other ship and our brigantine, who were both a-head to do the like; but I, who was willing to acquaint myself as fully as I could with the coast of the country, which I made no question I should have occasion to come to again, said, "No, no, I will see a little further first." So I run on, having an easy gale at N. E., and good weather, till I came within about a league and a half of the shore, when I found that in the very bite or nook of the bay, there was a great inlet of water, which either must be a passage or strait between the land we had been on shore upon; which in that case must be a great island, or that it must be the mouth of some extraordinary great river.

This was a discovery too great to be omitted, so I ordered the brigantine to stand in with an easy sail, and see what account could be had of the place. Accordingly they stood in, and we followed about a league, and then lay by, waiting their signals. I had particularly ordered them to keep two boats a-head to sound the depth all the way, and they did so; and how it happened we know not, but on a sudden we heard the sloop fire two guns first, and then one gun; the first was a signal to us to bring to, and come no further, the next was a signal of distress. We immediately tacked to stand off, but found a strong current setting directly into the bite, and there not being wind enough for us to stem the current, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom water.

Immediately we manned out all the boats we had, great and small, to go and assist our brigantine, not knowing what distress she might be in; and they found she had driven up, as we were like to have done, too far into the channel of a large river, the mouth of which, being very broad, had several shoals in it; and though she had dropped her anchor just upon notice which the boats who were sounding gave her, yet she tailed aground upon a sand, and stuck fast; our men made no doubt but she would be lost, and began to think of saving the provisions and ammunition out of her. The two long-boats accordingly began to lighten her; and first they took in her guns, and let out all her casks of water; then they began to take in her great

shot and the heavy goods. But by this time they found their mistake, for the current which I mentioned was nothing but a strong tide of flood, which, the indraught of the river being very great, ran up with a very great force; and, in something less than an hour the brigantine floated again.

However she stuck so long upon the sand, and the force of the current or tide was so great that she received considerable damage, and had a great deal of water in her hold. I immediately ordered our boats to row to the land on both sides, to see if they could find a good place to lay her on shore in; they did so, and found a very convenient harbour in the mouth of a small river, which emptied itself into the great river about two leagues within the foreland of it, on the north side, as the river Medway runs into the Thames within the mouth of it, on the south side; only this was not so far up.

Here they ran in the sloop immediately, and the next day we came thither also; our boats having sounded the whole breadth of the main river, and found a very good channel half a league broad, having from seventeen to four-and-twenty fathom water all the way, and very good riding.

Here we found it absolutely necessary to take everything out of the brigantine to search her bottom; for her lying on shore had strained her seams, and broke one of her floor timbers; and having hands enough, our men unloaded her in a very little time, and making a little dock for her, mended all the damage in about ten days' time. But seeing her in so good a condition, and the place so convenient, I resolved to have her whole bottom new caulked and payed; so we made her as clean as she was when she first came off the stocks.

This I took for a good opportunity to careen and clean our other ships too; for we had done little to them since we came from Madagascar. We found our Madagascar ship much wormeaten in her sheathing, which we helped as well as we could by new nailing, and by taking out some pieces of her sheathing and putting new ones in. But as to our great ship, she was sheathed with lead, and so had received no damage at all, only that she was very foul, which we remedied by scraping and cleaning, and new graving her quite over.

We were not all employed in this work, and therefore we had leisure to make the best of our time for the main work of new discoveries. And now I resolved to leave it no more to under-officers as I had done before, viz. when I gave the command of the shallop that traded with the king and queen, as above, to a midshipman, which I was very sorry for, though the fellow did his business very well too; but I say, I resolved not to trust any one now but myself.

In the first place, I took the shallops and went across the mouth of the great river to the south shore, to see what kind of a country was to be found there. For, as to the north side where we were, we found it to be much the same with that part where we had been before; only that we found no gold, nor did we perceive that the people had any.

I found the mouth of this river or inlet to be

about four leagues over, where I crossed it which was about three leagues and a half within the inlet itself. But the weather being very calm, and the flood-tide running sharp, we let our boat drive up in our crossing about two leagues more; and we found the channel grew narrow so fast, that where we came to land it was not a league over; that about three leagues farther we found it a mere river, not above as broad as the Thames at Blackwall.

We found it a steep shore, and observing a little creek very convenient for our purpose, we ran in our boats among some flags or rushes, and laid them as soft and as safe as if they had been in a dock; we went all on shore immediately except two men in each boat left to guard our provisions.

We had for arms, every man a musket, a pistol, and a cutlass; and in each boat we had six half-pikes to use as we might have occasion. We had also every man a hatchet, hung in a little frog at his belt, and in each boat a broad axe and a saw.

We were furnished with strings of beads, bits of glass, glass rings, earrings, pearl necklaces, and such like jewellery ware, innumerable; besides knives, scissars, needles, pins, looking-glasses, drinking-glasses and toys a great store.

We were no sooner on shore but we found people in abundance, for there were two or three small towns within a little way of the shore; and I suppose we might have the more people about us, because, as we understood afterwards, they had seen us before, though we had not seen them.

We made signs to them by putting our fingers to our mouths, and moving our chops, as if we were eating, that we wanted provisions; and we hung up a white flag for a truce. They presently understood the first signal, but knew nothing of the last; and as to provisions, just as had been the case before, they brought us out roots and fruits, such as they eat themselves; but such as we had never seen before. Some of them however, were very sweet and good, and when we boiled them, they eat much like an English parsnip; and we gave them strings of beads, pieces of glass, and such things as we found they were always very fond of.

We found the people, as I observed of the other, very inoffensive and sincere; not quarrelsome, nor treacherous or mischievous in the least; and we took care not so much as to let them know the use or manner of our fire-arms a great while; neither was there one piece fired all the time we were among the other people, where we had so much gold. If there had, it had been very probable that they would have fled the country, in spite of all the good usage we could have been able to have shown them.

The people where we were now were not so rich in gold as those where we were before, but we found them much better stored with provisions; for besides deer, of which they had great plenty and variety, for they had some of a sort, which I had never seen before, and besides an infinite number of those rabbits which I mentioned before, which were as big as our hares, and which do not burrow in the ground as our conies do, they had a kind of sheep, large (like

those of Peru, where they are used to carry burdens) and very good. They have no wool nor horns, but are rather hairy, like a goat; nor should I call them sheep, but that their flesh eats like mutton; and I know not what else to call them. The natives call them *huttash*; but what breed, or from what part of the world, or whether created for a peculiar purpose to this part, I know not.

However, their flesh was very agreeable, and they were fat and good; and as the Indians were mightily pleased with the price we paid them, and the goods we paid them in, they brought us more of these *huttashes* than we knew what to do with; and as I can calculate the rate, I suppose we might have them for about eightpence, or sometimes not above sixpence cost each; for they would give us one very thankfully for a string or two of small beads, and think themselves mighty well paid.

I found them so plentiful and so easy to come at, that in short I sent fifty of them alive tied neck and heels, in one of the shallops back to our ships, and ordered them to send their long boats over for more; for though it was so little a way over, we did not find they had any of them on that side the river.

We did the Indians another piece of service, for if they gave us meat we taught them to be cooks; for we showed them how to roast it upon a stick or spit before the fire, whereas they eat all their meat before either stewed in earthen pots over the fire, with herbs, such as we did not understand, or thrown on the coals of green wood into the fire; which, by the way, always made it stink of the smoke most intolerably.

We had a great deal of opportunity now to converse with the people on both sides of the river, and we found them to be not only different nations, but of a differing speech and differing customs. These on the south sides where I now was, seemed to be the best furnished with provisions, and to live in the greatest plenty; but those on the north side appeared better clothed, and a more civilized sort of people; and of the two seemed to have, in their countenances, something the more agreeable.

However, as they were near neighbours, for the river only parted them, they were not very much unlike neither. That which seemed most strange to me was, that we found that they had little knowledge or communication one with another. They had indeed some boats in the river, but they were but small, and rather served to just waft them over, or to fish in them, than for any carriage, for we found none that could carry above four men, and these very oddly made; partly as a canoe, by hollowing a tree, and partly by skins of beasts, dried and stuck on so as they made waste clothes to the other, yet they would paddle along at a great rate with them.

For want of understanding their language, I could come at no knowledge of their religion or worship; nor I did see any idols among them, or any worshipping of the sun or moon. But yet, as a confirmation that all nations, however barbarous, have some notion of a God, and some awe of a superior power; so I observed here, that being making a bargain with one of the principal men, such I perceived him to be by the

respect the rest showed him; I say, being making a bargain with him as well as could be done between people that understood not one word of what either of us said, he had made signs to bring me twelve sheep the next morning for some things that I was to deliver him of mine. I am sure the goods were not all of them of value sufficient to give me the least distrust, but when I gave him the goods without the sheep, being as I said to trust him till the next day, he called two men to him, and pointing to the goods that I had put into his hands, he tells upon his fingers twelve, letting them know (as I suppose) that he was to give me twelve sheep the next day, so far it seems they were to be witnesses of the agreement. Then he places his two hands one upon each breast, turned very accurately with the fingers towards the face, and holding them there, he looks towards heaven, with his face turned upward and with the most gravity, seriousness, and solemnity in his countenance that ever I saw in any man's face in my life. When he had continued in this posture about a quarter of a minute, he takes the two men and puts them just in the same posture; and then points to me and then to himself, by which I understood, first, that he solemnly swore to me that he would bring the sheep punctually and faithfully to me, and then he brought the two men to be bail or security for the performance; that is to say, to oblige themselves to perform it if he did not.

Doubtless, those people who have any notion of a God, must represent Him to themselves as something superior, and something that sees and hears and knows what they say or do. Whether these people meant the sun or the moon, or the stars, or what else I do not determine for them, but it is visible they understood it to be something to swear by,—something that could bear witness of their engagement, and that being called to witness of it, could resent the breach of promise. As to those whose gods are monsters, and hideous shapes, frightful images and terrible figures, the motive of their adoration being that of mere terror, they have certainly gross ideas. But these people seem to act upon a more solid foundation, paying their reverence in manner much more rational, and to something which it was much more reasonable to worship; this appeared in the solemnity of their countenances, and their behaviour in making a solemn promise.

We found those people clothed, generally speaking, over their whole bodies, their heads, arms, legs, and feet excepted, but not so agreeably as those we mentioned above; and we found that the clothing of these were generally the skins of beasts, but very artfully put together, so that though they had neither needle or thread, yet they had the same plant as I mentioned before, the stalk of which would so strongly tie like a thread, that they peeled it off thicker or finer as they had occasion, and made use of it in abundance of ways, to tie, and twist, and make their clothes with it, as well for their occasion as if it had been woven in a loom.

We found several of these people had little bits of gold about them; but when we made signs to them to know where they got it and where it might be had, they made signs again,

pointing to the country on the north side of the river, so that we had, it seems, chopped upon the right gold coast in our first coming. They pointed indeed, likewise, to some very high mountains which we saw at a great distance S. W., so that it seems as if there was gold found that way also, but it seems the people here had not much for their share.

The men here had bows and arrows, and they used them so dexterously that a wild goose flying over our heads, one of the Indians shot it quite through with an arrow. One of our men was so provoked to see them, as it were, outdo him, that some time after seeing a couple of ducks flying fair for a mark, he presented his piece and shot them both flying.

I was very angry when I heard the gun; had I been there he had never got leave to shoot. However, when it was done, I was pleased well enough to see the effect it had upon these poor innocent well-meaning people: at first it frightened them to the last degree, and I may well say it frightened them out of their wits, for they that were near it started so violently that they fell down and lay speechless for some time; those that were farther off ran away as if it had been some new kind of lightning and thunder, and came out of the earth instead of out of the clouds; but when they saw the two creatures fall down dead out of the air, and could see nothing that flew up to them to kill them, they were perfectly astonished, and laid their two hands on their breasts and looked up to heaven as if they were saying their prayers in the most solemn manner imaginable. However, this accident gave them terrible ideas of us, and I was afraid at first they would run all away from us for fear; I therefore used them after it with all the kindness and tenderness imaginable, gave them every day one trifle or other, which, though of no value to me, they were exceedingly fond of, and as we asked nothing of them but provisions, of which they had great plenty, and gave us enough every day to satisfy us. As for drink, they had none of the milky liquor which we had on the other part of the country, but they had a root which they steeped in their water and made it drink hot, as if pepper had been in it, which made it so strong, that though it would not make our men drunk, it was worse, for it made them mad.

I was so pleased with these people that I came over to them every other day, and some of our men lay on shore under a sail pitched for a tent, and they were so safe that at last they kept no watch, for the poor people neither thought any harm or did any, and we never gave them the least occasion to apprehend anything from us, at least not till our man fired the gun, and that only let them know we were able to hurt them, not giving them the least suspicion that we intended it: on the contrary, one of our men played an odd prank with them, and fully satisfied them that we would do them no harm: this man having seen one of their children, a little laughing speechless creature of about two years old, the mother having gone from it a little way on some particular occasion, the fellow took it and led it home to the tent, and kept it there all night. The next morning he dressed it up with beads

and jewels wondrous fine, a necklace about its neck, and bracelets of beads about its wrist, and several strings of beads wrapped up and tied in its hair, having fed it and laid it to sleep, and made much of it all night. In this figure he carried it up in his arms to the Indian huts or houses, where he had found it, and where there had been, it seems, a great outcry for the child all the night, the mother crying and raising her neighbours, and in a most strange concern.

But when some of the women, her neighbours, saw the child brought back, there was a contrary extreme of joy, and the mother of it being, I suppose, fetched, she fell a jumping and dancing to see her child, but also making so many odd gestures, as our men could not well tell for awhile whether she was pleased or not. The reason, it seems, was, she did not know whether to hope or fear, for she did not know whether the man would give back her child or take it away again. But when the man who had the child in his arms, had been told by signs that this was the mother, he beckoned to have her come to him, and she came, but trembling for fear. Then he took the child, and kissing it two or three times he gave it into her arms. But it is impossible to express by words the agony the poor woman was in; she took the child, and holding it in her arms, fixed her eyes upon it without motion, or as it were without life, for a good while, then she took it and embraced it in the most passionate manner imaginable. When this was over, she fell a crying so vehemently till she sobbed, and all this while spoke not one word. When the crying had given sufficient vent to her passion, then she fell a dancing, and making a strange odd noise that we cannot describe; and, at last, she leaves the child and comes back to the place where our men were, and to the man that brought her the child, and as soon as she came up to him she fell flat on the ground, as I have described above, the queen and her women did, and up again immediately, and thus she did three times, which it seems was her acknowledgment to him for bringing it back.

The next day, for her gratitude did not end here, she came down to our tent, and brought with her two sheep, with a great back-burthen of roots, of the kind which I said they steeped in the water; and several fruits of the country, as much as two men, who came with her, could carry; and these she gave all to the man that had brought back her child. Our men were so moved at the affectionate carriage of this poor woman to her child, that they told me it brought tears out of their eyes.

They took her present, but the man that received it took the woman and dressed her up as almost as he had done the child, and she went home like a kind of a queen among them.

We observed, while we stayed here, that this was a most incomparable soil, that the earth was a fat loomy mould, that the herbage was strong, that the grass, in some places, was very rank and good, being as high as our mid-thigh; and that the air was neither very hot, nor, as we believe, very cold; we made an experiment of the fruitfulness of the soil, for we took some white peas, and digging the ground up with a spade, we sowed some, and before we went away we saw

them come out of the ground again, which was in about nine days.

We made signs to the people that they should let them grow, and that if they gathered them, they were good to eat. We also sowed some English wheat, and let them know, as well as we could, what the use of them both was. But I make no doubt but they have been better acquainted with them both by this time, by an occasion which followed.

Our men were so fond of this place, and so pleased with the temper of the people, the fruitfulness of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, that about twenty of them offered me, if I would give them my word to come again, or send to them to relieve and supply them with necessaries, they would go on shore and begin a colony, and live all their days there. Nay, after this, their number came up to three-and-thirty: or they offered, that if I would give them the sloop, and leave with them a quantity of goods, especially such toys as they knew would oblige the people to use them well, they would stay at all hazards, not doubting, as they told me, but they should come to England again at last, with the sloop full of gold.

I was not very willing to encourage either of these proposals; because, as I told them, I might perhaps find a place as fit to settle a colony in before we came home, which was not at such an excessive distance from England, so that it was scarce possible ever to relieve them. This satisfied them pretty well, and they were content to give over the project; and yet, at last, which was more preposterous than all the rest, five of our men and a boy ran away from us, and went on shore, and what sort of life they led, or how they manage, we are scarce ever likely to know, for they are too far off us to inquire after them again. They took a small yaul with them, and, it seems, had furnished themselves privately with some necessary things, especially tools, a grindstone, a barrel of powder, some peas, some wheat, and some barley; so that, it seems they are resolved to plant there. I confess I pitied them, and when I had searched for them, and could not find them, I caused a letter to be written to them, and fixed it up upon a post, at the place where our ship careened, and another on the south side, to tell them, that in such a certain place I had left other necessaries for them, which I did, made up in a large case of boards, or planks, and covered with boards, like a shed.

Here I left them hammocks for lodging, all sorts of tools for building them a house, spades, shovels, pickaxes, an axe, two saws, with clothes, shoes, stockings, hats, shirts, and, in a word, everything that I could think of for their use, and a large box of toys, beads, &c., to oblige the trade with the natives.

One of our men, whom they had made privy to their design, but made him promise not to reveal it till they were gone, had told them that he would persuade me, if he could, to leave them a further supply, and bid them come to the place, after the ships were gone, and that they should find directions left for them on a piece of a board, or a letter from him, set up upon a post. Thus they were well furnished with all things for immediate living.

I make no doubt but they came to find these things; and since they had a mind to make trial of a wild retired life, they might shift very well; nor would they want anything but Englishwomen to raise a new nation of English people, in a part of the world that belongs neither to Europe, Asia, Africa, or America. I also left them every man another gun, a cutlass, and a horn for powder, and I left two barrels of fine powder, and two pigs of lead for shot, in another chest by itself.

I doubt not but the natives will bestow wives upon them, but what sort of a posterity they will make I cannot foresee. For I do not find by enquiry that the fellows had any great store of knowledge or religion in them, being all Madagascar men, as we called them,—that is to say, pirates and rogues; so that for aught I know, there may be a generation of English heathens in an age or two more, though I left them five Bibles, and six or seven Prayer-books, and good books of several sorts, that they might not want instruction, if they thought fit to make use of it for themselves or their progeny.

It is true this is a country that is most remote from us of any in the yet discovered world, and consequently it would be suggested as unprofitable to our commerce; but I have something to allege in its defence which will prove it to be infinitely more advantageous to England than any of our East India trade can be, or that can be pretended for it: the reason is plain in a few words; our East India trade is all carried on, or most of it, by an exportation of bullion in specie, and a return of foreign manufactures or produce, and most of these manufactures, also, either trifling and unnecessary in themselves, or such as are injurious to our own manufactures. The solid goods brought from India, which may be said to be necessary to us, and worth sending our money for, are but few; for example:—

I. The returns which I reckon trifling and unnecessary are such as china ware, coffee, tea, japan works, pictures, fans, screens, &c.

II. The returns that are injurious to our manufactures, or growth of our own country are printed calicoes, chintz, wrought silks, stuffs of herba and barks, block-tin, cotton, arrack, copper, indigo.

III. The necessary or useful things are pepper, saltpetre, dying-woods and dying-earths, drugs, lacs, such as shellac, stick-lac, &c., diamonds, and some pearl, and raw silk.

For all these we carry nothing or very little but money, the innumerable nations of the Indies, China, &c., despising our manufactures, and filling us with their own.

On the contrary, the people in the southern unknown countries, being first of all very numerous, and living in a temperate climate, which requires clothing, and having no manufactures, or materials for manufactures of their own, would consequently take off a very great quantity of English woollen manufactures, especially when civilized by our dwelling among them, and taught the manner of clothing themselves for their ease and convenience; and in return for these manufactures, it is evident we should have gold in specie, and perhaps spices, the best merchandise and return in the world.

I need say no more to excite adventurous heads to search out a country by which such an improvement might be made, and which would be such an increase of, or addition to, the wealth and commerce of our country.

Nor can it be objected here that this nook of the country may not easily be found by any one but us that have been there before, and perhaps not by us again exactly; for not to enter into our journal of observations for their direction, I lay it down as a foundation, that whosoever, sailing over the South Seas, keeps a stated distance from the tropic to the latitude of fifty-six to sixty degrees, and steers eastward, towards the straits of Magellan, shall never fail to discover new worlds, new nations, and new inexhaustible funds of wealth and commerce, such as never were yet known to the merchants of Europe.

This is the true ocean called the South Sea; that part that we corruptly call so, can be so in no geographical account, or by any rule, but by the mere imposition of custom, it being only originally called so, because they that sailed to it were obliged to go round the southernmost part of America to come into it; whereas it ought indeed to be called the West Sea, as it lies on the west side of America, and washes the western shore of that great continent for near eight thousand miles in length, to wit, from fifty-six degrees south of the line, to seventy degrees north, and how much farther we know not. On this account I think it ought to be called the American Ocean, rather than with such impropriety the South Sea.

But this part of the world where we were may rightly be called the South Sea, by way of distinction, as it extends from India round the globe to India again, and lies all south of the line (even for aught we know) to the very South Pole, and which, except some interposition of land, whether islands or continent, really surrounds the South Pole.

We were now in the very centre or middle of the South Sea, being, as I have said, in the latitude of thirty-four degrees twenty minutes; but having had such good success in our inquiry or search after new continents, I resolved to steer to the S. and S. E., as far as till we should be interrupted by land or ice, determining to search this unknown part of the globe as far as nature would permit, that I might be able to give some account to my employers, and some light to other people that might come that way, whether by accident or by design.

We had spent six-and-twenty days in this place, as well in repairing our brigantine and careening and trimming our ship, that we had not been so long but that we did not resolve to careen our ships, till we had spent ten days about the brigantine, and then we found more work to do to the sheathing of the Madagascar ship than we expected.

We stored ourselves here with fresh provisions and water, but got nothing that we could call a store, except the flesh of about thirty deer, which we dried in the sun, and which eat indifferently well afterwards, but not extraordinary.

We sailed again the six-and-twentieth day after we came in, having a fair wind at N. and N. N. W., and a fresh gale, which held us five days without intermission, in which time, running away S. and

S. S. E., we reached the former latitude, where we had been; and meeting with nothing remarkable, we steered a little farther to the eastward, but keeping a southerly course still, till we came into the latitude of forty-one; and then going due east, with the wind at N. and by W., we reckoned our meridian distance from the Ladrões to be fifty degrees and a half.

In all this run we saw no land, so we hauled two points more southerly, and went on for six or seven days more, when one of our men on the round top cried "land!" It was a clear fine morning, and the land he spied being very high, it was found to be sixteen leagues distance, and the wind slacking, we could not get in that night, so we lay by till morning, when being fair with the land, we hoisted our boat to go and sound the shore, as usual. They rowed in close with the shore, and found a little cove, where there was good riding, but very deep water, being no less than sixty fathom, within cable's length of the shore.

We went in, however, and after we were moored, sent our boat on shore to look for water, and what else the country afforded. Our men found water, and a good sort of country, but saw no inhabitants, and upon coasting a little both ways on the shore, they found it to be an island, and without people; but found that about three leagues off, to the southward, there seemed to be a *terra firma*, or continent of land, where it was more likely we should make some discovery.

The next day we filled water again, and shot some ducks, and the day after weighed, and stood over for the main, as we thought it to be; here, using the same caution as we always had done, viz., of sounding the coast, we found a bold shore, and very good anchor-hold in six-and-twenty to thirty fathom water.

When we came on shore here we found people, but of quite a different condition from those we had met with before, being wild, furious, and untractable; surprised at the sight of us, but not frightened; preparing for battle, not for trade; and no sooner were we on shore but they saluted us with their bows and arrows. We made signals of truce to them, but they did not understand us, and we knew not what to offer them more but the muzzle of our muskets, for we were resolved to see what sort of folks they were, either by fair means or foul.

The first time therefore that they shot at our men with their bows and arrows we returned the salute with our musquet ball, and killed two of their best archers: we could easily perceive that the noise of our pieces terrified them; and the two men being killed, they knew not how, or with what, perfectly astonished them, so that they ran as it were clean out of the country, that is to say, clean out of our reach; for we could never set our eyes upon any of them after it. We coasted this place also according to our usual customs, and to our great surprise found it was an island too, though a large one, and that the main land lay still more to the southward, about six leagues distance; so were resolved to look out farther, and accordingly set sail the next day and anchored under the shore of this last land, which we were persuaded was really the main.

We went on shore here peaceably, for we neither saw any people nor the appearance of any, but a charming pleasant valley, of about ten or eleven miles long and five or six miles broad; and then it was surrounded with mountains which reached the full length, running parallel with the valley, and closing it into the sea at both ends, so that it was a natural park, having the sea on the north side, and the mountains in a semicircle round all the rest of it. These hills were so high, and the ways so untrod and so steep, that our men, who were curious enough to have climbed to the top of them, could find no way that was practicable to get up, and so after two or three attempts gave it over.

In this vale we found abundance of deer, and abundance of the same kind of sheep which I mentioned lately. We killed as many of both as we had occasion for; and finding nothing here worth our staying any longer for, except that we saw something like wild rice growing here, we weighed after three days, and stood away still to the south.

We had not sailed above two days with little wind and an easy sail, but we perceived this also was an island, though it must be a large one; for by our own account we sailed near a hundred and fifty miles along the shore of it, and we found the south part a flat pleasant country enough, and our men said they saw people upon it on the south side, but we went not on shore there any more.

Steering due south from hence in quest of the main land we went on eleven days more, and saw nothing significant; and upon a fair observation, I found we were in the latitude of seven and forty degrees and eight minutes south; then I altered my course a little to the eastward, finding no land and the weather very cold, and going on with a fresh gale at S.S.W. for four days, we made land again; but it was now to the E.N.E., so that we were gotten as we may say beyond it.

We fell in with this land in the evening, so that it was not perceived till we were within half a league of it, which very much alarmed us; the land being low, and having found our error, we brought to and stood off and on till morning, when we saw the shore lie as it were under our larboard-bow, within a mile and a quarter distance; the land low, but the sea deep, and soft ground. We came to an anchor immediately, and sent our shallops to sound the shore, who found very good riding in a little bay under the shelter of two points of land, one of which made a kind of nook, under which we lay secure from all winds that could blow, in seventeen fathom good ground. Here we had a good observation, and found ourselves in the latitude of fifty degrees twenty-one minutes. Our next work was to find water, and our boats going ashore found plenty of good water and some cattle, but told us they could give no account what they were or what they were like. In searching this coast we soon found this was an island also, about eleven leagues in length from N.W. to S.E., what breadth we could not tell. Our men also saw some signs of inhabitants; the next day six men appeared at a distance, but would take notice of no signals, and fled as soon as our men advanced. Our people went up to the place where they lay

and found they had had a fire of some dry wood; that they had lain there as they supposed all night, though without covering; they found two pieces of old ragged skins of deer, which looked as if worn out by some that had used them for clothing; one piece of a skin of some other creature which had been rolled up into a cap for the head, and a couple of arrows of about four feet long, very thick, and made of a hard and heavy wood; so they must have very large and strong bows to shoot such arrows, and consequently must be men of an uncommon strength.

Our men wandered about the country here three or four days, with less caution than the nature of the thing required; for they were not among a people of an innocent, inoffensive temper here as before, but among a wild and untractable nation, that perhaps had never seen creatures in their own likeness before, and had no thoughts of themselves but of being killed and destroyed, and consequently had no thoughts of them they had seen but as of enemies, whom they must either destroy if they were able, or escape from them if they were not. However, we got no harm; neither would the natives ever appear to accept any kindnesses from us.

We had no business here after we found what sort of people they were who inhabited this place. So soon as we had taken in fresh water and caught some fish, of which we found good store in the harbour or bay where we rode, we prepared to be gone. Here we found the first oysters that we saw anywhere in the South Seas, and as our men found them but the day before we were to sail, they made great entreaty to me to let them stay one day to get a quantity on board; they being very refreshing as well as nourishing to our men.

But I was more easily prevailed with to stay, when Captain Merlotte brought me out of one oyster that he happened to open a true oriental pearl, so large and so fine, that I sold it since my return for three and fifty pounds.

After taking this oyster I ordered all our boats out a dredging, and in two days' time so great a quantity there was, that our men had taken above fifty bushels, most of them very large. But we were surprised you may be sure, when, at the opening all these oysters, we found not one pearl, small nor great, of any kind whatever; so we concluded that the other was a lucky hit only, and that perhaps there might not be any more of that kind in these seas.

While we were musing on the oddness of this accident, the boatswain of the Madagascar ship, whose boat's crew had brought in the great oyster in which the pearl was found, and who had been examining the matter, came and told me that it was true that their boat had brought in the oyster, and that it was before they went out a dredging in the offing; but that their boat took these oysters on the west side of the island, where they had been shoring as they call it, that is to say, coasting along the shore, to see if they could find anything worth their labour; but that afterwards the boats went a dredging in the mouth of the bay where we rode, and where finding good store of oysters they had gone no farther

Upon this intelligence we ordered all hands to dredging again on the west side of the island. this was in a narrow channel, between this island and a little cluster of islands, which we found together extended west; the channel where our men fished might be about a league over, something better, and the water about five or seven fathom deep.

They came home well tired and ill pleased, having taken nothing near so many oysters as before. But I was much better pleased, when in opening them, we found a hundred and fifty eight pearls, of the most perfect colour, and of extraordinary shape and size; besides double the number of a less size, and irregular shape.

This quickened our diligence and encouraged our men, for I promised the men two pieces of eight to each man above his pay, if I got any considerable quantity of pearl. Upon this they spread themselves among the islands and fished for a whole week, and I got such a quantity of pearl as made it very well worth our while; and besides that, I had reason to believe, the men, at least the officers, who went with them, concealed a considerable quantity among themselves; which, however, I did not think fit to inquire very strictly after at that time.

Had we been nearer home, and not at so very great an expense as three ships, and so many men at victuals and wages, or had we been where we might have left one of our vessels to fish and have come to them again, we would not have given it over while there had been an oyster left in the sea; or at least, that we could come at. But as things stood, I resolved to give it over and put to sea.

But when I was just giving orders, Captain Merlotte came to me and told me, that all the officers in the three ships had joined together to make an humble petition to me; which was, that I would give them one day to fish for themselves; that the men had promised, that if I would consent, they would work for them gratis, and they promised, if they gained anything considerable, they would account for as much out of their wages, as should defray the ships' expense, victuals, and wages, for the day.

This was so small a request that I readily consented to it, and told them I would give them three days, provided they were willing to give the men a largess as I had done, in proportion to their gain. This they agreed to, and to work they went; but whether it was that the fellows worked with a better will, or that the officers gave them more liquor, or that they found a new bank of oysters, which had not been found out before, but so it was, that the officers got as many pearls, and some of extraordinary size and beauty, as they afterwards sold when they came to Peru for 3,217 pieces of eight.

When they had done this, I told them it was but meet that as they had made so good a purchase for themselves by the labour of the men, the men should have the consideration which I had proposed to them; but now I would make another condition with them, that we should stay three days more, and whatever was caught in these three days should be shared among the men at the first port we came at, where they could be sold; that the men who had now been out so

long might have something to buy clothes and liquors without anticipating their wages; but then I made a condition with the men too; viz. that whatever was taken they should deposit it in my hands, and with the joint trust of three men of their own choosing, one out of each ship, and that we would sell the pearl, and I should divide the money among them equally, that so there might be no quarrelling or discontent, and that none of them should play any part of it away. These engagements they all came willingly into, and away they went a dredging, relieving one another punctually, so that in the whole three days every man worked an equal share of hours with the rest.

But the poor men had not so good luck for themselves, as they had for their officers. However they got a considerable quantity, and some very fine ones; among the rest they had two, in the exact shape of a pear, and very exactly matched, and these they would needs make me a present of, because I had been so kind to them to make the proposal for them. I would have paid for them two hundred pieces of eight, but one and all they would not be paid, and would certainly have been much affronted if I had not accepted of them; and yet the success of the men was not so small, but joined with the two pieces of eight a man which I allowed them on the ship's account, and the like allowance the officers made them, and the produce of their own purchase they divided afterwards, about fifteen pieces of eight a man, which was a great encouragement to them.

Thus we spent in the whole near three weeks here and called these the Pearl Islands, though we had given no names to any places before. We were the more surprised with this unexpected booty, because we all thought it very unusual to find pearl of so excellent a kind in such a latitude as that of forty-nine to fifty; but it seems there are riches yet unknown in those parts of the world, where they have never been yet expected; and I have been told by those who pretend to give a reason for it, that if there was any land directly under the poles, either south or north, there would be found gold of a fineness more than double to any that was ever yet found in the world; and this is the reason they say why the magnetic influence directs to the poles, that being the centre of the most pure metals; and why the needle, touched with the loadstone or magnet, always points to the north or south pole; but I do not recommend this as a certainty, because it is evident no demonstration could ever be arrived to, nor could any creature reach to that particular spot of land under the pole, if such there should be, these lands being surrounded with mountains of snow and frozen seas, which never thaw, and are utterly unpassable, either for ships or men.

But to return to our voyage, having thus spent, as I have said, three weeks on this unexpected expedition, we set sail; and as I was almost satisfied with the discoveries we had made, I was for bending my course due east, and so directly for the south part of America; but the wind now blowing fresh from the north-west, and good weather, I took the occasion, as a favourable

summons, to keep still on southing as well as east, till we came into the latitude of 66, when our men, who had been all along a warm-weather voyage, began to be pinched very much with the cold, and particularly complained that they had not clothes sufficient for it. But they were brought to be content by force, for the wind continuing at N. and N.N.W. and blowing very hard, we were obliged to keep on our course farther south, indeed, than I ever intended, and one of our men swore we should be driven to the South Pole; indeed, we rather ran afore it than kept our course, and in this run we suffered the extremest cold, though a northerly wind in those latitudes is the warm wind, as the southerly is here, but it was attended with rain and snow, and both freezing violently. At length one of the men cried out "land," and our men began to rejoice; but I was quite of a different opinion, and my fears were but too just, for as soon as ever he cried land, and that I asked him in what quarter and he answered due south, which was almost right a-head, I bid wear the ship and put her about immediately, not doubting but instead of finding land I should find it a mountain of ice, and so it was; and it was happy for us that we had a stout ship under us, for it blew a fret of wind. However, the ship came very well about, though, when she filled again, we found the ice not half a league distance under our stern. As I happened to be the headmost ship, I fired two guns to give notice to our other vessels, for that was our signal to put about; but that which was very uneasy to me, the weather was hazy and they were both out of sight, which was the first time that we lost sight of one another in those seas. However, being both to windward and within hearing of my guns, they took warning, and came about with more leisure and less hazard than I had done.

I stood away now to the eastward, firing guns continually, that they might know which way to follow, and they answered me duly, to let me know that they heard me.

It was our great good-hap, also, that it was day when we escaped this danger. In the afternoon the wind abated and the weather cleared up; we then called a council, and resolved to go no farther south, being then in the latitude of 67 S., which I suppose is the farthest southern latitude that any European ship ever saw in those seas.

That night it froze extremely hard, and the wind veering to the S. W., it was the severest cold that ever I felt in my life. A barrel or cask of water, which stood on the deck, froze entirely in one night into one lump, and our cooper knocking off the hoops from the cask, took it to pieces, and the barrel of ice stood by itself in the true shape of the vessel it had been in. This wind was, however, favourable to our deliverance, for we stood away now N. E. and N. E. by N., making fresh way with a fair wind. We made no more land till we came into the latitude of 62, when we saw some islands at a great distance, on both sides of us; we believed them to be islands because we saw many of them with large openings between. But we were all so willing to get into a warmer climate that we

did not incline to put in anywhere, till having run thus fifteen days, and the wind still holding southerly with small alteration and clear weather, we could easily perceive the climate altered, and the weather grew milder; and here taking an observation, I found myself in the latitude of fifty and a-half, and that our meridian distance from the Ladrões West was eighty-seven degrees, being almost one semi-diameter of the globe, so that I could not be far from the coast of America, which was my next design, and indeed the chief design of the whole voyage.

On this expectation I changed my course a little and went away N. by E., till by an observation, I found myself in forty-seven degrees seven minutes, and then standing away east for about eleven days more, we made the tops of the Andes, the great mountains of Chili, in South America, to our great joy and satisfaction, though at a very great distance.

We found our distance from the shore not less than twenty leagues, the mountains being so very high; and our next business was to consider what part of the Andes it must be, and to what port we should direct ourselves first. Upon the whole, we found we were too much to the south still, and resolved to make directly for the river or port of Valdivia or Baldivia, call it which you please, in the latitude of forty degrees, so we stood away to the north. The next day this Pacific, Quiet Sea, as they called it, showed us a very frowning rough countenance, and proved the very extreme of a contrary disposition, for it blew a storm of wind at E. by S., and drove us off the coast again; but it abated again for a day or two, and then for six days together it blew excessive hard, almost all at E., so that I found no possibility of getting into the shore; and, besides, I found that the winds came off that mountainous country in squalls, and that the nearer we came to the hills the gusts were more violent; so I resolved to run for the island of Juan Fernandes, to refresh ourselves there until the weather was settled; and, besides, we wanted fresh water very much.

The little that the wind stood southerly helped me in this run, and we came in five days more fair with the island, to our great joy, and brought all our ships to an anchor as near the watering place as is usual, where we rode easy though the wind continued to blow very hard; and being, I say, now about the middle of our voyage, I shall break off my account here as of the first part of my work, and begin again at our departure from hence.

It is true we had got over much the greater run, as to length of way, but the most important part of our voyage was yet to come, and we had no inconsiderable length to run neither; for as we purposed to sail north the height of Panama, in the latitude of nine degrees north, and back again by Cape Horn, in the latitude, perhaps, of sixty degrees south, and that we were now in forty degrees south; those three added to the run from Cape Horn home to England, made a prodigious length, as you will see by the following account, in which also the meridian distances are not at all reckoned, though those also are very great.

	DEG.
From Juan Fernando to the Line	30
From the Line to Panama	9
From Panama to Cape Horn, including the distance we take in going round	60
From Cape Horn to the Line again in the North Seas	60
From the Line to England	51

Total 210

N.B. Only you must deduct from this account the distance from Lima to Panama, because we did not go up to Panama, as we intended to do.

By this account we had almost thirty degrees to run more than a diameter of the globe, besides our distance west, where we then were, from the meridian of England, whither we were to go; which, if exactly calculated, is above seventy degrees, take it from the island of Juan Fernandes. But to return a little to our stay in this place, for that belongs to this part of my account, and of which I must make a few short observations.

It was scarce possible to restrain Englishmen after so long beating the sea from going on shore, when they came to such a place of refreshment as this; nor indeed was it reasonable to restrain them, considering how we all might be supposed to stand in need of refreshment, and considering that here was no length of ground for the men to wander in, no liquors to come at to distract them with their excess; and, which was still more, no women to disorder or debauch them. We all knew their chief exercise would be hunting goats for their subsistence, and we knew also, that, however they wanted the benefit of fresh provision, they must work hard to catch it before they could taste the sweets of it. Upon these considerations, I say, our ships being well moored and riding safe, we restrained none of them except a due number to take care of each ship; and those were taken out by lot, and then had their turn also to go on shore some days afterwards, and, in the meantime, had both fresh water and fresh meat sent them immediately, and that in sufficient quantity to their satisfaction. As soon as we were on shore and had looked about us, we began first with getting some fresh water, for we greatly wanted it, then carrying a small cask of arrack on shore, I made a quantity of it be put into a whole butt of water before I let our men drink a drop; so correcting a little the chillness of the water, because I knew they would drink an immoderate quantity and endanger their healths. And the effect answered my care, for those who drank at the spring where they took in the water before I got this butt filled, and before the arrack was put into it, fell into swoonings and faint sweats, having gorged themselves too much with the cool water; and two or three I thought would have died, but our surgeons took such care of them that they recovered.

While this was doing others cut down branches of trees, and built us two large booths, and five or six small, and we made two tents with some old sails; and thus we encamped as if we had been to take up our dwelling, and intended to people the island.

At the same time others of our men began to look out for goats, for you may believe we all longed for a little fresh meat. They were a little too hasty at their work at first; for firing among the first goats they came at, when there were but a few men together, they frightened the creatures, and they ran away into holes, and among the rocks and places where we could not find them, so that for that day they made little of it. However, sending for more firemen, they made a shift to bring in seventeen goats the same day; whereof we sent five on board the ships, and feasted with the rest on shore. But the next day the men went to work in another manner, and with better conduct; for as we had hands enough, and fire-arms enough, that they spread themselves so far, that they as it were surrounded the creatures; and so driving them out of their fastnesses and retreats they had no occasion to shoot, for the goats could not get away from them, and they took them every where with their hands, except some of the old he-goats, which were so surly, that they would stand at bay and rise at them, and would not be taken; and these, as being old also, and as they thought good for nothing, they let go.

In short, so many of our men went on shore, and these divided themselves into so many little parties, and plied their work so hard, and had such good luck, that I told them it looked as if they had made a general massacre of the goats rather than a hunting.

Our men also might be said not to refresh themselves, but to feast themselves here with fresh provisions; for, though we stayed but thirteen days, yet we killed three hundred and seventy goats, and our men who were on board were very merrily employed I assure you, for they might be said to do very little but roast and stew, and broil and fry from morning to night; it was indeed an exceeding supply to them, for they had been extremely fatigued with the last part of their voyage, and had had no fresh provisions for six weeks before.

This made them hunt the goats with the more eagerness; and, indeed, they surrounded them so dexterously, and followed them so nimbly, that, notwithstanding the difficulties of the rocks, yet the goats could hardly ever escape them. Here our men found also very good fish, and some few tortoises, or turtles, as the seamen call them; but they valued them not, when they had such plenty of venison. Also they found some very good herbs in the island, which they boiled with the goat's flesh, and which made their broth very savoury and comfortable, and withal very healing and good against the scurvy, to which in those climates Englishmen are very subject.

We were now come to the month of April, 1715, having spent almost eight months in this trafficking wandering voyage from Manilla hither; and whoever shall follow the same, or a like track, if ever such a thing shall happen, will do well to make a year of it, and may find it very well worth while.

I doubt not but there are many undiscovered parts of land to the west and to the south also of the first shore of which I mentioned that we stayed trafficking for little bits of gold. And though it is true that such a traffick as I have

given an account of is very advantageous in itself, and worth while to look for, especially after having had a good market for an outward bound European cargo, according to the pattern of ours at the Philippines, and which, by the way, they need not miss; I say, as this trade for gold would be well worth while, so had we gone the best way, and taken a course more to the south from Manilla, not going away E. to the Ladrones, we should certainly have fallen in with a country from the coast of Guinea, where we might have found plenty of spices as well as of gold.

For why should we not be allowed to suppose that the country on the same continent and in the same latitude should produce the same growth? especially considering them situated, as it may be called, in the neighbourhood of one another.

Had we then proceeded this way, no question but we might have fixed on some place for a settlement, either English or French; whence a correspondence being established with Europe, either by Cape Horn east, or the Cape de Bonne Esperance west, as we had thought fit; they might have found as great a production of the nutmegs and the cloves, as at Banda and Ternate, or have made those productions have been planted there for the future, where no doubt they would grow and thrive as well as they do now in the Moluccas.

But we spun out too much time for the business; and though we might, as above, discover new places, and get very well too, yet we did nothing in comparison of what we might be supposed to do, had we made the discovery more our business.

I cannot doubt also but that when I stood away south it was too late, for had I stood into the latitude of sixty-seven at first as I did afterwards, I have good reason to believe that those islands which we call the Moluccas, and which lie so thick, and for so great an extent, go on yet farther, and it is scarce to be imagined that they break off just with Gilloto.

This I call a mistake in me, namely, that I stood away east from the Philippines to the Ladrones, before I had gone any length to the south.

But to come to the course set down in this work, namely, S. E. and E. from the said Ladrones, the places I have taken notice of, as these do not in my opinion appear to be inconsiderable and of no value; so had we searched farther into them, I doubt not but there are greater things to be discovered, and perhaps a much greater extent of land also. For as I have but just as it were described the shell, having made no search after the kernel, it is more than probable that within the country there might be greater discoveries made, of immense value too; for even as I observed several times, whenever we found any people that had gold, and asked them as well as by signs we could make them understand, they always pointed to the rivers and the mountains which lay farther up the country, and which we never made any discovery of, having little in our view but the getting what little share of gold the poor people had about them; whereas, had we taken a possession of the place, and left a number of men

sufficient to support themselves in making a farther search, I cannot doubt but that there must be a great deal of that of which the inactive Indians had gotten but a little.

Nor had we any skilful man among us to view the face of the earth, and see what treasure of choice vegetables might be there. We had indeed six very good surgeons; and one of them, whom we took in among the Madagascar men, was a man of very great reading and judgment, but he acknowledged he had no skill in Botany, having never made it his study.

But to tell the truth, our doctors themselves, so we call the surgeons at sea, were so taken up in the traffic for gold, that they had no leisure to think of anything else. They did indeed pick up some shells, and some strange figured skeletons of fishes, and small beasts, and other things, which they esteemed as rarities; but they never went a simpling, as they call it, or to inquire what the earth brought forth that was rare and not to be found anywhere else.

I think, likewise, it is worth observing, how the people we met with, where, it is probable, no ships, much less European ships, had ever been, and where they had never conversed with enemies, or with nations accustomed to steal and plunder, —I say, the people who lived thus had no fire, no rage in their looks, no jealous fears of strangers doing them harm, and consequently no desire to do harm to others. They had bows and arrows, indeed, but it was rather to kill the deer and fowls, and to provide themselves food, than to offend their enemies, for they had none.

When, therefore, removing from thence, we came to other and different nations, who were ravenous and mischievous, treacherous and fierce, we concluded they had conversed with other nations, either by going to them, or their vessels coming there; and, to confirm me in this opinion, I found these fierce false Indians had canoes and boats, some of one kind, and some of another, by which, perhaps, they conversed with the islands, or other nations near them, and that they also received ships and vessels from other nations, by which they had several occasions to be upon their guard, and learnt the treacherous and cruel part from others, which Nature gave them no ideas of before.

As the natives of these places were tractable and courteous, so they would be made easily subservient and assistant to any European nation that would come to make settlements among them, especially if those European nations used them with humanity and courtesy; for I have made it a general observation concerning the natural dispositions of all the savage nations that ever I met with,—that if they are once but really obliged, they will be always very faithful.

But it is our people, I mean the Europeans, breaking faith with them that first teaches them ingratitude, and inures them to treat their new comers with breach of faith, and with cruelty and barbarity. If you once win them by kindness and doing them good, I mean at first, before they are taught to be rogues by example, they will generally be honest and be kind also, to the uttermost of their power.

But it is to be observed, that it has been the opinion of all the sailors who have navigated

those parts of the world, that further south there have been great tracts of undiscovered land; and some have told us that they have seen them, and have called them by such and such names; as particularly the Isles of Solomon, of which, yet, we can hear of nobody that ever went on shore on them, or that could give any account of them, except such as are romantic, and not to be depended upon.

But what has been the reason why we have hitherto had nothing but guesses made at those things, and that all that has been said of such lands has been imperfect? The reason, if I may speak my opinion, has been, because it is such a prodigious run from the coast of America to the islands of the Ladrões; that few people who have performed it never durst venture to go out of the way of the trade winds, lest they should not be able to subsist for want of water and provisions; and this is particularly the case in the voyage from the coast of America only.

Whereas, to go the way which I have pointed out, had we seen a necessity, and that there was no land to be seen south of the tropic, for a supply of provisions and fresh water, it was evident we could have gone back again from one place to another, and have been constantly supplied; and this makes it certain also, that it cannot be reasonably undertaken by a ship going from the east, I mean the coast of America, to the west; but from the west, viz., the Spice Islands to America west, it may be adventured with ease, as you see.

It is true that William Cornelius Van Schouten and Francis Le Mair, who first found the passage into the South Sea by Cape Horn, and not to pass the straits of Magellan,—I say they did keep to the southward of the tropic, and pass, in part, the same way I have given here an account of, as by their journals, which I have by me at this time, is apparent.

And it is as true, also, that they did meet with many islands and unknown shores in those seas, where they got refreshment, especially fresh water. Perhaps some of the places were the same I have described in this voyage; but why they never pursued that discovery, or marked those islands and places they got refreshments at, so that others, in quest of business, might have touched at them, and have received the like benefit, that I can give no account of.

I cannot help being of opinion, let our map-makers place them where they will, that those islands where we so successfully fished for oysters, or rather for pearl, are the same which the ancient Geographers have called Solomon's Islands; and though they are so far south, the riches of them may not be the less, nor are they more out of the way; on the contrary, they lie directly in the track which our navigators would take, if they thought fit either to go or come between Europe and the West Indies, seeing they that come about Cape Horn seldom go less south than the latitude of sixty-three to sixty-four degrees; and these islands, as I have said, lie in the latitude of forty to forty-eight south, and extend themselves near one hundred and sixty leagues in breadth from north to south.

Without doubt, those islands would make a

very noble settlement, in order to victual and relieve the European merchants in so long a run as they have to make; and when this trade came to be more frequented, the calling of those ships there would enrich the islands, as the English at St Helena are enriched by the refreshing which the East India ships find that meet there.

But to return to our present situation at St Juan Fernando. The refreshment which our men found here greatly encouraged and revived them, and the broths and stewings which we made of the goats' flesh which we killed there, than which nothing could be wholesomer, restored all our sick men; so that we lost but two men in our whole passage from the East Indies, and had lost but eight men in our whole voyage from England, except I should reckon those five men and a boy to be lost who ran away from us in the country among the Indians, as I have already related.

I should have added, that we careened and cleaned our ships here, and put ourselves into a posture for whatever adventures might happen; for, as I resolved upon a trading voyage upon the coast of Chili and Peru, and a cruising voyage also, as it might happen, so I resolved also to put our ships into a condition for both, as occasion should present.

Our men were nimble, at this work especially, having been so well refreshed and heartened up by their extraordinary supply of fresh meats, and the additions of good broths and soups, which they fed on every day in the island, and with which they were supplied without any manner of limitation all the while they were at work.

This, I say, being their case, they got the Madagascar ship hauled down, and her bottom washed and tallowed, and she was as clean as when she first came off the stocks, in five days' time, and she was rigged and all set to rights, and fit for sailing in two more.

The great ship was not so soon fitted, nor was I in so much haste, for I had a design in my head which I had not yet communicated to anybody, and that was to send the Madagascar ship a-cruising, as soon as she was fitted up. Accordingly, I say, the fifth day she was ready, and I managed it so that the captain of the Madagascar ship, openly before all the men, made the motion, as if it had been his own project, and desired I would let him go and try his fortune, as he called it.

I seemed loth at first, but he added to his importunity that he and all his crew were willing, if they made any purchase, it should be divided among all the crews in shares, according as they were shipped; that if it was the provisions the captain should buy it at half price, for the use of the whole, and the money to be shared.

Well, upon hearing his proposals, which were esteemed very just, and the men all agreeing, I seemed to consent, and so he had my orders and instructions, and leave to be out twelve days on his cruise, and away he went. His ship was an excellent sailer, as has been said, and being now a very clean ship, I thought he might speak with anything, or get away from anything, if he pleased. By the way, I ordered him to put out none but French colours.

He cruised a week without seeing a sail, and

stood in quite to the Spanish shore in one place, but that he was wrong in ; the eighth day, giving over all expectations, he stood off again to sea, and the next morning, he spied a sail, which was a large Spanish ship, and which seemed to stand down directly upon him, which a little checked his forwardness ; however, he kept on his course, when the Spaniard seeing him plainer than, it seems, he had done at first, tacked, and crowding all the sail he could carry, stood in for the shore.

The Spaniard was a good sailer, but our ship plainly gained upon her, and in the evening came almost up with her ; when he saw the land, though at a great distance, and he was loth to be seen chasing her from the shore. However, he followed, and night coming on, the Spaniard changed his course, thinking to get away ; but, as the moon was just rising, our men, who resolved to keep her in sight if possible, perceived her, and stretched after her with all the canvas they could lay on.

This chase held till about midnight, when our ship coming up with her, took her, after a little dispute. They pretended at first to have nothing on board but timber, which they were carrying, as they said, to some port, for the building of ships ; but our men had the secret to make the Spaniards confess their treasure, if they had any ; so that after some hard words with the Spanish commander, he confessed he had some money on board, which, on our men's promise of good usage, he afterwards very honestly delivered, and which might amount to about sixteen thousand pieces of eight.

But he had what we were very glad of besides, viz., about two hundred great jars of very good wheat flour, a large quantity of oil, and some casks of sweatmeats, all which was to us very good prize.

But now our difficulty was, what we should do with the ship, and with the Spaniards ; and this was so real a difficulty, that I began often to wish he had not taken her, lest her being let go, she should alarm the country, or if detained, discover us all.

It was not above one day beyond his orders that we had the pleasure of seeing him come into the road with his prize in tow, and the flour and oil was a very good booty to us ; but upon second and better thoughts, we brought the Spaniards to a fair treaty, and which was more difficult, brought all our men to consent to it. The case is this, knowing what I proposed myself to do, namely, to trade all the way up the Spanish coast, and to pass for French ships, I knew the taking this Spanish ship would betray us all, unless I resolved to sink the ship, and murder all the men ; so I came to this resolution, namely, to talk with the Spanish captain, and make terms with him, which I soon made him very glad of.

First I pretended to be very angry with the captain of the Madagascar ship, and to have put him under confinement for having made a prize of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, we being subjects to the king of France, who was in perfect peace with the king of Spain.

Then I told him that I would restore him his ship and all his money, and as to his flour and oil, which the men had fallen greedily upon, having a want of it, I would pay him the full value

in money for it all, and for any other loss he had sustained, only that I would oblige him to lie in the road where we were, till we returned from our voyage to Lima, whither we were going to trade, for which lying I also agreed to pay him demurrage for his ship, after the rate of eight hundred pieces of eight per month, and if I returned not in four months, he was to be at his liberty to go.

The captain, who thought himself a prisoner and undone, you may be sure, would embrace this offer ; and so we secured his ship till our return, and there we found him very honestly at an anchor, of which, in its place.

We were now, as I have said, much about the middle of our voyage (at least as I had intended it), and having stored ourselves with everything the place afforded, we got ready to proceed, for we had, as it were, dwelt here near a fortnight.

By this time the weather was good again, and we stood away to the S. E. for the port of Baldivia, as above, and reached to the mouth of the harbour in twelve days' sail.

I was now to change faces again, and Captain Merlotte appeared as captain, all things being transacted in his name, and French captains were put into the brigantine, and into the Madagascar ship also. The first thing the captain did, was to send a civil message to the Spanish governor, to acquaint him, that being come into those seas as friends, under his most Christian Majesty's commission, and with the king of Spain's permission, we desired to be treated as allies, and to be allowed to take water and wood, and to buy such refreshments as we wanted, for which we would pay ready money ; also we carried French colours, but took not the least notice of our intention to trade with them.

We received a very civil answer from the governor, viz., that being the king of France's subjects, and that they were in alliance with us, we were very welcome to wood and water, and any provisions the place would afford ; and that our persons should be safe, and in perfect liberty to go on shore, but that he could not allow any of our men to lie on shore, it being his express orders that he should not permit any nation, not actually in commission from the king of Spain, to come on shore and stay there, no, not one night ; and that this was done to prevent disorders.

We answered, that we were content with that order, seeing we did not desire our men should go on shore to stay there, we not being able to answer for any misbehaviour, which was frequent among seamen.

While we continued here, several Spaniards came on board and visited us, and we often went on shore on the same pretence ; but our supercargo, who understood his business too well not to make use of the occasion, presently let the Spaniards see that he had a large cargo of goods to dispose of. They as freely took the hint, and let him know that they had money enough to pay for whatever they bought. So they fell to work, and they bought East India and China silks, Japan ware, China ware, spice, and something o. everything we had. We knew we should not sell all our cargo here, nor any extraordinary

quantity; but we knew, on the other hand, that what we did sell here we should sell for one hundred pounds per cent. extraordinary; I mean, more than we should sell for at Lima, or any other port on that side, and so we did; for here we sold a bottle of arrack for four pieces of eight; a pound of cloves for five pieces of eight, and a pound of nutmegs for six pieces of eight; and the like of other things.

They would gladly have purchased some European goods, and especially English cloth and baize, but as we had, indeed, very few such things left, so we were not willing they should see them, that they might not have any suspicion of our being Englishmen, and English ships, which would soon have put an end to all our commerce.

While we lay here trafficking with the Spaniards, I set some of my men to work, to converse among the native Chilians or Indians, as we call them, of the country, and several things they learned of them according to the instructions which I gave them. For example: first, I understood by them that the country people, who do not live among the Spaniards, have a mortal aversion to them; that it is riveted in their minds by tradition, from father to son, ever since the wars which had formerly been among them, and that though they did not now carry on those wars, yet the animosity remained, the pride and cruel and haughty temper of the Spaniards was such still to those of the country people who came under their government as makes that aversion continually increase. They let us know, that if any nation in the world would but come in and assist them against the Spaniards, and support them in their rising against them, they would soon rid their hands of the whole nation. This was to the purpose exactly, as to what I wanted to know.

I then ordered particular inquiry to be made whether the mountains of Andes (which are indeed prodigious to look at, and so frightful for their height, that it is not to be thought of without some horror) were in any places passable? what country there was beyond them? and whether any of their people had gone over and knew the passage?

The Indians concurred with the Spaniards in this (for our men enquired of both), that though the Andes were to be supposed, indeed, to be the highest mountains in the world, and that, generally speaking, they were impassable, yet that there had been passages found by the vales among the mountains; where, with fetching several compasses and windings, partly on the hills and partly in the valleys, men went with a great deal of ease and safety, quite through or over, call it as we will, to the other called the east side, and as often returned again.

Some of the more knowing Indians or Chilians went further than this, and when our men enquired after the manner, situation, and produce of the country on the other side, they told them that when they passed the mountains from that part of the country, they went chiefly to fetch cattle and kill deer, of which there were great numbers in that part of the land: but that when they went from St Jago, they turned away north some leagues, when they came to a town called St Antonio de los Vejos, or the town of

St Anthony and the old men. That there was a great river at that city, from whence they found means to go down to the Rio de la Plata, and so to the Buenos Ayres; and that they frequently carried thither great sums of money in Chilian gold, and brought back European goods from thence.

I had all I wanted now, and bade my men say no more to them of that, only tell them that they would come back, and would travel a little that way to see the country. The people appeared very well pleased with that, assuring them, that if they would do so they should find some, as well Spaniards as Chilians, who would be guides to them through the hills; also assuring them that they would find the hills very practicable, and the people as they went along very ready to assist and furnish them with whatever they found they wanted, especially if they came to know that they were not Spaniards, or that they would protect them from the Spaniards, which would be the most agreeable thing to them in the world; for it seems many of the nations of the Chilians had been driven to live in the hills, and some even beyond them, to avoid the cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniards, especially in the beginning of their planting in that country.

The next inquiry I ordered them to make was, whether it was possible to pass those hills with horses or mules, or any kind of carriages? and they assured them they might travel with mules, and even with horses also, but rather with mules; but as to carriages, such as carts or waggons, they allowed, that was not practicable. They assured us that some of those ways through the hills were much frequented; and that there were towns, or villages rather, of people, to be found in the valleys between the said hills; some of which villages were very large, and the soil very rich and fruitful, bearing sufficient provisions for the inhabitants, who were very numerous. They told us the people were not much inclined to live in towns as the Spaniards do, but that they lived scattered up and down the country as they were guided by the goodness of the land; that they lived very secure and unguarded, never offering any injury to one another, nor fearing injury from any but the Spaniards.

I caused these inquiries to be made with the utmost prudence and caution, so that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of our design; and thus, having finished our traffic and taken in water and provisions, we sailed from Baldivia, having settled a little correspondence there with two Spaniards, who were very faithful to us, and with two Chilian Indians, whom we had in a particular manner engaged, and who, to make sure of, we took along with us; and having spent about thirteen days here, and taken the value of about six thousand pieces of eight in silver or gold, but most of it in gold, we set sail.

Our next port was the Bay of the Conception. Here, having two or three men on board who were well acquainted with the coast, we ran boldly into the bay, and came to an anchor in the bight or little bay, under the island Quiriquina, and from thence we sent our boat, with French mariners to row and a French coxswain, with a letter to the Spanish Governor from Captain

Merlotte. Our pretence was always the same as before: that we had his most Christian Majesty's commission, &c., and that we desired liberty to wood and water and to buy provisions, having been a very long voyage, and the like.

Under those pretences we lay here about ten days, and drove a very considerable trade for such goods as we were sure they wanted; and having taken about the value of eight thousand pieces of eight, we set sail for the port or river that goes up to St Jago, where we expected a very good market, being distant from the Conception about sixty-five leagues.

St Jago is the capital city of Chili, and stands twelve leagues within the land. There are two ports, which are made use of to carry on the traffic of this place, viz., R. de Ropocalmo and Port de Valparaiso. We were bound to the last, as being the only port for ships of burden, and where there is security from bad weather.

We found means here without going up to the city of St Jago to have merchants enough to come down to us; for this being a very rich city, and full of money, we found all our valuable silks of China, our atlas's, China damasks, satins, &c., were very much valued and very much wanted, and no price was too high for us to ask for them; for, in a word, the Spanish ladies, who, for pride, do not come behind any in the world, whatever they do for beauty, were so eager for those fine things, that almost any reasonable quantity might have been sold there; but the truth is, we had an unreasonable quantity, and, therefore, as we had other markets to go to, we did not let them know what a great stock of goods we had, but took care they had something of everything they wanted. We likewise found our spices an excellent commodity in those parts, and sold for a monstrous profit too, as, indeed, everything else did also, as above.

We found it very easy to sell here to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pieces of eight, in all sorts of China and East India goods, for still, though we had some of the English cargo loose, we let none of it be seen. We took most of the money in gold uncoined, which they get out of the mountains in great quantities, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

Our next trading port was Coquimbo, a small town, but a good port. Here we went in without any ceremony, and upon the same footing of being French, were well received, traded underhand with the Spanish merchants, and got letters to some other merchants at Guasco, a port in a little bay about fifteen leagues north from Coquimbo.

From hence to the port of Copiapo is twenty-five leagues. Here we found a very good port, though no trading town or city, but the country being well inhabited, we found means to acquaint some of the principal Spaniards in the country of what we were, and (with which they were pleased well enough,) that they might trade with us for such things, which it was easy to see they gave double price for to the merchants who came from Lima and other places. This brought them to us with so much eagerness, that though they bought for their own use, not for sale, yet they came furnished with

orders, perhaps for two or three families together, and being generally rich, would frequently lay out six hundred or eight hundred pieces of eight a man, so that we had a most excellent market here, and took above thirty thousand pieces of eight; that is to say, the value of it, for they still paid all in gold.

Here we had an opportunity to get a quantity of good flour, or wheat meal, of very good European wheat; that is to say of that sort of wheat, and withal had good biscuit baked on shore; so that now we got a large recruit of bread, and our men began to make puddings, and lived very comfortably; likewise we got good sugar at the Ingenioes or sugar mills, of which there were several here, and the further north we went their number increased, for we were now in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees two minutes south.

We had but one port now of any consequence that we intended to touch at till we came to the main place we aimed at, which was Lima, and this was about two-thirds of the way thither, (I mean Porto Rica, or Arica,) this was in the latitude of eighteen degrees, or thereabouts. They were very shy of us here, as having been much upon their guard for some years past, for fear of buccaneers and English privateers; but when they understood we were French, and our French captain sent two recommendations to them from a merchant at St Jago, they were then very well satisfied, and we had full freedom of commerce here also.

From hence we came to the height of Lima, the capital port if not the capital city of Peru, lying in the latitude of twelve degrees thirty minutes. Had we made the least pretence of trading here, we should at least have had soldiers put on board our ships, to have prevented it, and the people would have been forbidden to trade with us, upon pain of death; but Captain Merlotte having brought letters to a principal merchant of Lima, he instructed him how to manage himself at his first coming into the port, which was to ride without the town of Callao, out of the command of the puntals or castles there, and not to come any nearer upon what occasion soever, and then to leave the rest to him.

Upon this the merchant applied himself to the governor for leave to go on board the French ship at Callao. The governor understood him, and would not grant it by any means. The reason was, because there had been such a general complaint by the merchants from Carthagena, Porto Bello, and other places, of the great trade carried on here with French ships from Europe, to the destruction of the merchants, and to the ruin of the trade of the galleons, that the Governor or Viceroy of Peru had forbidden the French ships landing any goods.

Now, though this made our traffic impracticable at Lima itself, yet it did by no means hinder the merchants trading with us under cover, &c., but especially when they came to understand that we were not laden from Europe, with baize, long ells, druggets, broadcloth, serges, stuffs, stockings, hats, and such like woollen manufactures of France, England, &c., but that our cargo was the same with that of the Manilla ships at Aca-pulco, and that we were laden with calicos, mus-

lins, fine-wrought China silks, damasks, Japan ware, China ware, spices, &c.. there was then no withholding them; but they came on board us in the night with canoes, and staying all day, went on shore again in the night, carrying their goods to different places where they knew they could convey them on shore without difficulty.

In this manner we traded publicly enough, not much unlike the manner of our trade at the Manillas; and here we effectually cleared ourselves of our whole cargo, as well English goods as Indian, to an immense sum. Here our men, officers as well as seamen, sold their fine pearl, particularly one large parcel containing one hundred and seventy-three very fine pearls, but of different sizes, which a priest bought, as we were told, to dress up the image of the blessed Virgin Mary, in one of their churches.

In a word, we came to a balance here, for we sold everything we had the least intention to part with. The chief things we kept in reserve were some bales of English goods, also the remainder of our beads and bugles, toys, iron-work, knives, scissars, hatchets, needles, pins, glass ware, and such things as we knew the Spaniards did not regard, and which might be useful in our further designs, of which my head was still very full. Those, I say, we kept still.

Here, likewise, we sold our brigantine, which, though an excellent sea boat, as may well be supposed considering the long voyage we had made in her; was yet so worm-eaten in her bottom, that unless we had new sheathed her, and perhaps shifted most of her planks too, which would have taken up a great deal of time, she was by no means fit to have gone any further, at least, not so long a run as we had now to make, viz., round the whole southern part of America, and where we should find no port to put in at (I mean where we should have been able to have got anything done for the repair of a ship), till we had come home to England.

It was proposed here to have gone to the Governor or Viceroy of Peru, and have obtained his license or pass to have traversed the isthmus of America, from Port Maria to the river of Darien; this we could easily have obtained under the character that we then bore, viz., of having the King of France's commission, and had we been really all French, I believe I should have done it; but as we were so many Englishmen, and as such were then at open war with Spain, I did not think it a safe adventure, I mean not a rational adventure, especially considering what a considerable treasure we had with us. On the other hand, as we were now a strong body of able seamen, and had two stout ships under us, we had no reason to apprehend either the toil or the danger of a voyage round Cape Horn, after which we should be in a very good condition to make the rest of our voyage to England; whereas, if we travelled over the Isthmus of America, we should be all like a company of freebooters and buccaneers, loose and unshipped, and should perhaps run some one way and some another, among the logwood cutters at the bay of Campeachy, and other places, to get passage, some to Jamaica and some to New England; and, which was worse than all, should be exposed to a thousand dangers on account of the treasure we had

with us, perhaps even to that of murdering and robbing one another; and, as Captain Merlotte said, who was really a Frenchman, it was much more eligible for us, as French, or if we had been such, to have gone up to Acapulco, and there to sell our ships, and get license to travel to Mexico, and then to have got the viceroy's assent to have come to Europe in the galleons; but as we were so many Englishmen it was impracticable; our seamen also being Protestants, such as seamen generally are, and bold mad fellows, they would never have carried on a disguise both of their nation and of their religion for so long a time as it would have been necessary to do for such a journey and voyage.

But, besides all these difficulties, I had other projects in my head, which made me against all the proposals of passing by land to the North Sea; otherwise, had I resolved it, I should not have much concerned myself about obtaining a license from the Spaniards; for, as we were a sufficient number of men to have forced our way, we should not much have stood upon their giving us leave or not giving us leave to go.

But, as I have said, my views lay another way, and my head had been long working upon the discourse my men had had with the Spaniards at Baldivia. I frequently talked with the two Chilian Indians which I had on board, who spoke Spanish pretty well, and whom we had taught to speak a little English.

I had taken care that they should have all the good usage imaginable on board. I had given them each a very good suit of clothes, made by our tailor, but after their own manner, with each of them a baize cloak; and had given them hats, shoes, stockings, and everything they desired, and they were mighty well pleased; and I talked very freely with them about the passage of the mountains, for that was now my grand design.

While I was coming up the Chilian shore, as you have heard, that is to say, at St Jago, at the Conception, at Arica, and even at Lima itself, we inquired on all occasions into the situation of the country, the manner of travelling, and what kind of country it was beyond the mountains; and we found them all agreeing in the same story; and that passing the mountains of Les Cordelieras, for they so call them in Peru, though it was the same ridge of hills as we call the Andes, was no strange thing, that there were not one or two, but a great many places found out, where they passed as well with horses and mules as on foot, and even some with carriages; and in particular, they told us at Lima, that from Potosi, and the towns thereabouts, there was a long valley, which ran for one hundred and sixty leagues in length, S. and S.E., and that it continued till, the hills parting, it opened into the main level country on the other side; and that there were several rivers which began in that great valley, and which all of them ran away to the S. and the S.E., and afterwards went away E. and E.N.E., and so fell into the great Rio de la Plata, and emptied themselves into the North Seas; and that merchants travelled to those rivers, and they went down in boats as far as the town or city of the Ascension, and the Buenos Ayres.

This was very satisfying, you may be sure,

especially to hear them agree in it, that the Andes were to be passed, (though passing them heareabouts, where I knew the main land from the west shore, where we now were, must be at least one thousand five hundred miles broad,) was no part of my project; but I laid up all these things in my head, and resolved to go away to the south again, and act as I should see cause.

We were now got into a very hot climate, and, whatever was the cause, my men began to grow very sickly, and that to such a degree that I was once afraid that we had got the plague amongst us, but our surgeons, whom we all call doctors at sea, assured me there was nothing of that among them, and yet we buried seventeen men here, and had between twenty and thirty more sick, and, as I thought, dangerously too.

In this extremity (for I was really very much concerned about it), one of my doctors came to me and told me he had been at the city (that is at Lima), to buy some drugs and medicines to recruit his chest, and he had fallen into company with an Irish Jesuit, whom he found was an extraordinary good physician, and that he had had some discourse with him about our sick men, and he believed, for a good word or two, he could persuade him to come and visit them.

I was very loth to consent to it; for, says I to the surgeon, if he is an Irishman, he speaks English, and he will presently perceive that we are all Englishmen, and so we shall be betrayed, all our designs will be blown up at once, and our further measures be all broken; and therefore I would not consent. This I did not speak from the fear of any hurt they could have done me by force, for I had no reason to value that, being able to have fought my way clear out of their seas, if I had been put to it. But, as I had traded all the way by stratagem, and had many considerable views still behind, I was unwilling to be disappointed by the discovery of my schemes, or that the Spaniards should know upon what a double foundation I acted, and how I was a French ally and merchant, or an English enemy and privateer, just as I pleased and as opportunity should offer, in which case they would have been sure to have trepanned me, if possible, under the pretence of the former, and have used me, if they ever should get an advantage over me, as one of the latter.

This made me very cautious, and I had good reason for it too; and yet the sickness and danger of my men pressed me very hard to have the advice of a good physician, if it was possible; and especially to be satisfied whether it was the plague or not, for I was very uneasy about that. But my surgeon told me that as to my apprehension of discovery he would undertake to prevent it by this method:—First, he said, he found that the Irishman did not understand French at all, and so I had nothing to do but to order that when he came on board as little English should be spoken in his hearing as possible; and this was not difficult, for almost all our men had a little French at their tongue's end, by having so many Frenchmen on board of them; others had the Levant jargon, which they call *Lingua Frank*, so that, if they had but due caution, it could not be suddenly perceived what countrymen they were.

Besides this, the surgeon ordered that as soon as the Padre came on board he should be surrounded with French seamen only, some of which should be ordered to follow him from place to place, and chop in with their nimble tongues upon some occasion or other, so that he should hear French spoken wherever he turned himself.

Upon this, which indeed appeared very easy to be done, I agreed to let the doctor come on board, and accordingly the surgeon brought him the next day, where Captain Merlotte received him in the cabin, and treated him very handsomely, but nothing was spoken but French or Spanish; and the surgeon, who had pretended himself to be an Irishman, acted as interpreter between the doctor and us.

Here we told him the case of our men that were sick: some of them indeed were French, and others that could speak French were instructed to speak to him, as if they could speak no other tongue, and then the surgeon interpreted; others, who were English, were called Irishmen, and two or three were allowed to be English seamen, picked up in the East Indies, as we had seamen, we told him, of all nations.

The matter, in short, was so carried that the good man, for such I really think he was, had no manner of suspicion; and, to do him justice, he was an admirable physician, and did our men a great deal of good: for all of them, but three, recovered under his hands, and those three had recovered, if they had not, like madmen, drank punch when they were almost well, and by their intemperance inflamed their blood, and thereby thrown themselves back again into their fever, and put themselves, as the Padre said of them, out of the reach of medicine.

We treated this man of art with a great deal of respect, made him some very handsome presents, and particularly such as he could not come at in the country where he was: besides which I ordered he should have the value of one hundred dollars in gold given him; but he, on the other hand, thanking Captain Merlotte for his bounty, would have no money, but he accepted a present of some linen, a few handkerchiefs, some nutmegs, and a piece of black baize, most of which, however, he said, he made presents of again in the city among some of his acquaintance.

But he had a further design in his head, which afterwards he communicated in confidence to the surgeon I have mentioned, who conversed with him, and by him to me, and which was to him, indeed, of the highest importance. The case was this:—

He takes our surgeon on shore with him one day from the Madagascar ship, where he had been with him to visit some of our sick men, and, drinking a glass of wine with him, he told him he had a favour to ask of him, and a thing to reveal to him in confidence, which was of the utmost consequence to himself though of no great value to him the (surgeon); and if he would promise the utmost secrecy to him on his faith and honour, he put his life into his hands. "For, signor," says he, "it will be no less, nor would anything less than my life," says he, "pay for it, if you should discover it to any of the people here, or anywhere else on this coast."

The surgeon was a very honest man, and carried indeed the index of it in his face, and the Padre said afterwards he inclined to put this confidence in him, because he said he thought he saw something of an honest man in his very countenance. After so frank a beginning, the surgeon made no scruple to tell him, that seeing he inclined to treat him with such confidence, and to put a trust of so great importance in him, he would give him all the assurance that was in his power, that he would be as faithful to him as it was possible to be to himself; and that the secret should never go out of his mouth to any one in the world, but to such and at such time as he should consent to and direct. In short, he used so many solemn protestations, that the Padre made no scruple to trust him with the secret, which, indeed, was no less than putting his life into his hands. The case was this: he told him he had heard them talk of going to Ireland in their return, and as he had been thirty years out of his own country, in such a remote part of the world, where it was never likely that he should ever see it again; the notion he had entertained that this ship was going thither and might set him on shore there, that he might once more see his native country and his family and friends, had filled his mind with such a surprising joy, that he could no longer contain himself; and that, therefore, if he would procure leave of the captain, that he might come privately on board, and take his passage home, he would willingly pay whatever the captain should desire of him; but that it must be done with the greatest secrecy imaginable, or else he was undone, for that if he should be discovered and stopped, he should be confined in the Jesuit's house there as long as he lived.

The surgeon told him the thing was easy to be done, if he would give him leave to acquaint one man in the ship with it, which was not Captain Merlotte, but a certain Englishman who was a considerable person in the ship, without whom the captain did nothing, and who would be more secure to trust by far than Captain Merlotte. The Padre told him, that without asking him any reasons, since he had put his life into his hands, he would trust him with the management of it, and, therefore, left it entirely to him.

The surgeon accordingly brought him on board to me, and making a confidence of the whole matter to me, I turned to the Padre, and told him in English, giving him my hand, that I would be under all the engagements and promises of secrecy that our surgeon had been in for his security and satisfaction; that he had merited too well of us for us to wish him any ill; and, in short, that the whole ship should be engaged for his security. I told him, that as to his coming on board and bringing anything off that belonged to him, he must take his own measures, and answer to himself for the success; but that after he was on board, we would sink the ship under him or blow her into the air before we would deliver him up on any account whatever.

He was so pleased with my frank way of talking to him, that he told me he would put his life into my hands with the same freedom as he had done before with my surgeon; so we began

to concert measures for his coming on board with secrecy.

He told us there was no need of any proposals, for he would acquaint the head of their house, that he intended to go on board the French ship in the road, and to go to St Jago, where he had several times been in the same manner; and that, as they had not the least suspicion of him, he was very well satisfied that they would make no scruple of it.

But his mistake in this might have been his ruin; for though, had it been a Spanish ship, they would not have mistrusted him, yet when he named the French ship in the road of Callao, they began to question him very smartly about it. Upon which he was obliged to tell them, that since they were doubtful of him, he would not go at all, telling them withal, that it was hard to suspect him who had been so faithful to his vows as to reside for near thirty years among them, when he might frequently have made an escape from them if he had been so disposed. So for three or four days he made no appearance of going at all; but having had private notice from me the evening before we sailed, he found means to get out of their hands, came down to Callao on a mule in the night, and our surgeon lying ready with our boat about half a league from the town, as by appointment, he took him on board, with a negro, his servant, and brought him safe to the ship; nor had we received him on board half an hour, but being unmoored and ready to sail, we put out to sea, and carried him clear off.

He made his excuses to me that he was come away naked, according to his profession; that he had purposed to have furnished himself with some provisions for the voyage, but that the unexpected suspicions of the head of the college or house had obliged him to come away in a manner that would not admit of it; for that he might rather be said to have made his escape than to have been come fairly off.

I told him he was very welcome; and indeed so he was, for he had been already more worth to us than ten times his passage came to, and that he should be entered into immediate pay as physician to both the ships, which I was sure none of our surgeons would repine at, but rather be glad of; and accordingly I immediately ordered him a cabin, with a very good apartment adjoining to it, and appointed him to eat in my own mess whenever he pleased or by himself, on particular days, when he thought fit.

And now it was impossible to conceal from him that we were indeed an English ship, and that I was the captain in chief, except as has been said upon occasion of coming to any particular town of Spain. I let him know I had a commission to make prize of the Spaniards, and appear their open enemy, but that I had chosen to treat them as friends in a way of commerce, as he had seen. He admired much the moderation I had used, and how I had avoided enriching myself by the spoil as I might have done; and he made me many compliments upon that head, which I excused hearing, and begged him to forbear. I told him we were christians, and as we had made a very prosperous voyage I was resolved not to

do any honest men the least injustice if I could avoid it.

But I must observe here that I did not enter immediately into all this confidence with him neither, nor all at once; neither did I let him into any part of it but under the same solemn engagements of secrecy that he had laid upon us, nor till I was come above eighty leagues south from Lima.

The first thing I took the freedom to speak to him upon was this: finding his habit a little offensive to our rude seamen, I took him into the cabin the very next day after we came to sea, and told him that I was obliged to mention to him what I knew he would soon perceive, namely, that we were all protestants except three or four of the Frenchmen, and I did not know how agreeable that might be to him. He answered that he was not at all offended with that part; that it was none of his business to enquire into any one's opinion any farther than they gave him leave; that if it was his business to cure the souls of men on shore, his business on board was to cure their bodies; and as for the rest, he would exercise no other function than that of a physician on board the ship without my leave.

I told him that was very obliging, but that then, for his own sake, I had a proposal to make to him, which was, whether it would be disagreeable to him to lay aside the habit of a religious and put on that of a gentleman, so to accommodate himself the more easily to the men on board, who, perhaps, might be rude to him in his habit, seamen being not always men of the most manners.

He thanked me very sincerely. He told me he had been in England as well as in Ireland, and that he went dressed there as a gentleman and was ready to do so now if I thought fit, to avoid giving any offence, and added that he chose to do so: but then, smiling, said he was at a great loss, for he had no clothes. I bade him take no care about that for I would furnish him, and immediately we dressed him up like an Englishman, in a suit of very good clothes which belonged to one of our midshipmen that died. I gave him also a good wig and a sword, and he presently appeared upon the quarter-deck like a grave physician and was called doctor.

From that minute, by whose contrivance we knew not, it went current among the seamen that the Spanish doctor was an Englishman and a protestant, and only had put on the other habit to disguise himself and make his escape to us; and this was so universally believed that it held to the last day of the whole voyage, for as soon as I met with it I took care that nobody that had it in their power would ever contradict it; and as for the doctor himself he was very glad of it, and when he first heard of it, said nothing could be more to his advantage, and that he would take care to humour it among the men as far as lay in his power.

However, the doctor took care of one thing, and earnestly desired we would all be mindful of it, viz., that he never offered to go on shore whatever port we came to afterwards, and what he desired of us was, that none of the Spaniards might, by inquiry, hear upon any occasion of his being on board our ship; but above all, that

none of our men, the officers especially, would ever come so much in reach of the Spaniards on shore as to put it into their power to seize upon them by reprisal, and so oblige us to deliver him up by exchange.

I went so far with him, and so did Captain Merlotte also, as to assure him, that if any of the Spaniards should by any stratagem or force get any of our men, nay, though it were ourselves, into their hands yet he should upon no condition whatever be delivered up. And, indeed, for this very reason we were very shy of going on shore at all; and as we had really no business any where but just for water and fresh provisions, which we also had taken in a very good store of at Lima, so, for our part, we put in nowhere at all in the coast of Peru, because there we might have been more particularly liable to the importunities of the Spaniards' inquiry; as to force, we were furnished not to be in the least apprehensive of that.

Being thus, I say, resolved to have no more to do with the coast of Peru we stood off to sea, and the first land we made was a little unfrequented island, in the latitude of 17 deg. 13 m., where our men went on shore in the boats three or four times to catch tortoises or turtles, being the first we had met with since we came from the East Indies; and here they took so many and had such a prodigious quantity of eggs out of them, that the whole company of both ships lived on them till within four or five days of our coming to the island of Juan Fernandez, which was our next port. Some of these tortoises were so large and so heavy that no single man could turn them, and sometimes as much as four men could carry to the boats.

We met with some bad weather after this, which blew us off to sea, the wind blowing very hard at the south-east; but it was not so great a wind as to endanger us, though we lost sight of one another more in this storm than we had done in all our voyage. However, we were none of us in any great concern for it now, because we had agreed before, that if we should lose one another, we should make the best of our way to the island of Juan Fernandez; and this we observed now so directly, that all of us shaping our course for the island, as soon as the storm abated, came in sight of one another long before we came thither; which, you may be sure, was very agreeable to us all.

We were, including the time of the storm, two hundred and eighteen days from Lima to the island of Juan Fernandez, having most of the time cross, contrary winds, and more bad weather than is usual in those seas. However, we were all in good condition, both ships and men.

Here we fell to the old trade of hunting of goats. And here our new doctor set some of our men to simpling, that is to say, to gather some physical herbs, which he let them see afterwards were very well worth their while. Our surgeons assisted and saw the plants, but had never observed the same kind in England. They gave me the names of them; and it is the only discovery in all my travels which I have not reserved so carefully as to publish for the advantage of others, and which I regret the omission of very much.

While we were here, an odd accident gave me some uneasiness, which, however, did not come to much. Early in the grey of the morning, little wind, and a smooth sea, a small frigate-built vessel, under Spanish colours, pennant flying, appeared off at sea, at the opening of the N. E. point of the island; as soon as she came fair with the road, she lay by, as if she came to look into the port only, and when she perceived that we began to loose our sails to to speak with her, she stretched away to the northward, and then altering her course, stood away N. E. using oars to assist her, and so got away.

Nothing could be more evident to us, than that she came to look at us, nor could we imagine anything less; from whence we immediately concluded that we were discovered, and that our taking away the doctor had given a great alarm among the Spaniards (as indeed we afterwards came to understand it had done). But we came a little while afterwards to a better understanding about the frigate.

I was so uneasy about it that I resolved to speak with her if possible; so I ordered the Madagascar ship, which, of the two, was rather a better sailer than our own, to stand in directly to the coast of Chili, and then to ply to the northward just in sight of the shore, till he came into the latitude of 22: and if he saw nothing in all that run, then to come down again directly into the latitude of the island of Juan Fernandez, but keeping the distance of ten leagues off farther than before, and to ply off and on in that latitude five days, and then, if he did not meet with me, to stand in for the island.

While he did this, I did the same at the distance of nearly fifty leagues from the shore, being the distance which I thought the frigate kept in as she stood away from me. We made our cruise both of us very punctually, and I found him in the station I agreed on, and we both stood into the road again from whence we came.

We no sooner made the road, but we saw the frigate, as I called her, with another ship, at an anchor in the same road where she had seen us. And it was easy to see that they were both of them in a great surprise and hurry at our appearing, and that they were under sail in so very little time, as that we easily saw they had slipped their cables or cut away their anchors. They fired guns twice, which we found was a signal for their boats, which were on shore, to come on board; and soon after we saw three boats go off to them; though, as we understood afterwards, they were obliged to leave sixteen or seventeen of their men behind them, who, being among the rocks catching of goats, either did not hear the signals, or could not come to their boats time enough.

When we saw them in this hurry we thought it must be something extraordinary, and bore down directly upon them having the weather-guage.

They were ships of pretty good force, and full of men; and when they saw we were resolved to speak with them, and that there was no getting away from us, they made ready to fight us; and putting themselves upon a wind, first stretching a head to get the weather-guage of

us, when they thought they were pretty well, boldly tacked, and lay by for us, hoisting the English ancient and union-jack,

We had our French colours out till now; but being just, as we thought, going to engage, I told Captain Merlotte I scorned to hide what nation I was of when I came to fight for the honour of our country; and, besides, as these people had spread English colours, I ought to let them know what I was; that if they were really English and friends, we might not fight by mistake, and shed the innocent blood of our own countrymen; and that if they were rogues, and counterfeited their being English, we should soon perceive it.

However, when they saw us put out English colours, they knew not what to think of it, but lay by a while to see what we would do. I was as much puzzled as they, for as I came nearer, I thought they seemed to be English ships, as well by their bulk as by their way of working; and as I came still nearer, I thought I could perceive so plainly by my glasses that they were English seamen, that I made a signal to our other ship who had the van, and was just bearing down upon them to bring to; and I sent my boat to him to know his opinion. He sent me word he did believe them to be English; and the more, said he, because they could be no other nation but English or French, and the latter he was sure they were not; but since we were the largest ships, and that they might as plainly see us to be English as we could see them, he said he was for fighting them, because they ought to let us know who they were first. However, as I had fired a gun to bring him to, he lay by a little till we spoke thus together.

While this was doing we could see one of their boats come off with six oars and two men (a lieutenant and a trumpeter it seems they were) sitting in the stern and one of them holding up a flag of truce. We let them come forward, and when they came nearer so that we could hail them with a speaking trumpet, we asked them what countrymen they were? and they answered Englishmen. Then we asked them whence their ship? Their answer was from London, at which we bade them come on board, which they did, and we soon found that we were all countrymen and friends, and their boat went immediately back to let them know it. We found afterwards that they were mere privateers, fitted out from London also, but coming last from Jamaica, and we let them know no other of ourselves; but declined keeping company, telling them we were bound now upon traffic and not for purchase; that we had been at the East Indies, had made some prizes, and were going back thither again. They told us they were come into the South Seas for purchase, but that they had made little of it; having heard there were three large French men of war in those seas, in the Spanish service, which made them wish that they had not come about; and that they were still very doubtful what to do.

We assured them we had been the height of Lima, and that we had not heard of any men-of-war, but that we had passed for such ourselves, and perhaps were the ships they had heard of;

for that we were three sail at first, and had sometimes carried French colours.

This made them very glad, for it was certainly so, that we had passed for three French men-of-war; and they were so assured of it, that they went afterwards boldly up the coast, and made several very good prizes. We then found also that it was one of these ships that looked into the road, as above, when we were here before, and seeing us then with French colours, took us for the men-of-war they had heard of; and they added, that when we came in upon them again, they gave themselves up for lost men, but were resolved to have sought it out to the last, or rather to have sunk by our side, or blow themselves up, than be taken.

I was not at all sorry that we had made this discovery before we engaged, for the captains were two brave resolute fellows, and had two very good ships under them, one of thirty-six guns, but able to have carried forty-four guns; the other, which we called the frigate-built ship, carried twenty-eight guns, and they were both full of men. Now, though we should not have feared their force, yet my case differed from what it did at first, for we had that on board that makes all men cowards, I mean money; of which we had such a cargo as few British ships ever brought out of those seas; and I was one of those that had now no occasion to run needless hazards; so that, in short, I was as well pleased without fighting, as they could be; besides, I had other projects now in my head, and those of no less consequence than of planting a new world, and settling new kingdoms to the honour and advantage of my country; and many a time I wished heartily, that all my rich cargo was safe at London; that my merchants were sharing the silver, and the gold, and the pearl among themselves; and that was I but safe on shore, with a thousand good families upon the south of Chili, and about fifteen hundred good soldiers, and arms for ten thousand more (of which by-and-by) and with the two ships I had now with me, I would not apprehend all the power of the Spaniards; I mean, that they could bring against me in the South Seas.

I had all these things, I say, in my head already, though nothing like to what I had afterwards, when I saw further into the matter myself. However, these things made me very glad, that I had no occasion to engage those ships.

When we came thus to understand one another, we went all into the road together, and I invited the captains of the two privateers on board me, where I treated them with the best I had, though I had no great dainties now, having been so long out of England. They invited me and Captain Merlotte, and the captain of the Madagascar ship, in return, and, indeed, treated us very nobly.

After this, we exchanged some presents of refreshments, and, particularly, they sent me a hogshead of rum, which was very acceptable, and I sent them, in return, a runlet of arrack, excusing myself, that I had no great store. I sent them also a quantity of one hundred weight of nutmegs and cloves; but the most agreeable present I sent them was, twenty pieces of my Madagascar dried beef, cured in the sun, the like of

which they had never seen or tasted before; and, without question, it is such an excellent way of curing beef, that if I were to be at Madagascar again, I would take in a sufficient quantity of beef so preserved to victual the whole ship for the voyage; and I leave it as a direction to all English seamen that have occasion to use East India voyages.

I bought afterwards six hogsheads of rum of these privateers, for I found they were very well stored with liquors, whatever else they wanted.

We stayed here twelve or fourteen days, but took care, by agreement, that our men should never go on shore the same days that their men went on shore, or theirs when ours went, as well to avoid their caballing together, as to avoid quarreling, though the latter was the pretence. We agreed, also, not to receive on board any of our ships respectively any of the crews belonging to the other; and this was their advantage; for if we would have given way to that, half their men would, for aught I know, have come over to us.

While we lay here, one of them went a-cruising, finding the wind fair to run in for the shore, and in about five days she came back with a Spanish prize, laden with meal, cocoa, and a large quantity of biscuit, ready baked. She was bound to Lima, from Baldivia, or some port nearer, I do not remember exactly which. They had some gold on board, but not much, and had bought their lading at St Jago. As soon as we saw them coming in with a prize in tow we put out our French colours, and gave notice to the privateers that it was for their advantage that we did so; and so indeed it was; for it would presently have alarmed all the country, if such a fleet of privateers had appeared on the coast. We prevailed on them to give us their Spanish prisoners, and to allow us to set them on shore, I assuring them I would not land them till I came to Baldivia, nor suffer them to have the least correspondence with anybody till they came thither; the said Spaniards also giving their parole of honour not to give any account of their being taken till fourteen days after they were on shore.

This being the furthest port south which the Spaniards are masters of in Chili, or indeed on the whole continent of America, they could not desire me to carry them any further. They allowed us a quantity of meal out of their booty, for the subsistence of the prisoners; and I bought a larger quantity more of it, there being more than they knew how to stow; and they did not resolve to keep the Spanish ship which they took. By this means I was doubly stocked with flour and bread; but as the first was very good, and well packed in cask, and very good jars, it was no burden.

We bought also some of their cocoa, and made chocolate till our men gorged themselves with it, and would eat no more.

Having furnished ourselves here with goats' flesh, as usual, and taken in water sufficient, we left Juan Fernandez, and saw the cruisers go out the same tide, they steering N.N.E., and we S.S.E. They saluted us at parting, and we bid them good-bye in the same language.

While we were now sailing for the coast of

Chili, with a fair wind and pleasant weather, my Spanish doctor came to me, and told me he had a piece of news to acquaint me with, which, he said, he believed, would please me very well, and this was, that one of the Spanish prisoners was a planter, as it is called in the West Indies, or a farmer, as we should call it in England, of Villa Rica, a town built by the Spaniards near the foot of the Andes, above the town of Baldivia, and that he had entered into discourse with him upon the situation of those hills, the nature of the surface, the rivers, hollows, passages into them, &c., whether there were any valleys within the hills, of what extent, how watered, what cattle, what people, how disposed, and the like, and, in short, if there was any passing over them; and he told me, in a few words, that he found him to be a very honest, frank, open sort of person, who seemed to speak without reserve, without the least jealousy or apprehension, and that, in a word, he believed I might have an ample discovery from him of all that I desired to know.

I was very glad of this news, you may be sure, and it was not many hours before I made him bring the Spaniard into the great cabin to me, where I treated him very civilly, and gave him opportunity several times to see himself very well used; and, indeed, all the Spaniards in the ship were very thankful for my bringing them out of the hands of the privateers, and took all occasions to let us see it.

I said little the first time, but discoursed in general of America, of the greatness and opulence of the Spaniards there, the infinite wealth of the country &c.; and I remember well, discoursing once of the great riches of the Spaniards in America, the silver mines of Potosi, and other places, he turned short upon me, smiling, and said "We Spaniards are the worst nation in the world that such a treasure as this could have belonged to; for if it had fallen into any other hands than ours," says he, "they would have searched further into it before now."—I asked him what he meant by that. I said I thought they had searched it thoroughly enough, for that I believed no nation in the world could ever have spread such vast dominions, and planted a country of such a prodigious extent, and have not only kept the possession of it, but have maintained the government also, and even inhabited it, with so few people.

"Perhaps, seignior," says he, "you think, notwithstanding that opinion of yours, that we have many more people of our nation in New Spain than we have."—"I do not know," said I, "how many you may have; but if I should believe you have as many here as in Old Spain, it would be but a few in comparison of the infinite extent of the King of Spain's dominions in America."—"And then," added he, "I assure you, seignior, there is not one Spaniard to a thousand acres of land, take one place with another, throughout New Spain."

"Very well," said I, "then I think the riches and wealth of America is very well searched, in comparison to the number of people you have to search after it."—"No," says he "it is not, neither; for the greatest number of our people live in that part where the wealth is not greatest,

and where even the governor and viceroy, enjoying a plentiful and luxurious life, they take no thought for the increase either of the king's revenues or the national wealth." This he spoke of the city of Mexico, whose greatness, and the number of its inhabitants, he said, was a disease to the rest of the body. "And what think you, seignior," said he, "that in that one city, where is neither silver or gold but what is brought from the mountains of St Clara, the mines at St Augustine's and Our Lady, some of which are an hundred leagues from it, and yet there are more Spaniards in Mexico than in both these two prodigious empires of Chili and Peru."

I seemed not to believe him, and indeed I did not believe him at first, till he returned to me with a question,—“Pray, seignior captain,” says he, “how many Spaniards do you think there may be in this vast country of Chili?”—I told him I could make no guess of the numbers; but, without question, there were many thousands, intimating that I might suppose near an hundred thousand; at which he laughed heartily, and assured me that there were not above two thousand five hundred in the whole kingdom, besides women and children and some few soldiers, which they looked upon as nothing to inhabitants, because they were not settled anywhere.

I was indeed surprised, and began to name some large places, which I thought had singly more Spaniards in them than what he talked of. He presently ran over some of them; and naming Baldivia first, as the most southward, he asked me how many I thought were there? I told him about three hundred families. He smiled at me, and assured me there were not above three or four-and-fifty families in the whole place, and about twenty-five soldiers, although it was a fortification and a frontier. At Villa Rica, or the rich town, where he lived, he said there might be about sixty families, and a lieutenant with twenty soldiers. In a word, we passed over the many places between, and came to the capital, St Jago; where, after I had supposed there were were five thousand Spaniards, he protested to me there were not above eight hundred, including the viceroy's court, and including the families at Valparaiso, which is the seaport, and excluding only the soldiers, which, as he said, being the capital of the whole kingdom, might be about two hundred, and excluding the religious, who, he added, laughing, signified nothing to the planting a country, for they neither cultivated the land nor increased the people.

Our doctor, who was our interpreter, smiled at this, but merrily said, "That was very true, or ought to be so;" intimating that though the priests do not cultivate the land, yet they might chance to increase the people a little; but that was by the way. As to the number of inhabitants at St Jago, the doctor agreed with him, and said he believed he had said more than there was rather than less.

As then to the kingdom or empire of Peru, in which there are many considerable cities and places of note, such as Lima, Quitto, Cusco la Plata, and others, besides the great number of towns on the sea coasts, such as Port Arica, St Miguel, Payta, Guyaquil, Truxillo, and many others.

He answered, that it was true that the city of Lima, with the town of Callao, was much increased within a few years; and particularly of late by the settling of between three and four hundred French there, who came by the King of Spain's license; but that before the coming of those gentlemen, at which he shook his head, the country was richer, though the inhabitants were not so many; and that, take it as it was now, there could not be reckoned above fifteen hundred families of Spaniards, excluding the soldiers and the clergy, which as above, he reckoned nothing as to the planting the country.

We came then to discourse of the silver mines at Petosi, and here he supposed, as I did also, a very great number of people. "But, signior," says he, "what people is it you are speaking of? There are many thousands of servants but few masters; there is a garrison of four hundred soldiers, always kept in arms and in good order, to secure the place and keep the negroes and criminals who work in the mines in subjection; but that there were not besides five hundred Spaniards, that is to say men, in the whole place and its adjacents. So that, in short, he would not allow above seven thousand Spaniards in the whole empire of Peru, and two thousand five hundred in Chili; at the same time allowing twice as many as both these in the city of Mexico only.

After this discourse was over, I asked him what he inferred from it as to the wealth of the country not being discovered? He answered, it was evident that it was for want of people that the wealth of the country lay hid; that there was infinitely more lay unenquired after than had yet been known; that there were several mountains in Peru equally rich in silver with that of Potosi; and as for Chili, says he, and the country where we live, there is more gold at this time in the mountains of the Andes, and more easy to come at, than in all the world besides. "Nay," says he, with some passion, "there is more gold every year washed down out of the Andes of Chili into the sea and lost there, than all the riches that go from New Spain to Europe in twenty years amount to."

This discourse fired my imagination, you may be sure, and I renewed it upon all occasions, taking more or less time every day to talk with this Spaniard upon the subject of cultivation of the lands, improvement of the country, and the like; always making such inquiries into the state of the mountains of the Andes as best suited my purpose, but yet so as not to give him the least intimation of my design.

One day, conversing with him again about the great riches of the country and of the mountains and rivers as above, I asked him, that seeing the place was so rich, why were they not all princes, or as rich as princes, that dwelt there?

He shook his head, and said it was a great reproach upon them many ways; and when I pressed him to explain himself, he answered it was occasioned by two things—namely, pride and sloth. "Seignior," says he, "we have so much pride that we have no avarice, and we do not covet enough to make us work for it. We walk about sometimes," says he, "on the banks of the streams that come down from the moun-

tains, and if we see a bit of gold lie on the shore, it may be we will vouchsafe to lay off our cloak and step forward to take it up; but if we were sure to carry home as much as we could stand under, we would not strip and go to work in the water to wash it out of the sand, or take the pains to get it together; nor perhaps dishonour ourselves so much as to be seen carrying a load, no, not for all the value of the gold itself.

I laughed then indeed; and told him he was disposed to jest with his countrymen, or to speak ironically; meaning, that they did not take so much pains as was required to make them effectually rich, but, that I supposed he would not have me understand him as he spoke. He said, I might understand as favourably as I pleased, but I should find the fact to be true if I would go up with him to Villa Rica when I came to Baldivia; and with that he made his compliment to me and invited me to his house.

I asked him with a *con licentia*, signior, that is, with pardon for so much freedom, that if he lived in so rich a country, and where there was so inexhaustible a treasure of gold, how he came to fall into this state of captivity, and what made him venture himself upon the sea to fall into the hands of pirates?

He answered, that it was on the very foot or what he had been complaining of; and that having seen so much of the wealth of the country he lived in, and having reproached himself with that very indolence which he now blamed all his countrymen for, he had resolved, in conjunction with two of his neighbours the Spaniards, and men of good substance, to set to work in a place in the mountains where they had found some gold, and had seen much washed down by the water, and to find what might be done in a thorough search after the fund or mine of it, which they were sure was not far off; and that he was going to Lima, and from thence, if he could not be supplied, to Panama, to buy negroes for the work, that they might carry it on with the better success.

This was a feeling discourse to me, and made such an impression on me, that I secretly resolved, that when I came to Baldivia, I would go up with this sincere Spaniard (for so I thought him to be, and so I found him) and would be an eye-witness to the discovery, which, I thought, was made to my hand, and which I found now I could make more effectual than by all the attempts I was like to make by second hand.

From this time I treated the Spaniard with more than ordinary courtesy, and told him if I was not captain of a great ship, and had a cargo upon me of other gentlemen's estates, he had said so much of those things that I should be tempted to give him a visit as he had desired, and see those monstrous mountains of the Andes.

He told me that if I would do him so much honour, I should not be obliged to any long stay, that he would procure mules for me at Baldivia, and that I should go, not to his house only, but to the mountain itself and see all that I desired, and be back again in fourteen days at the farthest. I shook my head as if it could not be, but he never left importuning me; and once or

twice, as if I had been afraid to venture myself with him, he told me he would send for his two sons, and leave them in the ship as hostages for my safety.

I was fully satisfied as to that point, but did not let him know my mind yet; but every day we dwelt upon the same subject, and I travelled through the mountains and vallies so duly in every day's discourse with him, that when I afterwards came to the places we had talked of, it was as if I had looked over them in a map before.

I asked him if the Andes were a mere wall of mountains, contiguous and without intervals and spaces like a fortification or boundary to a country? Or, whether they lay promiscuous and distant from one another? And, whether there lay any way over them into the country beyond them.

He smiled when I talked of going over them. He told me they were so infinitely high, that no human creature could live upon the top; and withal so steep and so frightful, that if there was even a pair of stairs up on one side and down on the other, no man alive would dare to mount up or venture down.

But that, as for the notion of the hills being contiguous, like a wall that had no gates, that was all fabulous; that there were several fair entrances in among the mountains, and large, pleasant, and fruitful vallies among the hills, with pleasant rivers and numbers of inhabitants, and cattle and provisions of all sorts; and that some of the most delightful places to live in that were in the whole world, were among those vallies, in the very centre of the highest and most dreadful mountains.

"Well," said I, "seignior, but how do they go out of one valley into another? And whither do they go at last?" He answered me, those vallies are always full of pleasant rivers and brooks which fall from the hills, and are formed generally into one principal stream to every vale; and that as these must have their outlets on one side of the hills, or on the other, so, following the course of those streams, one is always sure to find the way out of one valley into another, and at last out of the whole into the open country; so that it was very frequent to pass from one side to the other of the whole body of the mountains, and not go much higher up hill or down hill, compared to the hills in other places. It was true, he said, there was no abrupt visible parting in the mountains, that should seem like a way cut through from the bottom to the top, which would be indeed frightful; but that as they pass from some of the vallies to others, there are ascents and descents, windings and turnings, sloping up and sloping down, where we may stand on those little ridges, and see the waters on one side run to the west, and on the other side to the east.

I asked him what kind of a country was on the other side? and how long time it would take up to go through from one side to the other? He told me, there were ways indeed that were more mountainous and uneasy, in which men kept upon the sides or declivity of the hills, in which the natives would go and guide others to go, and so might pass the whole ridge of the Andes in

eight or nine days; but that those ways were esteemed very dismal, lonely, and dangerous, because of wild beasts; but that through the vallies the way was easy and pleasant, and perfectly safe, only farther about; and that those ways a man might be sixteen or seventeen days going through.

I laid up all this in my heart, to make use of as I should have occasion; but I acknowledge that it was surprising to me, as it was so perfectly agreeing with the notion that I always entertained of those mountains, of the riches of them, the facility of access to and from them, and the easy passage from one side to another.

The next discourse I had with him upon this subject I began thus. "Well, seignior," said I, "we are now come quite through the vallies and passages of the Andes, and methinks I see a vast open country before me on the other side; pray tell me, have you ever been so far as to look into that part of the world, and what kind of a country is it?"

He answered gravely, that he had been far enough several times, to look at a distance into the vast country I spake of. "And such indeed it is," said he; "and as we come upon the rising part of the hills, we see a great way, and a country without end; but as to any descriptions of it, I can say but little," added he, "only this, that it is a very fruitful country on that side next the hill. What it is farther, I know not."

I asked him if there were any considerable rivers in it, and which way they generally run? He said, "It could not be, but that from such a ridge of mountains as the Andes, there must be a great many rivers on that side, as there were apparently on this; and that, as the country was infinitely larger, and their course in proportion longer, it would necessarily follow, that those small rivers would run one into another, and so form great navigable rivers, as was the case in the Rio de la Plata, which originally sprung from the same hills, about the city La Plata in Peru, and swallowing up all the streams of less note, became, by the mere length of its course, one of the greatest rivers in the world." That, as he observed most of those rivers ran rather south-eastward than northward, he believed they ran away to the sea, a great way farther to the south than the Rio de la Plata; but as to what part of the coast they might come to the sea in, that he knew nothing of.

This account was so rational, that nothing could be more; and was, indeed, extremely satisfactory.

It was also very remarkable, that this agreed exactly with the accounts before given me by the two Chilian Indians, or natives, which I had on board, and with whom I still continued to discourse as occasion presented; but who, at this time, I removed into the Madagascar ship, to make room for these Spanish prisoners.

I observed the Spaniard was made very sensible by my doctor of the obligation both he and his fellow-prisoners were under to me, in my persuading the privateers to set them at liberty, and in undertaking to carry them home to that part of Spain from whence they came; for as they had lost their cargo, their voyage seemed

to be at an end. The sense of the favour, I say, which I had done him, and was still doing him, in the civil treatment which I gave him, made this gentleman, for such he was in himself, and in his disposition, whatever he was by family, for that I knew nothing of; I say, it made him exceeding importunate with me, and with my doctor, who spoke Spanish perfectly well, to go with him to Villa Rica.

I made him no promise, but talked at a distance. I told him if he had lived by the sea and I could have sailed to his door in my ship I would have made him a visit. He returned that he wished he could make the river of Baldivia navigable for me, that I might bring my ship up to his door, and he would venture to say, that neither me nor all my ship's company should starve while we were with him. In the interval of these discourses I asked my doctor his opinion, whether he thought I might trust this Spaniard if I had a mind to go up and see the country for a few days?

"Seignior," says he, "the Spaniards are, in some respects, the worst nation under the sun; they are cruel, inexorable, uncharitable, voracious, and in several cases treacherous; but in two things they are to be depended upon beyond all the nations in the world, that is to say, when they give their honour to perform any thing, and when they have a return to make for any favour received;" and here he entertained me with a long story of a merchant of Chartagena, who in a sloop was shipwrecked at sea, and was taken up by an English merchant on board a ship bound to London from Barbadoes or some other of our islands; that the English merchant meeting another English ship bound to Jamaica, put the Spanish merchant on board him, paid him for his passage, and obliged him to set him on shore on the Spanish coast, as near to Chartagena as he could. This Spanish merchant could never rest until he found means to ship himself from Chartagena to the Havanna on the Galleons, from thence to Cadiz in Old Spain, and from thence to London, to find out the English merchant, and make him a present to the value of a thousand pistoles for saving his life, and for his civil returning him to Jamaica, &c. Whether the story was true or not his inference from it was just; namely, that a Spaniard never forgot a kindness; "But take it withal," says the doctor, "that I believe it is as much the effect of their pride as of their virtue; for at the same time," said he, "they never forget an ill turn any more than they do a good one, and they frequently entail their enmities on their families, and prosecute the revenge from one generation to another, so that the heir has with the estate of his ancestors all the family broils upon his hands as he comes to his estate."

From all this he inferred, that as this Spaniard found himself so very much obliged to me, I might depend upon it that he had so much pride in him, that if he could pull down the Andes for me to go through, and I wanted it, he would do it for me; and that nothing would be a greater satisfaction to him than to find some way or other how to requite me.

All these discourses shortened our voyage, and we arrived fair and softly (for it was very good

weather and little wind) at Tucapel, or the river Imperial, within ten leagues of Baldivia, that is to say, off Cape Bonifacio, which is the north point of the entrance into the river of Baldivia; and here I took one of the most unaccountable, and I must needs acknowledge unjustifiable resolutions, that ever any commander entrusted with a ship of such force and a cargo of such consequence adventured upon before, and which I by no means recommend to any commander of a ship to imitate; and this was, to venture up into the country above one hundred and fifty miles from my ship, leaving the success of the whole voyage, the estates of my employers, and the richest ship and cargo that ever came out of those seas, to the care and fidelity of two or three men. Such was the unsatisfied thirst of new discoveries, which I brought out of England with me, and which I nourished at all hazards to the end of the voyage.

However, though I condemn myself in the main for the rashness of the undertaking, yet let me do myself so much justice, as to leave it on record too, that I did not run this risk without all the needful precautions for the safety of the ship and cargo.

And first, I found out a safe place for the ships to ride; and this neither in the river of Tucapel, nor in the river of Baldivia, but in an opening or inlet of water without a name, about a league to the south of Tucapel, embayed and secured from almost all the winds that could blow; here the ships lay easy, with water enough, having about eleven fathoms good holding ground, and about half a league from shore.

I left the supra-cargo and my chief mate, also a kinsman of my own, a true sailor, who had been a midshipman, but was now a lieutenant; I say to those I left the command of both my ships, but with express orders not to stir, nor unmoor upon any account whatever, life and death excepted, until my return, or until if I was dead, they heard what was become of me; no, though they were to stay there six months, for they had provisions enough, and an excellent place for watering lay just by them; and I made all the men swear to me, that they would make no mutiny or disorder, but obey my said kinsman in one ship, and the supra-cargo in the other in all things except removing from that place; and that if they should command them to stir from thence, they would not so much as touch a sail or a rope.

When I had made all these conditions, and told my men that the design I went upon, was for the good of their voyage, for the service of the owners, and should, if it succeeded, be for all their advantages; I asked them if they were all willing I should go? to which they all answered that they were very willing, and would take the same care of the ships, and of all things belonging to them as if I were on board. This encouraged me greatly, and I now resolved nothing should hinder me.

Having thus concluded every thing, then, and not until then, I told my Spaniard that I had almost resolved to go along with him; at which he appeared exceedingly pleased, and indeed in a surprise of joy. I should have told you, that before I told him this, I had set all the rest of the

prisoners on shore, at their own request, just between the port of Tucapel and the bay of the conception, except two men, who as he told me, lived in the open country beyond Baldivia, and, as he observed, were very glad to be set on shore with him, so to travel home, having lost what little they had in the ship, and to whom he communicated nothing of all the discourse we had had of the affair of the mountains.

I also dismissed now the two Chilian Indians, but not without a very good reward proportioned to, not their trouble and time only, but proportioned to what I seemed to expect of them, and filling them still with expectations that I would come again and take a journey with them into the mountains.

And now it became necessary that I should use the utmost freedom with my new friend the Spaniard, being, as I told him, to put my life in his hands and the prosperity of my whole adventure, both ship and ship's company.

He told me he was sensible that I did put my life in his hands, and that it was a very great token of confidence in him, even such a one that he, being a stranger to me, had no reason to expect: but he desired me to consider that he was a Christian, not a savage; that he was one, I had laid the highest obligation upon in voluntarily taking him out of the hands of the freebooters, where he might have lost his life; and, in the next place, he said, it was some argument that he was a gentleman, and that I should find him to be a man of honour; and, lastly, that it did not appear that he could make any advantage of me, or that he could get any thing by using me ill; and if even that was no argument yet I should find when I came to his house that he was not in a condition to want any thing that might be gained, so much as to procure it by such a piece of villany and treachery, as to betray and destroy the man that had saved his life, and brought him out of the hands of the devil safe to his country and family, when he might have been carried away, God knows whither. But to conclude all, he desired me to accept the offer he had made me at sea (*viz.*) that he would send for his two sons, and leave them on board the ship as hostages for my safety, and desired they might be used on board no otherwise than I was used with him in the country.

I was ashamed to accept such an offer as this; but he pressed it earnestly, and importuned the doctor to move me to accept it, telling him that he should not be easy if I did not, so that, in short, the doctor advised me to agree to it; and, accordingly, he hired a messenger and a mule, and sent away for his two sons to come to him; and such expedition the messenger made, that in six days he returned with the two sons and three servants, all on horseback. His two sons were very pretty well behaved youths, who appeared to be gentlemen in their very countenances; the eldest was about thirteen years old, and the other about eleven. I treated them on board, as I had their father, with all possible respect; and having entertained them two days, left order that they should be treated in the same manner when I was gone; and to this I added, aloud, that their father might hear it, that whenever they had a mind to go away, they should let them go. But

their father laid a great many solemn charges upon them that they should not stir out of the ship till I came back safe, and that I gave them leave; and he made them promise that they would not: and the young gentlemen kept their word so punctually, that when our supercargo, whom I left in command, offered to let them go on shore several times to divert them with shooting and hunting, they would not stir out of the ship, and did not till I came back again.

Having gone this length, and made everything ready for my adventure, we set out, Captain Merlotte, the Spanish doctor, the old mutineer, that was my second mate, and who was now captain of the Madagascar ship, and myself, with two midshipmen, whom we took as servants, but who I resolved to make the directors of the main enterprise. As to the number, I found my Spaniard made no scruple of that, if it had been half my ship's company.

We set out, some on horses and some on mules, as we could get them, but the Spaniard and myself rode on two very good horses, being the same that his two sons came on. We arrived at a noble country seat about a league short of the town, where, at first, I thought we had been only to put in for refreshment; but I soon found, that it was really his dwelling house, and where his family and servants resided.

Here we were received like princes, and with as much ceremony as if he had been a prince that entertained us. The mayor domo, or steward of his house, received us, took in our baggage, and ordered our two servants to be taken care of.

I need not tell you that the Spaniard did all that pride and ostentation was capable of inspiring him with to entertain us; and the truth is, he could not have lived in a country in the world more capable of gratifying his pride; for here, without anything uncommon, he was able to show more gold plate than many good families in our country have of silver; and as for silver, it quite eclipses the appearance, or rather took away the very use of pewter, of which we did not see one vessel, no, not in the meanest part of his house. It is true, I believe, the Spaniard had not a piece of plate or of any household furniture which we did not see, except what belonged to the apartment of his wife; and it is to be observed, that the women never appeared, except at a distance and in the gardens, and then being under veils, we could not know the lady from her women, or the maids from the mistress.

We were lodged every one in separate apartments, very well furnished, but two of them very nobly indeed; though all the materials for furniture must be there at an excessive price. The way of lodging upon quilts, and in beds, made pavillion-wise, after the Spanish custom, I need not describe; but it surprised me to see the rooms hung with very rich tapestries, in a part of the world where they must cost so dear.

We had Chilian wine served us up in round gold cups, and water in large silver decanters, that held, at least, five quarts a piece; these stood in our chamber. Our chocolate was brought us up in the same manner in deep cups, all of gold, and it was made in vessels all of silver.

It would be troublesome to the very reader to

interrupt my account with the relation of all the fine things he had in his house, and I could not be persuaded but that he had borrowed all the plate in the town to furnish out his sideboard and table; but my doctor told me it was nothing but what was very usual among them that were men of any substance, as it was apparent he was; and that the silversmiths at St Jago supplied them generally with their plate ready wrought, in exchange, with allowance for the quality, for the gold which they found in the mountains, or in the brooks and streams which came from the mountains, into which the hasty showers of winter rain frequently washed down pretty large lumps; and others, which were smaller, they washed out of the sands by the ordinary methods of washing of ore.

I was better satisfied in this particular, when the next day, talking to our new landlord about the mountains, and the wealth of them, I asked him if he could show me any of the gold which was usually washed out of the hills by the rain, in the natural figure in which it was found? He smiled, and told me yes, he would show us a little; and with that, carried us up into a kind of a closet, where he had a great variety of odd things gathered up about the mountains and rivers, such as fine shells, strange stones in the form of stars, heavy pieces of ore, but such as neither he nor any of us could tell what they were, and the like; and after this, he pulled out a great leather bag, which had, I believe, near fifty pounds weight in it, here, seignior, says he, here is some of the dirt of the earth, and turning it out upon the table, it was easy to see that it was all gold, though the pieces were of different forms, and some scarce looking like gold at all, being so mixed with the spar, or with earth, that it did not appear so plain; but in every bit there was something of the clear gold to be seen, and the smaller the lumps the purer the gold appeared.

I was surprised at the quantity more than at the thing itself, having, as I have said, seen the gold which the Indians found in the countries I have described, which seemed to have little or no mixture; but then I was to have considered that what those Indians gathered was farther from the hills which it came from, and that those rough irregular pieces would not drive so far in the water, but would lodge themselves in the earth and sand of the rivers nearer home; and also that the Indians, not knowing how to separate the gold by fire from the dross and mixture above, did not think those rough pieces worth their taking up, whereas the Spaniards here understood much better what they were about.

But to return to the closet. When he had shown us this leather pouch full, he sweeps it by to one side of the table, which had ledges round it to keep it from running off, and takes up another bag full of large pieces of stone, great lumps of earth, and pieces of various shapes, all of which had some gold in them, but not to be gotten out but by fire. These, he told us, their servants bring them home as they find them in the mountains, lying loose here and there, when they run after their cattle.

But still I asked him if they found no pieces of pure gold? upon this, he turned to a great

old cabinet full of pretty large drawers, and pulling out one drawer, he showed us a surprising number of pieces of pure clean gold, some round, some long, some flat, some thick, all of irregular shapes, and worked roundish at the ends, with rolling along, some of these weighed a quarter of an ounce, some more, and some less, and as I lifted the drawer, I believe there could not be less than between twenty and thirty pounds' weight of it.

Then he pulled out another drawer, which was almost full of the same kind of drug, but as small as sand, the biggest not so big as pins' heads, and which might very properly be called gold dust.

After this sight a man was to be surprised at nothing he could see. I asked him how long such a treasure might be amassing together in this country? he told me that was according to the pains they might take in the search; that he had been twelve years here, and had done little or nothing; but had he had twenty negroes to have set on work, as he might have had, he might have had more than this in one year. I asked him how much gold in weight he thought there might be in all this he had shown me? he told me he could not tell; that they never troubled themselves to weigh, but when the silversmith at St Jago came to bring home any vessel, or when the merchants from Lima came to Baldivia with European goods, then they bought what they wanted of them; that they were sensible they gave excessive dear for every thing, even ten or twenty for one. But as gold, he said, was the growth of that country, and the other things, such as cloth, linen, fine silks, &c. were the gold of Europe, they did not think much to give what they asked for those things. In short, I found that the people in this country, though they kept large plantations in their hands, had great numbers of cattle, ingenios, as they call them, for making sugar, and land, under management, for the maintenance of themselves and families; yet did not wholly neglect the getting gold out of the mountains, where it was in such plenty; and therefore it seems the town adjacent is called Villa Rica, or the Rich Town, being seated as it were at the foot of the mountains, and in the richest part of them.

After I had sufficiently admired the vast quantity of gold he had, he made signs to the doctor that I should take any piece or any quantity that I pleased; but thought I might take it as an affront to have him offer me any particular small parcel. The doctor hinted it to me, and I bade him return him thanks; but to let him know that I would by no means have any of that, but that I would be glad to take up a piece or two, such as chance should present to me in the mountains; that I might show in my own country, and tell them that I took it up with my own hands. He answered he would go with me himself; and doubted not but to carry me where I should fully satisfy my curiosity, if I would be content to clamber a little among the rocks.

I now began to see plainly that I had no manner of need to have taken his sons for hostages for my safety; and would fain have sent for them back again; but he would by no means give me leave; so I was obliged to give that over. A day

or two after I desired of him that he would give me leave to send for one more person from the ships, who I had a great mind should see the country with me, and to send for some few things that I should want, and, withal, to satisfy my men that I was safe and well.

This he consented to; so I sent away one of the two midshipmen, who I called my servants, and with him two servants of the Spaniard, my landlord, as I called him, with four mules and two horses. I gave my midshipman my orders and directions under my hand to my supercargo what to do, for I was resolved to be even with my Spaniard for all his good usage of me; the midshipman was gone ten days, for they came back pretty well laden, as you shall hear, and the men were obliged to come all on foot.

All the while they were gone, my landlord and I spent in surveying the country and viewing his plantation. As for the city of Villa Rica, it was not the most proper to go there in public; and the doctor knew that as well as the Spaniard; and therefore, though we went several times incognito, yet it was of no consequence to me, neither did I desire it.

One night I had a very strange fright here, and behaved myself very much like a fool about it. The case was this; I waked in the middle of the night, and chancing to open my eyes, I saw a great light of fire, which to me seemed as if the house or some part of it had been on fire; I, as if I had been at Wapping or Rotherhithe, where people are always terrified with such things, jumped out of bed and called my friend Captain Merlotte, and cried out fire, fire! The first thing I should have thought of, on this occasion, should have been that the Spaniard did not understand what the words fire, fire! meant; and, that if I expected they should understand me, I should have cried fuego, fuego!

However, Captain Merlotte got up and my Madagascar captain, for we all lay near one another, and with the noise they waked the whole house, and my landlord, as he afterwards confessed, began to suspect some mischief; his steward having come to his chamber door and told him that the strangers were up in arms, in which mistake we might all have had our throats cut, and the poor Spaniard not to blame neither.

But our doctor coming hastily in to me, unridled the whole matter, which was this, that a volcano, or burning vent among the hills, being pretty near the Spanish side of the country, as there are many of them in the Andes, had flamed out that night, and gave such a terrible light in the air, as made us think the fire had at least been in the out-houses, or in part of the house, and accordingly had put me in such a fright.

Upon this, having told me what it was, he ran away to the Spanish servants, and told them what the meaning of it all was, and bade them go and satisfy their master, which they did, and all was well again; but as for me, I sat almost all the night staring out at the window at the eruption of fire upon the hills, and the like bonfire I had never seen before, I assure you.

I sincerely begged my landlord's pardon for disturbing his house; and asked him if those eruptions were frequent. He said no, they were not frequent, for they were constant, either in

one part of the hills or another; and that in my passing the mountains I should see several of them. I asked him if they were not alarmed with them, and if they were not attended with earthquakes. He said he believed that among the hills themselves they might have some shakings of the earth, because sometimes they should find pieces of the rocks break off and fall down, and that it was among those little fractures that sometimes pieces of stone were found which had gold interspersed in them, as if they had been melted and run together, of which he had shown me some; but that, as for earthquakes in the country, he had never heard of any since he came thither, which had been upwards of fifteen years, including three years that he dwelt at St Jago.

One day, being out on horseback with my landlord, we rode up close to the mountains, and he showed me at a distance an entrance, as he called it, into them, frightful enough indeed, as you shall hear in its place. Then he told me that was the way he intended to carry me when he should go to show me the highest hills in the world; but he turned short, and, smiling, said it should not be yet, for though he had promised me a safe return, and left hostages for it, yet he had not capitulated for time.

I told him he need not capitulate with me for time, for if I had not two ships to stay my coming, and between three and four hundred men eating me up all the while, I did not know whether I would ever go away again or no, if he would give me house-room. He told me, as to that, he had sent my men some victuals, so that they would not starve if I did not come back for some days. This surprised me a little, and I discovered it in my countenance. "Nay, seignior," says he, "I have only sent them some victuals to maintain my two hostages, for, you know, they must not want." It was not good manners in me to ask what he had sent; but I understood, as soon as my midshipman returned, that he had sent down sixteen cows, or runts, I know not what to call them but black cattle; thirty hogs, thirteen large Peruvian sheep, as big as great calves; and three casks of Chilian wine, with an assurance that they should have more provisions when that was spent.

I was amazed at all this munificence of the Spaniard, and very glad I was that I had sent my midshipman for the things I intended to present him again, for I was as well able to requite him for a large present as he was to make it, and had resolved it before I knew he had sent anything to the ship; so that this exchanging of presents was but a kind of generous barter or commerce; for, as to gold, we had either of us so much that it was not at all equal in value to what we had to give on both sides, as we were at present situated.

In short, my midshipman returned with the horses and servants; and when we had brought what I had sent for into a place which I desired the Spaniard to allow me to open my things in, I sent my doctor to desire the Spaniard to let me speak with him.

I told him, first, that he must give me his parole of honour not to take amiss what I had to say to him; that it was the custom in our country, at any time, to make presents to the ladies,

with the knowledge and consent of their husbands or parents, without any evil design, or without giving any offence, but that I knew it was not so among the Spaniards; that I had not had the honour yet either to see his lady or his daughter, but that I had heard he had a lady and a daughter also; however, that if he pleased to be the messenger of a trifle I had caused my man to bring, and would present it for me, and not take it as an offence, he should see beforehand what it was, and I should content myself with his accepting it in their behalf.

He told me, smiling, he did not bring me thither to take any presents of me; I had already done enough, in that I had given him his liberty, which was the most valuable gift in the world; and as to his wife, I had already made her the best present I was able, having given her back her husband; that it is true it was not the custom of the Spaniards to let their wives appear in any public entertainment of friends, but that he had resolved to break through that custom, and that he had told his wife what a friend I had been to her family, and that she should thank me for it in public; and that then, what present I had designed for her, since I would be a maker of presents, she should do herself the honour to take it with her own hands, and he would be very far from mistaking them, or taking it ill from his wife.

As this was the highest compliment he was able to make me, the more he was obliging in the manner, for he returned in about two hours, leading his wife into the room by the hand, and his daughter following.

I must confess I was surprised, for I did not expect to have seen such a sight in America. The lady's dress, indeed, I cannot describe, but she was really a charming woman in her person, of about forty years of age, and covered over with emeralds and diamonds, I mean as to her head. She was veiled till she came into the room, but gave her veil to her woman when her husband took her by the hand. Her daughter I took to be about twelve years old, which the Spaniards count marriageable; she was pretty, but not so handsome as her mother.

After the compliments on both sides, my landlord, as I now called him, told her very handsomely what a benefactor I had been to her family, by redeeming him from the hands of villains; and she, turning to me, thanked me in the most obliging manner, and with a modest, graceful way of speech, such as I cannot represent, and which, indeed, I did not think the Spaniards, who are said to be so haughty, had been acquainted with.

I then desired the doctor to tell the Spaniard her husband that I desired his lady to accept a small present which my midshipman had brought for her from the ship, and which, with his words, I took in my hand, and the Spaniard led his wife on to take it; and I must needs say it was not a mean present, besides, its being of ten times the value in that place as it would have been at London, and I was now very glad that, as I mentioned above, I always reserved a small quantity of all sorts of goods unsold, that I might have them to dispose of as occasion should offer.

First, I presented her with a very fine piece of

Dutch holland, worth in London about seven shillings an ell, and thirty-six ells in length, and worth in Chili, to be sure, fifteen pieces of eight per ell, at least; or it was rather likely that all the kingdom of Chili had not such another.

Then I gave her two pieces of China damask, and two pieces of China silks, called atlases, flowered with gold; two pieces of fine muslin, one flowered, the other plain, and a piece of very fine chintz, or printed calico; also a large parcel of spices, made up in blue papers, being about six pounds of nutmegs, and about twice as many cloves.

And, lastly, to the young lady I gave one piece of damask, two pieces of China taffety, and a piece of fine striped muslin.

After all this was delivered, and the ladies had received them, and given them their women to hold, I pulled out a little box, in which I had two couple of large pearls, of that pearl which I mentioned we found at the Pearl Islands, very well matched for ear-rings, and gave the lady one pair and the daughter the other; and now, I think, I had made a present fit for an ambassador to carry to a prince.

The ladies made all possible acknowledgment, and we had the honour that day to dine with them in public. My landlord the Spaniard told me I had given them such a present as the Viceroy of Mexico's lady would have gone fifty leagues to have received.

But I had not done with my host, for, after dinner, I took him into the same room, and told him I hoped he did not think I had made all my presents to the ladies, and had nothing left to show my respect to him; and, therefore, first I presented him with three negro men, which I had bought at Callao for my own use, but knew I could supply myself again in my way home, at a moderate price; in the next place I gave him three pieces of black Colchester bays, which, though they are coarse ordinary things in England, that a footman would scarce wear, are a habit for a prince in that country. I then gave him a piece of very fine scarlet English serge, which was really very valuable in England, but much more there; and another piece of crimson broad-cloth, and six pieces of fine silk druggets for his two sons, and thus I finished my presents. The Spaniard stood still, and looked on all the while I was laying out my presents to him, as one in a transport, and said not one word till all was over; but then he told me very gravely that it was now time for him to turn me out of his house; "For, seignior," says he, "no man ought to suffer himself to be obliged beyond his power of return, and I have no possible way of making any return to you equal to such things as these."

It is true the present I had made him, if it was to be rated by the value of things in the country where it then was, would have been valued at six or seven hundred pounds sterling, but to reckon them as they might cost me, did not altogether amount to above one hundred pounds, except the three negroes, which, indeed, cost me at Lima one thousand two hundred pieces of eight.

He was as sensible of the price of those negroes as I was of the occasion he had of them, and of the work he had to do for them; and he

came to me about an hour after, and told me he had looked over all the particulars of the noble presents which I had made them; and, though the value was too great for him to accept, or for any man to offer him, yet, since I had been at so much trouble to send for the things, and that I thought him worthy such a bounty, he was come back to tell me that he accepted, thankfully, all my presents, both to himself and to his wife and daughter, except only the three negroes, and as they were bought in the country, and were the particular traffic of the place, he could not take them as a present, but would be equally obliged, and take it for as much a favour, if I would allow him to pay for them.

I smiled, and told him he and I would agree upon that; for he did not yet know what favours I had to ask of him, and what expense I should put him to; that I had a great design in my view, which I was to crave his assistance in, and which I had not yet communicated to him, in which he might perhaps find that he would pay dear enough for all the little presents I had made him; and, in the mean time, to make him easy as to the three negro men, I gave him my word that he should pay for them; only not yet.

He could have nothing to object against an offer of this kind, because he could not guess what I meant, but gave me all the assurances of service and assistance that lay in his power, in anything that I might have to do in that country.

But here, by the way, you are to understand, that all this was carried on with a supposition, that we acted under a commission from the king of France; and though he knew many of us were English, and that I was an Englishman, in particular, yet, as we had such a commission and produced it, we were Frenchmen, in that sense, to him, nor did he entertain us upon any other footing.

The sequel of the story will also make it sufficiently appear, that I did not make such presents as these in mere ostentation, or only upon the compliment of a visit to a Spanish gentleman, any more than I would leave my ship, and a cargo of such value, in the manner I had done, to make a tour into the country, if, had not views sufficient to justify such beginnings, and the consequence of these things will be the best apology for me, to those who shall have patience to put them all together.

We had now spent a fortnight, and something more, in ceremony and civilities, and in now and then taking a little tour about the fields, and towards the mountains. However, even in this way of living, I was not so idle as I seemed to be for I had not only made due observations of all the country which I saw, but informed myself sufficiently of the parts which I did not see. I found the country not only fruitful in the soil, but wonderfully temperate and agreeable in its climate. The air, though hot, according to its proper latitude, yet that heat so moderated by the cool breezes from the mountains, that it was rather equal to the plain countries in other parts of the world, in the latitude of fifty, than to a climate in thirty-eight to forty degrees.

This gave the inhabitants the advantages, not only of pleasant and agreeable living, but also of

a particular fertility, which hot climates are not blessed with, especially as to corn, the most necessary of all productions, such as wheat, I mean European wheat, or English wheat, which grew here as well and as kindly as in England; which in Peru, and the Isthmus of America, will by no means thrive for want of moisture and cold.

Here were, also, an excellent middling breed of black cattle, which they fed under the shade of the mountains, and on the banks of the rivers, till they came to be very fat. In a word, here were, or might be produced, all the plants, fruits and grain, of a temperate climate; at the same time, the orange, lemon, citron, pomegranate, and figs, with a moderate care, would come to a very tolerable perfection in their gardens, and even sugar-canes, in some places, though these last but rarely, and not without great art in the cultivation, and chiefly in gardens.

They assured me, that further southward beyond Baldivia, and to the latitude of forty-seven to forty-nine, the lands were esteemed richer than where we now were; the grass more strengthening and nourishing for the cattle, and that, consequently, the black cattle, horses, and hogs, were all of a larger breed; but that as the Spaniards had no settlement beyond Baldivia to the south, so they did not find the natives so tractable as where we then were; where, though the Spaniards were but few, and the strength they had, was but small, yet, as upon any occasion they had always been assisted with forces sufficient from St Jago, and if need were, even from Peru, so the natives had always been subdued, and had found themselves obliged to submit, and that now they were entirely reduced, and were, and had been, for several years, very easy and quiet. Besides the plentiful harvest which they made of gold from the mountains, (which appeared to be the great allurements of the Spaniards), had drawn them rather to settle here, than further southward, being naturally addicted, as my new landlord confessed to me, to reap the harvest which had the least labour and hazard attending it, and the most profit.

Not but that at the same time he confessed, that he believed, and had heard, that there was as much gold to be found further to the south, as far as the mountains continued; but that, as I have said, the natives were more troublesome, and more dangerous, than where they now lived, and that the king of Spain did not allow troops sufficient to civilize and reduce them.

I asked him concerning the natives in the country where we were;—he told me they were the most quiet and inoffensive people, since the Spaniards had reduced them by force, that could be desired,—that they were not, indeed, numerous or warlike, the warlike and obstinate part of them having fled farther off to the south, as they were overpowered by the Spaniards;—that for those that were left, they lived secure, under the protection of the Spanish governor;—that they fed cattle and planted the country, and sold the product of their lands very much to the Spaniards, but that they did not covet to be rich only to obtain clothes, arms, powder and shot, which however, they let them have but sparingly and with good assurance of their fidelity. I asked him if they were not treacherous and per-

fidious, and if it was not dangerous trusting themselves among them in the mountains, and among the retired places where they dwelt;—he told me that it was quite the contrary, that they were so honest, and so harmless, that he would at any time venture to send his two sons into the mountains a hunting, with each of them a Chilian for his guide, and let them stay with the said natives two or three nights and days at a time, and be in no uneasiness about them; and that none of them were ever known to do any foul or treacherous thing by the Spaniards, since he had been in that country.

Having thus fully informed myself of things, I began now to think it was high time to see the main sight which I came to enquire after, (*viz.*) the passages of the mountains, and the wonders that were to be discovered on the other side; and accordingly I took my patron the Spaniard by himself, and told him, that as I was a traveller, and was now in such a remote part of the world, he could not but think I should be glad to see everything extraordinary, that was to be seen; that I might be able to give some account of the world when I came into Europe, better, and differing from what others had done, who had been there before me; and that I had a great mind, if he would give me his assistance, to enter into the passages and valleys which he had told me so much of in the mountains, and, if it was possible, which, indeed, I had always thought it was not, to take a prospect of the world on the other side.

He told me, it was not a light piece of work, and, perhaps, the discoveries might not answer my trouble, there being little to be seen but steep precipices, inhospitable rocks, and unpassable mountains, immuring us on every side, innumerable rills and brooks of water falling from the cliffs, making a barbarous and unpleasant sound; and that sound echoed and reverberated from innumerable cavities and hollows among the rocks, and these all pouring down into one middle stream, which we should always find on one side or other of us as we went, and that sometimes, we should be obliged to pass those middle streams, as well as the rills and brooks on the sides, without a bridge, and at the expence of pulling off our clothes.

He told us, that we should meet, indeed, with provisions enough, and with an innocent, harmless people, who, according to their ability, would entertain us very willingly; but that I who was a stranger, would be sorely put to it for lodging, especially for so many of us.

However, he said, as he had, perhaps, at first, raised this curiosity in me, by giving me a favourable account of the place, he would be very far from discouraging me now; and that if I resolved to go, he would not only endeavour to make every thing as pleasant to me as he could, but that he and his major domo would go along with me, and see us safe through, and safe home again; but desired me, not to be in too much haste, for that he must make some little preparation for the journey, which, as he told us, might, perhaps, take us up fourteen or sixteen days forward, and as much back again; not, he said, that it was necessary that we should be so long going and coming, as that he supposed I would

take time to see every thing which I might think worth seeing, and not be in so much haste, as if I was sent express. I told him, he was very much in the right; that I did not desire to make a thing, which I expected so much pleasure in, be a toil to me more than needs must; and above all, that, as I supposed, I should not return into these parts very soon, I would not take a cursory view of a place, which I expected would be so well worth seeing, and let it be known to all, I should speak of it to, that I wanted to see it again, before I could give a full account of it.

“Well, seignior,” says he, “we will not be in haste, or view it by halves; for if wild and uncouth places will be a diversion to you, I promise myself your curiosity shall be fully gratified; but as to extraordinary things, rarities in nature, and surprising incidents which foreigners expect, I cannot say much to that. However, what think you, seignior, says he, if we should take a tour a little way into the entrance of the hills, which I showed you the other day, and look upon the gate of this gulph? perhaps your curiosity may be satisfied with the first day’s prospect, which I assure you, will be none of the most pleasant, and you may find yourself sick of the enterprize.”

I told him, no; I was so resolved upon the attempt, since he, who, I was satisfied, would not deceive me, had represented it as so feasible, and especially since he had offered to conduct me through it, that I would not, for all the gold that was in the mountains, lay it aside. He shook his head at that expression, and smiling at the doctor, says he, “this gentleman little thinks that there is more gold in these mountains, nay, even in this part where we are, than there is now above ground in the whole world: partly understanding what he said, I answered, my meaning was, to let him see, that nothing could divert me from the purpose of viewing the place, unless he himself forbid me, which, I hoped he would not; and that as for looking a little way into the passage, to try if the horror of the place would put a check to my curiosity, I would not give him that trouble, seeing the more terrible and frightful, the more difficult and impracticable it was, provided it could be mastered at last, the more it would please me to attempt and overcome it.

“Nay, nay, seignior,” said he pleasantly, “there is nothing difficult or impracticable in it, nor is it any thing but what the country people, and even some of our nation, perform every day; and that, not only by themselves, either for sport in pursuit of game, but even with droves of cattle, which they go with from place to place, as to a market, or a fair; and, therefore, if the horror of the clefts and precipices, the noises of the volcanos, the fire, and such things as you may see and hear above you, will not put a stop to your curiosity, I assure you, you shall not meet with any thing unpassable or impracticable below, nor any thing but what, with the assistance of God, and the blessed virgin (and then he crossed himself, and so we did all) we shall go cheerfully over.”

Finding, therefore, that I was thus resolutely bent upon the enterprize, but not in the least guessing at my design, he gave order to have servants and mules provided, for mules are much fitter to travel among the hills than horses; and in four days he promised to be ready for a march.

I had nothing to do in all these four days, but to walk abroad, and, as we say, look about me; but I took this opportunity to give instructions to my two midshipmen, who were called my servants, in what they were to do.

First, I charged them to make land-marks, bearings, and beacons, as we might call them, upon the points of the rocks above them, and at every turning in the way below them, also at the reaches and windings of the rivers or brooks, falls of water, and every thing remarkable; and to keep each of them separate and distinct journals of these things; not only to find the way back again by the same steps; but that they might be able to find that way afterwards by themselves, and without guides, which was the bottom and true intent of all the rest of my undertakings; and as I knew these were both capable to do it, and had courage and fidelity to undertake it, I had singled them out for the attempt and had made them fully acquainted with my whole scheme, and, consequently, they knew the meaning, and reason of my present discourse with them: they promised not to fail to shew me a plan of the hills, with the bearings of every point, one with another, where every step was to be taken, and every turning to the right hand, or to the left, and such a journal, I believe, was never seen before, or since; but it is too long for this place. I shall, however, take out the heads of it as I go along, which may serve as a general description of the place.

The evening of the fourth day, as he had appointed, my friend the Spaniard let me know that he was ready to set out, and accordingly we began our cavalcade: my retinue consisted of six, as before, and we had mules provided for us; my two midshipmen, as servants, had two mules given them also for their baggage; the Spaniard had six also, viz. his gentleman, or, as I called him before, his major domo, on horse-back, that is to say, on mule-back, with mules for his baggage, and four servants on foot. Just before we set out, his gentleman brought every one of us a fuzee, and our two servants, each a harquebush, or short musket, with cartouches, powder and ball, and adjoined a pouch with small shot, such as we call swan shot, for fowls, or deer, as we saw occasion.

I was as well pleased with this, as with any thing, because I had not so entire a confidence in the native Chilians as he had; but I saw plainly, some time after, that I was wrong in that, for nothing could be more honest, quiet, and free from design, than those people, except the poor honest people where we dressed up the king and queen, as above.

We were late in the morning before we got out, having all this equipage to furnish, and travelling very gently, it was about two hours before sun-set when we came to the entrance of the mountains, where, to my surprise, I found we were to go in upon a level, without any ascent, at least, that was considerable: we had, indeed, gone up upon a pretty sharp ascent for near two miles before we came to the place.

The entrance was agreeable enough, the passage being near half a mile broad. On the left hand was a small river, whose channel was deep but the water shallow, there having been but

little rain for some time; the water ran very rapid, and, as the Spaniard told me, was sometimes exceeding fierce; the entrance lay inclining a little south, and was so straight that we could see near a mile before us, but the prodigious height of the hills on both sides and before us, appearing one over another, gave such a prospect of horror, that I confess it was frightful at first to look on the stupendous height of the rocks. Everything before us looking one higher than another was amazing, and to see how, in some places, they hung over the river and over the passage, it threatened a man with being some time or other swallowed up.

The rocks and precipices on our right hand had here and there vast clefts and entrances, which looked as if they had been different thoroughfares, but when we came to look full into them we could see them close up at the further end, and go off in slopes, and with gullies made by the water which, in hasty rains, came pouring down from the hills, and which at a distance made such noises as it is impossible to conceive, unless by having seen and heard the like, for the water falling sometimes from a height twenty times as high as the Monument, and perhaps much more, and meeting in the passage with many dashes and interruptions, it is impossible to describe how, the sound crossing and interfering, mingled with itself, and the several noises sunk one into another, increasing the whole, as the many waters joining increased the main stream.

We entered this passage about two miles the first night: after the first length which, as I said, held about three-quarters of a mile, we turned away to the south, short on the right hand; the river leaving us, seemed to come through a very narrow but deep hollow of the mountains, where there was little more breadth at the bottom than the channel took up, though the rocks gave back as they ascended, as placed in several stages, though all horrid and irregular, and we could see nothing but blackness and terror all the way. I was glad our way did not turn on that side, but wondered that we should leave the river, and the more when I found that, in the way we went, having first mounted gently a green pleasant slope; when it declined again we found, as it were, a new rivulet began in the middle, and the water ran S. E., or thereabouts. This made me begin to ask if the water went away into the New World beyond the hills? My patron smiled, and said, "No, seignior, not yet; we shall meet with the other river again very quickly;" and so we found it the next morning.

When we came a little further we found the passage open, and we came to a very pleasant plain, which declined a little gradually, widening to the left or east side. On the right side of this we saw another vast opening like the first, which went in about half a mile, and then closed up as the first had done, sloping up to the top of the hills a most monstrous inconceivable height.

My patron stopping here, and getting down or alighting from his mule gave him to his man, and asking me to alight, told me, this was the first night's entertainment I was to meet with in the Andes, and hoped I was prepared for it. I told him, that I might very well consent to accept

of such entertainment in a journey of my own contriving, as he was content to take up with in compliment to me.

I looked around me to see if there were any huts or cots of the mountaineers thereabouts, but I perceived none; only I observed something like a house, and it was really a house of some of the said mountaineers upon the top of a precipice as high from where we stood as the top of the cupola of St Paul's, and I saw some living creature, whether men or women I could not tell, looking from thence down upon us. However, I understood afterwards that they had ways to come at their dwelling, which were very easy and agreeable, and had lanes and plains where they fed their cattle, and had everything growing that they desired.

My patron making a kind of invitation to me to walk, took me up that dark chasm or opening on the right hand, which I have just mentioned, "Here, sir," said he, "if you will venture to walk a few steps 'tis likely we may show you some of the product of this country;" but as it grew towards night, he added, "But I see it is too dark, perhaps we may do it in the morning." And with this we walked back towards the place where we left our mules and servants, and when we came thither there was a complete camp fixed. Three very handsome tents raised and a bar set up at a distance where the mules were tied one to another to graze, and the servants and the baggage lay together with an open tent over them.

My patron led me into the first tent, and told me he was obliged to let me know that I must make shift with that lodging, the place not affording any better.

Here we had quilts laid very artificially and clever for me and my three comrades, and we lodged very comfortably; but before we came to that we had the third tent to go to, in which there was a very handsome table covered with all conveniences, and, in a word, with a cold treat, that is to say, cold roasted mutton and beef, very well dressed, and after that, some potted or baked venison, with pickles, preserves, and very fine sweetmeats.

Here we ate very freely, but he bid us depend upon it that we should not fare so well the next night, and so it would be worse every night, till we came to lie entirely at a mountaineer's; but he was better to us than he pretended.

In the morning we had our chocolate as regularly as we used to have it in his own house, and we were up and ready to travel in a moment. We went winding now from the S.E. to the left, till our course looked E. by N., when we came again to have the river in view. But I should have observed here that my two midshipmen and two of my patron's servants had, by his direction, been very early in the morning clambering up the rocks in the opening on the right hand, and had come back again about a quarter of an hour after we set out, when missing my two men, I inquired for them, and my patron said they were coming, for, it seems, he saw them at a distance, and so we halted for them.

When they were come almost up to us, he called to his men in Spanish to ask if they had had una bon vejo? They answered, Poco, Poco:

and when they came quite up, one of my midshipmen showed me three or four small bits of clean perfect gold, which they had picked up in the hill or gullet where the water trickled down from the rocks, and the Spaniards told them, that had they had time they should have found much more, the water being quite down, and nobody having been there since the last hard rain. One of the Spaniards had three small bits in his hand also; I said nothing for the present, but charged my midshipmen to mark the place, and so we went on.

We followed up the stream of this water for three days more, encamping every night as before; in which time we passed by several such openings into the rocks on either side. On the fourth day we had the prospect of a very pleasant valley and river below us on the north side, keeping its course almost in the middle, the valley reaching near four miles in length, and in some places near two miles broad.

This sight was perfectly surprising, because here we found the vale fruitful, level, and inhabited, there being several small villages or clusters of houses such as the Chilians live in, which are low houses covered with a kind of sedge, and sheltered with little rows of thick grown trees, of what kind we knew not.

We saw no way through, nor which way we were to go out; but saw it everywhere bounded with prodigious mountains, look to which side of the valley we would. We kept still on the right, which was now the south-east side of the river, and as we followed it up the stream it was still less than at first, and lessened every step we went, because of the number of rills we left behind us. And here we encamped the fifth time, and all this while the Spanish gentleman victualled us. Then we turned again to the right, where we had a new and beautiful prospect of another valley as broad as the other, but not above a mile in length.

After we were through this valley my patron rides up to a poor little cottage of a Chilian Indian without any ceremony, and calling us all about him, told us that there we would go to dinner. We saw a smoke indeed in the house, rather than come out of it, and it smothered through a hole in the roof instead of a chimney. However, to this house, as to an inn, my patron had sent away his major domo and another servant, and there they were as busy as two cooks, boiling and stewing goat's flesh and fowls, making us soup, broth, and such hodge-podge, as it seems they were used to provide, and which, however homely the cottage was, we found very savoury and good.

Immediately a loose tent was pitched, and we had our table set up and dinner served in, and within about two hours we had eaten it, reposed ourselves after it (as the custom there is) and were ready to travel again.

I had room all this while to observe and wonder at the admirable structure of this place, which may serve, in my opinion, for the eighth wonder of the world, that is to say, supposing there were but seven before. We had in the middle of the day, indeed, a very hot sun, and the reflection from the mountains made it still hotter, but the height of the rocks on every side

began to cast long shadows before three o'clock, except where the openings looked towards the west, and as soon as those shadows reached us the cool breezes of the air came naturally on, drawing every way exceeding pleasant and refreshing.

The place we were in was green and flourishing, and the soil well cultivated by the poor industrious Chilians, who lived here in perfect solitude, and pleased with their liberty from the tyranny of the Spaniards, who very seldom visited them, and never molested them, being pretty much out of their way, except when they came for hunting and diversion; and then they used the Chilians always civilly, because they were obliged to them for their assistance in their diversions, the Chilians of those valleys being very active, strong, and nimble fellows.

By this means most of them were furnished with fire-arms, powder, and shot, and were very good marksmen, but as to violence against anybody, they entertained no thoughts of that kind, as I could perceive, but were content with their way of living, which was easy and free.

The tops of the mountains here, the vallies being so large, were much plainer to be seen than where the passages were narrow, for there the height was so great that we could see nothing. Here, at several distances, (the rocks towering one over another) we might see smoke come out of some, snow lying upon others, trees and bushes growing upon others, and goats, wild asses, and other creatures which we could hardly distinguish, running about on others.

When we had passed through this second valley, I perceived we came to a narrower passage, and something like the first; the entrance into it indeed was smooth, and above a quarter of a mile broad, and it went winding away to the N., and then again turned round to the N.E., afterwards almost due E., and then to the S.E. and so to S.S.E., and this frightful narrow strait, with the hanging rocks almost closing on the top, whose height we could neither see nor guess at, continued about three days' journey more, most of the way ascending gently upwards; and as to the river, it was by this time quite lost, but we might see, that on any occasion of rain, or of the melting of the snow on the mountains, there was a hollow in the middle of the valley, through which the water made its way, and on either hand the sides of the hills were full of the like gullies, made by the violence of the rain, where, not the earth only, but the rocks themselves, even the very stone, seemed to be worn and penetrated by the continual fall of the water.

Here my patron showed me, that in the hollow which I mentioned, in the middle of this way, and at the bottom of those gullies, or places worn, as above, in the rocks, there were often found pieces of gold, and sometimes, after a rain, very great quantities: and that there were few of the little Chilian cottages which I had seen, where they had not sometimes a pound or two of gold dust and lumps of gold by them; and he was mistaken, if I was willing to tarry and make the experiment, if we did not find some, even then, in a very little search.

The Chilian mountaineer at whose house we had stopped to dine, had gone with us, and he

hearing my patron say thus, runs presently to the hollow channel in the middle; there was a kind of a fall, or break in it, where the water by falling perhaps two or three feet, had made a little place deeper than the rest; and which, though there was no water then running, yet had water in it, perhaps the quantity of a barrel or two; here, with the help of two of the servants and a kind of scoop, he presently threw out the water, with the sand and whatever was at bottom among it, into the ordinary water-course; the water falling thus hard, every scoopful upon the sand or earth that came out of the scoop before it, washed a great deal of it away; and among that which remained, we might plainly see little lumps of gold shining, as big as grains of sand, and sometimes one or two a little bigger.

This was demonstration enough to us; I took up some small grains of it, about the quantity of half a quarter of an ounce, and left my midshipmen to take up more, and they stayed indeed so long, that they could scarce see their way to overtake us, and brought away about two ounces in all, the Chilian and the servants very freely giving them all they found.

When we had travelled about nine miles more in this winding frightful narrow way, it began to grow towards night, and my patron talked of taking up our quarters as we had before; but his gentleman put him in mind of a Chilian, one of their old servants, who lived in a turning among the mountains, about half a mile out of our way, and where we might be accommodated again with the helps of a house, and place, at least, for our cookery. "Very true," says our patron, "we will go thither, and there, seignior," says he, turning to me, "you shall see an emblem of complete felicity, even in the middle of this place of horror; and you shall see a prince greater, and more truly so, than King Philip, who is the greatest man in the world."

Accordingly we went softly on, his gentleman having advanced before, and, in about half a mile we found a turning or opening on our left, where we beheld a deep, large valley, almost circular, and of about a mile diameter, and abundance of houses or cottages interspersed all over it, so that the whole valley looked like an inhabited village, and the ground like a planted garden.

We who, as I said, had been for some miles ascending upwards, were so high above them, that the low valley looked as the low lands in England look below Box hill, in Surrey; and I began to ask how we should get down? But as we were come into a wider space than before, so we had more daylight; for though the hollow way had rendered it near dusk before, now it was almost clear day again.

Here we parted with the first Chilian that I mentioned, and I ordered one of my midshipmen to give him a hat and a piece of black baize, enough to make him a cloak; which so obliged the man, that he knew not what way to testify his joy; but I knew what I was doing in this, and I ordered my midshipman to do it, that he might make his acquaintance with him against another time, and it was not a gift ill bestowed, as will appear in its place.

We were now obliged to quit our mules, who all took up their quarters at the top of the hill,

while we, by footings made in the rocks, descended, as we might say, down a pair of stairs of half a mile long, but with many plain places between, like foot paces, for the ease of going and coming.

Thus winding and turning to avoid the declivity of the hill, we came very safe to the bottom, where my patron's gentleman and our new landlord that was to be, came to pay his compliment to us.

He was dressed in a jerkin made of an otter skin, like a doublet, a pair of long Spanish breeches of leather, dressed after the Spanish fashion, green, and very soft, and which looked very well, but what the skin was I could not guess; he had over it a mantle of a kind of cotton, dyed in two or three grave brown colours, and thrown about him like a Scotchman's plaid; he had shoes of a particular make, tied on like sandals, flat-heeled, no stockings, his breeches hanging down below the calf of his leg, and his shoes lacing up above his ankles; he had on a cap of the skin of some small beast like a racoon, with a bit of the tail hanging out from the crown of his head backward, a long pole in his hand, and a servant, as oddly dressed as himself, carried his gun: he had neither spado nor dagger.

When our patron came up the Chilian stepped forward and made him three very low bows, and then they talked together, not in Spanish, but in a kind of mountain jargon, some Spanish, and some Chilian, of which I scarce understood one word. After a few words, I understood he said something about a stranger come to see, and then, I suppose, added the passages of the mountains; then the Chilian came towards me, made me three bows, and bade me welcome in Spanish. As soon as he had said that, he turns to his barbarian, I mean his servant, for he was as ugly a looking fellow as ever I saw, and taking his gun from him, presented it to me; my patron bade me take it, for he saw me a little at a loss what to do, telling me, that as it was the greatest compliment that a Chilian could pay to me, he would be very ill pleased and out of humour if it was not accepted, and would think we did not care to be friendly with him.

As we had given this Chilian no notice of our coming, no, not a quarter of an hour, we could not expect great matters of entertainment, and, as we carried our provision with us, we did not stand in much need of it; but we had no reason to complain.

This man's habitation was all the same as the rest, low, and covered with a sedge, or a kind of reed, which we found grew very plentifully in the valley where he lived. He had several pieces of ground round his dwelling, inclosed with stone walls, made very artificially with small stones, and no mortar; these enclosed grounds were planted with several kinds of garden-stuff for his household, such as plantains, Spanish cabbages, green cocoa, and other things, of the growth of their own country, and two of them with European wheat.

He had five or six apartments in his house, every one of them had a door into the air, and into one another, and two of them were very large and decent, had long tables on one side, made

after their own way, and benches to sit to them like our country people's long tables in England, and mattresses, like couches, all along the other side, with skins of several sorts of wild creatures, laid on them to repose on in the heat of the day, as is the usage among the Spaniards.

Our people set up their tents and beds abroad, as before; but my patron told me the Chilian would take it very ill if he and I did not take up our lodging in his house, and we had two rooms provided, very magnificent in their way. The mattress we lay on had a large canopy over it, spread like the crown of a tent, and covered with a large piece of cotton, white as milk, and which came round every way like a curtain, so that if it had been in the open field, it would have been a complete covering; the bed, such as it was, might be as hard as a quilt, and not more, and the covering was of the same cotton as the curtain work, which, it seems, is the manufacture of the Chilian women, and is made very dextrously; it looked wild, but was pleasant enough, and proper to the place, so I slept very comfortably in it.

But, I must confess, I was surprised at the aspect of things in the night here. It was, as I told you above, very near night when we came to this man's cottage (palace I should have called it), and while we were taking our repast, which was very pretty, it grew quite night; we had wax candles brought in for light, which, it seems, my patron's man had provided, and the place had so little communication with the air by windows, that we saw nothing of what was without doors.

After supper, my patron turns to me; "Come, seignior," said he, "pray prepare yourself to take a walk."—"What! in the dark!" said I, "in such a country as this?"—"No, no," says he, "it is never dark here; you are now come to the country of everlasting day. What think you,—is not this Elysium?"—"I do not understand you," says I.—"But you will presently," says he, "when I shall show you that it is now lighter abroad than when we came in." Soon after this some of the servants opened the door that went into the next room, and the door of that room, which opened into the air, stood open, from whence a light of fire shone into the outer room, and so further into ours. "What are they burning there?" says I to my patron. "You will see presently," says he, adding, "I hope you will not be surprised." So he led me out to that door.

But who can express the thoughts of a man's heart, coming on a sudden into a place where the whole world seemed to be of a fire-light? The valley was on one side so exceeding bright, the eye could scarce bear to look at it; the sides of the mountains were shining like the fire itself; the flame from the top of the mountain on the other side casting its light directly upon them, from thence the reflection into other parts looked red, and more terrible; for the first was white and clear, like the light of the sun, but the other being, as it were, a reflection of light, mixed with some darker cavities, represented the fire of a furnace, and, in short, it might well be said, here was no darkness; but, certainly, at the first view,

it gives no traveller any other idea than that of being at the very entrance of eternal horror.

All this while there was no fire, that is to say, no real flame to be seen, only, that where the flame was, it shone clearly into the valley; but the volcano, or volcanoes, from whence the fire issued out (for it seems there were no less than three of them, though at the distance of some miles from one another), were on the south and east sides of the valley, which was so much on that side where we were that we could see nothing but the light, neither on the other side could they see any more, it seems, than just the top of the flame: not knowing anything of the places from whence it issued out, which no mortal creature, no, not of the Chilians themselves, were ever hardy enough to go near; nor would it be possible, if any should attempt it, the tops of the hills, for many leagues about them, being covered with new mountains of ashes and stones, which are daily cast out of the mouths of those volcanoes, by which they grew everyday higher than they were before, and which would overwhelm not only men, but whole armies of men, if they should venture to come near them.

When first we came into the long narrow way I mentioned last, I observed that, as I thought, the wind blew very hard aloft among the hills, and that it made a noise like thunder, which I thought nothing of but as a thing usual; but now that I came to this terrible sight, and that I heard the same thunder and yet found the air calm and quiet, I soon understood that it was a continued thunder, occasioned by the roaring of the fire in the bowels of the mountains.

It was some time, you may suppose, before a traveller, unacquainted with such things, could make them familiar to him; and though the horror and surprise might abate after proper reflections on the nature and reason of the thing, yet I had a kind of astonishment upon me for a great while; every different place to which I turned my eye presented me with a new scene of horror. I was for awhile frightened at the fire being, as it were, over my head, for I could see nothing of it, but that the air looked as if it were all on fire, and I could not persuade myself but it would cast down the rocks and mountains on on my head. But they laughed me out of that part. After a while I asked them if these volcanoes did not cast out a kind of liquid fire; as I had seen an account of on the monstrous eruptions of Mount Etna, which cast out a prodigious stream of fire and run eight leagues into the sea. Upon my putting this question to my patron, he asked the Chilian how long ago it was since such a stream, calling it by a name of their own, ran fire? He answered, it ran now; and if we were disposed to walk but three furlongs, we should see it.

He said little to me, but asked me if I cared to walk a little way by this kind of light? I told him, it was a surprising place we were in, but I supposed he would lead me into no danger. He said he would assure me he would lead me into no danger; that these things were very familiar to them; but that I might depend there was no hazard, and that the flames which gave all this light were six or seven miles off, and some of them more. We walked along the plain of

the valley about half a mile, when another great valley opened to the right, and gave us a more dreadful prospect than any we had seen before; for at the farther end of this second valley, but at the distance of about three miles from where we stood, we saw a livid stream of fire come running down the sides of the mountain for near three quarters of a mile in length, running like melted metal into a mould or out of a furnace, till, I suppose, as it came nearer the bottom it cooled and separated, and so went out of itself.

Beyond this, over the summit of a prodigious mountain, we could see the tops of the clear flame of a volcano, a dreadful one, no doubt, could we have seen it all, and from the mouth of which, it was supposed, this stream of fire came; though the Chilian assured us that the fire itself was eight leagues off, and that the liquid fire which we saw came out of the side of the mountain, and was two leagues off from the great volcano itself, running like metal out of a furnace. They told me there was a great deal of melted gold run down with the other inflamed earth in that stream, and that much gold was afterwards found there. But this I was to take upon trust.

This sight was, as you will easily suppose, best at a distance, and indeed I had enough of it. As for my two midshipmen, they were almost frightened out of all their resolutions of going any further in this horrible place, and when we came back they came mighty seriously to me, and begged of me for God's sake not to venture any further upon the faith of these Spaniards, for that they would certainly carry us all into some mischief or other, and betray us.

I bade them be easy, for I saw nothing in it at all that looked like treachery. That it was true, indeed, it was a terrible place to look on, but it seemed to be nothing but what was natural and familiar there, and we should be soon out of it. They told me very seriously that they believed it was the very mouth of hell, and that, in short, they were not able to bear it, and begged of me to go back; I told them no, I could not think of going back; but if they could not endure it, I would give consent that they should go back in the morning. However, we went, for the present, to the Chilian's house again, where we got a plentiful draught of Chilian wine, for my patron had taken care to have a good quantity of it with us, and in the morning my two midshipmen, who got very drunk over night, had courage enough to venture forward again; for the light of the sun put quite another face upon things, and nothing of the fire was then to be seen, only the smoke.

All our company lodged in the tents here, but I and my patron the Spaniard, who lodged within the Chilian's house, as I told you. This Chilian was a great man among the natives, and all the valley I spoke of, which lay round his dwelling, was called his own; he lived in a state of perfect tranquillity, neither enjoying nor coveting anything but what was necessary, and wanting nothing that was so; he had gold, as it might be said, for picking it up off the dunghill, for it was found in all the little gullies and rills of water, which, as I have said, come down from the mountains on every side; yet I did not find

that he troubled himself to lay up any great quantity more than served to go to Villa Rica, and buy what he wanted for himself and family; he had, it seems, a wife and some daughters, but no sons; these lived in a separate house, about a furlong from this where he lived, and were kept there as a family by themselves, and if he had had any sons they would have lived with him.

He did not offer to go with us any part of our way, as the other had done; but having entertained us with great civility took his leave. I caused one of my midshipmen to make him a present, when we came away, of a piece of black baize, enough to make him a cloak, as I did the other, and a piece of blue English serge, enough to make him a jerkin and breeches, which he accepted as a great bounty.

We set out again, though not very early in the morning, having, as I said, sat up late and drank freely over night, and we found that after we had gone to sleep it had rained very hard, and though the rain was over before we went out, yet the falling of the water from the hills made such a confused noise, and was echoed so backward and forward from all sides, that it was like a strange mixture of distant thunder, and though we knew the causes yet it could not be but surprising to us for awhile.

However, we set forward, the way under foot being pretty good, and first we went up the steps again by which we had come down, (our last host waiting on us thither,) and there I gave him back his gun, for he would not take it before.

In this valley, which was the pleasantest by day and the most dismal by night that ever I saw, I observed abundance of goats, as well tame in the inclosures as wild upon the rocks; and we found afterwards that the latter were perfectly wild, and to be had, like those at Juan Fernandez, by anybody that could catch them. My patron sent off two of his men, just as a huntsman casts off hounds, to go and catch goats, and they brought us in three, which they shot in less than half an hour; and these we carried with us for our evening supply, for we made no dinner this day, having fed heartily in the morning about nine, and had chocolate two hours before that.

We travelled now along the narrow winding passage, which I mentioned before, for about four hours, till I found, that though we had ascended but gently, yet that, as we had done so for almost twenty miles together, we were got up to a frightful height, and I began to expect some very difficult descent on the other side; but we were made easy about two o'clock, when the way not only declined again to the east, but grew wider, though with frequent turnings and winding about, so that we could seldom see above half a mile before us. We went on thus pretty much upon a level, now rising, now falling, but still I found that we were a very great height from our first entrance; and as to the running of the water, I found that it showed neither east nor west, but ran all down the little turnings that we frequently met with on the north side of our way, which my patron told me went all into the great valley where we saw the fire, and so went away by a general channel north-west, till it found its way out into the open country of Chili, and so to the South Seas.

We were now come to another night's lodging, which we were obliged to take up with on the green grass, as we did the first night; but by the help of our proveditor-general, my patron, we fared very well, our goat's flesh being reduced into so many sorts of venison, that none of us could distinguish it from the best venison we ever tasted.

Here we slept without any of the frightful things we saw the night before, except that we might see the light of the fire in the air, at a great distance, like a great city on fire, but that gave us no disturbance at all.

In the morning our two hunters shot a deer, or rather a young fawn, before we were awake, and this was the first we met with in this part of our travel, and thus we were provided for dinner even before breakfast time. As for our breakfast, it was always a Spanish breakfast, that is to say, about a pint of chocolate.

We set out very merrily in the morning, and we that were Englishmen could not refrain smiling at one another, to think how we passed through a country where the gold lay in every ditch, as we might call it, and never troubled ourselves so much as to stoop to take it up; so certain is it that it is easy to be placed in a station of life where that very gold, the heaping up of which is here made the main business of man's living in the world, would be of no value, and not worth taking off from the ground; nay, not of signification enough to make a present of; for that was the case here. Two or three yards of Colchester baize, a coarse rug-like manufacture, worth in London about fifteen-pence halfpenny per yard, was here a present for a man of quality; when, for a handful of gold dust, the same person would scarcely thank you, or, perhaps, would think himself not kindly treated to have it offered him.

We travelled this day pretty smartly, having rested at noon about two hours, as before, and, by my calculation, went about 22 English miles in all. About five o'clock in the afternoon we came into a broad, plain, open place, where, though it was not properly a valley, yet we found it lay very level for a good way together. Our way lying almost E. S. E., after we had marched so about two miles, I found the way go evidently down hill, and in half a mile more, to our singular satisfaction, we found the water from the mountains ran plainly eastward, and, consequently, to the North Sea.

We saw at a distance several huts, or houses of the mountaineer inhabitants, but we came near none of them, but kept on our way, going down two or three pretty steep places, not at all dangerous, though somewhat difficult.

We encamped again the next night, as before, and still our good caterer had plenty of food for us; but I observed that the next morning, when we set forward, our tents were left standing, the baggage-mules tied together to graze, and our company lessened by all my patron's servants, which, when I inquired about, he told me he hoped we should have good quarters quickly without them. I did not understand him for the present, but it unriddled itself soon after; for though we travelled four days more in that narrow way, yet he always found us lodging at the

cottages of the mountaineers. The sixth day we went all day up hill. At last, on a sudden, the way turned short east, and opened into a vast wide country, boundless to the eye every way, and delivered us entirely from the mountains of the Andes, in which we had wandered so long.

Any one may guess what an agreeable surprise this was to us, to whom it was the main end of our travels. We made no question that this was the open country extending to the North or Atlantic Ocean, but how far it was thither, or what inhabitants it was possessed by, what travelling, what provisions to be found in the way, what rivers to pass, and whether any navigable or not; this our patron himself could not tell us one word of, owning frankly to us that he had never been one step further than the place where we then stood, and that he had been there only once to satisfy his curiosity, as I did now.

I told him that if I had lived where he did, and had had servants and provisions at command, as he had, it would have been impossible for me to have restrained my curiosity so far as not to have searched that whole country to the sea side long ago. I told him it seemed to be a pleasant and fruitful soil, and, no doubt, was capable of cultivation and improvement; and if it had been only to have possessed such a country in his Catholic Majesty's name, it must have been worth while to undertake the discovery for the honour of Spain; and that there could be no room to question, but his Catholic Majesty would have honoured him that should have undertaken such a thing with some particular mark of his favour, which might be of consequence to him and his family.

He told me that as to that, the Spaniards seemed already to have more dominions in America than they could keep, and much more than they were able to reap the benefit of, and still more infinitely than they could improve, and especially in those parts called South America.

That it was next to miraculous that they could keep the possession where they were, and were not the natives so utterly destitute of support from any other part of the world, as not to be able to have either arms or ammunition put into their hands, it would be impossible, since I might easily see they were men that wanted not strength of body nor courage, and it was evident they did not want numbers, seeing they were already ten thousand natives to one Spaniard, taking the whole country from one end to the other.

He went on—"Then you see, seignior," says he, "how far we are from improvement in that part of the country which we possess, and many more, which, you may be sure are among these vast mountains, and which we never discovered, seeing all these valleys and passages among the mountains, where gold is to be had in such quantities, and with so much ease, that every poor Chilian gathers it up with his hands, and may have as much as he pleases; all are left open, naked and unregarded, in the possession of the wild mountaineers, who are heathens and savages; and the Spaniards, you see," says he, "are so few, and these few so indolent, so slothful, and so satisfied with the gold they get of the Chilians for things of small value in trade, that all this vast treasure lies unregarded by them.

Nay," adds he, "is it not very odd to observe, that when for our diversion we come out into the hills, and among these places where you see the gold is so easily found, we come, as we call it, a-hunting, and divert ourselves more with shooting wild parrots, or a fawn or two, for which also we ride and run, and make our servants weary themselves more than they would in fishing up the gold among the gullies and holes that the water makes in the rocks, and more than would suffice to find fifty, nay, one hundred times the value in gold.

"To what purpose, then, should we seek the possession of more countries, who are already possessed of more land than we can improve, and of more wealth than we know what to do with?" Perceiving me very attentive, he went on thus:—

"Were these mountains," said he, "valued in Europe, according to the riches to be found in them, the viceroy would obtain orders from the king to have strong forts erected at the entrance in, and at the coming out of them, as well on the side of Chili as here, and strong garrisons maintained in them, to prevent foreign nations landing, either on our side in Chili, or on this side in the North Seas, and taking the possession from us; he would then order thirty thousand slaves, negroes, or Chilians, to be constantly employed, not only in picking up what gold might be found in the channels of the water, which might easily be formed into proper receivers, so as that if any gold washed from the rocks, it should soon be found, and be so secured, as that none of it would escape; also others, with miners and engineers, might search into the very rocks themselves, and would, no doubt, find out such mines of gold, or other secret stores of it in those mountains, as would be sufficient to enrich the world.

"While we omit such things as these, seignior," says he, "what signifies Spain making new acquisitions, or the people of Spain seeking new countries? This vast tract of land you see here, and some hundreds of miles every way, which your eye cannot reach to, is a fruitful, pleasant, and agreeable piece of God's creation, but perfectly uncultivated, and most of it uninhabited; and any nation in Europe that thinks fit to settle in it are free to do so, for anything we are able to do to prevent them."

"But, seignior," said I, "does not his Catholic Majesty claim a title to the possession of it? and have the Spaniards no governor over it; nor any ports or towns, settlements or colonies in it, as is the case here in Chili?"—"Seignior," replies he, "the king of Spain is lord of America, as well that which he possesses as that which he possesses not, that right being given him by the Pope, in the right of his being a Christian prince, making new discoveries for propagating the Christian faith among infidels; how far that may pass for a title among the European powers I know not; I have heard that it has always passed for a maxim in Europe, that no country which is not planted by any prince or people can be said to belong to them; and, indeed, I cannot say but it seems to be rational that no prince should pretend to any title to a country where he does not think fit to plant, and to keep possession; for if he leaves the country unpos-

sessed, he leaves it free for any other nation to come and possess; and this is the reason why the former king of Spain did not dispute that right of the French to their colonies of Mississippi and Canada, or the right of the English to the Caribbee Islands, or to their colonies of Virginia and New England.

"In like manner from Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata, which lies that way," says he, pointing N.E., "to the Fretum Magellanicum, which lies that way (pointing S.E.), which comprehends a vast number of leagues, is called by us *Coasta Deserta*, being unpossessed by Spain, and disregarded of all our nation; neither is there one Spaniard in it. Nevertheless, you see how fruitful, how pleasant, and how agreeable a climate it is, how apt for planting and peopling it seems to be,—and, above all, what a place of wealth here would be behind them, sufficient, and more than enough, both for them and us; for we should have no reason to offer them any disturbance; neither should we be in any condition to do it, the passages of the mountains being but few and difficult, as you have seen, and our numbers not sufficient to do anything more than block them up, to keep such people from breaking in upon our settlements on the coast of the South Seas."

I asked him if these notions of his were common among those of his country who were settled in Chili and Peru, or whether they were his own private opinions only. I told him I believed the latter; because I found he acted in all his affairs upon generous principles, and was for propagating the good of mankind: but that I questioned whether the governor of Old Spain, or the sub-governor, and viceroy of New Spain, acted upon those notions or no; and since he had mentioned the Buenos Ayres and the Rio de la Plata, I should take that as an example, seeing the Spaniards would never suffer any nation to set foot in that great river, where so many countries might have been discovered, and colonies planted, though at the same time they had not possessed or fully discovered those places themselves.

He answered me, smiling: "Seignior," says he, "you have given the reason for this yourself in that very part which you think is a reason against it. We have a colony at Buenos Ayres, and at the city of Ascension, higher up in the Rio de la Plata; and we are not willing to let any other nation settle there, because we would not let them see how weak we are, and what a vast extent of land we possess there with a few men, and this for two reasons:—First, we are possessed of the country, and daily increasing there, and may, in time, extend ourselves further. The great rivers Parana and Paraguay being yet left for us to plant in, and we are not willing to put ourselves out of a capacity of planting further, and therefore we keep the possession. Secondly, we have a communication from thence with Peru. That great river La Plata rises at the city La Plata, and out of the mountain Potosi, in Peru, and a great trade is carried on by that river, and it would be dangerous to let foreigners into the secret of that trade, which they might entirely cut off, especially when they should find that small number of Spaniards which are planted there to preserve it, seeing there are not

six hundred Spaniards in all that vast country, which, by the course of that river is more than one thousand six hundred miles in length."

"I confess," said I, "these are just grounds for your keeping the possession of that river."—"They are so," said he, "and the more, because of so powerful a colony as the Portuguese have in the Brazils, which bound immediately upon it, and who were always encroaching upon it from the land side, and would gladly have a passage up the Rio Parana to the back of their colony."

"But here, seignior," says he, "the case is different, for we neither take nor keep possession here; neither have we one Spaniard, as I said, in the whole country now before you; and therefore we call this country *Coasta Deserta*; not that it is a desert, as that name is generally taken to signify, a barren, sandy, dry country; on the contrary, the infinite, prodigious increase of the European black cattle, which were brought by the Spaniards to the Buenos Ayres, and let run loose, is a sufficient testimony of the fruitfulness and richness of the soil, their number being such, that they kill above twenty thousand of them in a year, for nothing but the hides, which they carry away to Spain, leaving the flesh, though fat and wholesome, to perish on the ground, or to be devoured by birds of prey."

"And the number is so great, notwithstanding all they destroy, that they are found to wander sometimes in droves of many thousands together, over all the vast country between the Rio de la Plata, and the city of the Ascension, and the frontier of Peru, and even down into this country which you see before us, and up to the very foot of these mountains."

"Well," said I, "and is it not a great pity that all this part of the country, and in such a climate as this is, should lie uncultivated, or uninhabited rather? for I understand there are not any great numbers of people to be found among them."

"It is true," added he, "there are some nations of people spread about in this country; but as the terror of our people, the Spaniards, drove them at first from the sea coast towards these mountains, so the greatest part of them continue on this side still: for, towards the coast it is very rare that they find any people."

I would have inquired of him about rivers and navigable streams which might be in this country, but he told me frankly that he could give me no account of them, only thus, that if any of the rivers went away towards the north, they certainly run all into the great Rio de la Plata, but that if they went east, or southernly, they must go directly to the coast, which was ordinarily called, as he said, *La Coasta Deserta*, or as by some, the coast of Patagonia; that as to the magnitude of those rivers, he could say little, but that it could not be rational but there must be some very considerable rivers, and whose streams must needs be capable of navigation, seeing abundance of water must continually flow from the mountains where we then were, and its being at least four hundred miles from the sea side, those small streams must necessarily join together, and make large rivers in the plain country.

I had enough in this discourse fully to satisfy all my curiosity, and sufficiently to heighten my

desire of making the farther discoveries I had in my thoughts.

We pitched our little camp here, and sat down to our repast; for I found that though we were to go back to lodge, yet my patron had taken care we should be furnished sufficiently for dinner, and have a good house to eat it in; that is to say, a tent, as before.

The place where we stood, though we had come down-hill for a great way, yet seemed very high from the ordinary surface of the country, and gave us, therefore, an exceedingly fine prospect of it, the country declining gradually for near ten miles; and we thought, as well as the distance of the place would allow us, we saw a great river, but, as I learnt afterwards, it was rather a great lake than a river, which was supplied by the smaller rivers, or rivulets, from the mountains, which met there in a great receptacle of waters, and out of this lake they all issued again in one river, of which I shall have occasion to give a farther account hereafter.

While we were at dinner I ordered my midshipman to take their observations of every distant object, and to look at everything with their glasses, which they did, and told me of this lake; but my patron could give no account of it, having never been, as he said before, one step farther that way than where we were. However, my men showed me plainly that it was a great lake, and that there went a large river from it towards the E.S.E., and this was enough for me, for that way lay all the schemes I had laid.

I took this opportunity to ask my midshipmen, first, if they had taken such observations in their passage of the mountains, as that they were sure they could find their way through to this place again without guides? They assured me they could.

Then I put it to them—whether they thought it might not be feasible to travel over that vast level country to the North Seas? And to make a sufficient discovery of the country, so as that hereafter Englishmen coming to the coast on that side of the North Seas might penetrate to these golden mountains, and reap the benefit of the treasure without going a prodigious length about Cape Horn, and the Terra del Fuego, which was always attended with innumerable dangers; and without breaking through the kingdom of Chili, and the Spaniards' settlements, which, perhaps, we might soon be at peace with, and so be shut out that way by our own consents?

One of my men began to speak of the difficulties of such an attempt, the want of provisions, and other dangers which we should be exposed to on the way; but the other, a bold, brisk fellow, told me he made no question but it might be easily done, and especially because all the rivers they should meet with would, of course, run along with us, so that we should be sure to have the tide with us, as he called it; and at last he added that he would be content to be one of those men who should undertake it, provided he should be assured that the ships would not go away, and pretend that they could not be found. I told him we would talk farther about it; that I had such a thing in my head, and I

had a strong inclination to undertake it myself; but that I could not answer it to leave the ships, which depended so much upon my care of the voyage.

After some talk of the reasonableness of such an undertaking, and the methods of performing it, my second midshipman began to come into it, and to think it was practicable enough, and added, that though he used some cautions in his first hearing proposals, yet, if he undertook that enterprise, I should find that he would do as much of his duty in it as another man; and so he did at last, as will appear in its place.

We were, by this time, preparing to be satisfied with our journey, and my patron coming to me and asking if I was for returning, I told him I could not say how many days it would be before I should say I had enough of that prospect, but that I would return when he pleased, only I had one question to ask him, which was—whether the mountain was as full of gold on this side as they were on the side of Chili.

"As to that, seignior," says he, "the best way to be certain is to make a trial, that you may be sure we do not speak without book;" so he called his gentleman, and another servant that was with him, and desired me to call my two midshipmen, and speaking something to his own servants first, in the language of the country, as I suppose, he turned to me and said—"Come, let us sit down and repose ourselves, and let them go altogether, and see what they can do."

Accordingly they went away; and, as my men told me afterwards, they searched in the small streams of water which they found running, and in some large gullies, or channels, where they found little or no water running; but where, upon hasty rains, great shoots of water had been used to run, and where water stood still in the holes and falls, as I have described once before on the like occasion.

They had not been gone above an hour when I plainly heard my two Englishmen halloo, which I could easily distinguish from the voices of any other nation, and immediately I ran out of the tent, Captain Merlotte followed, and I then saw one of my midshipmen running towards us, so we went to meet him, and what with hallooing, and running, he could hardly speak; but recovering his breath, said, "He came to desire me to come to them, if I would see a sight which I never saw in my life." I was eager enough to go, so I went with him, and left Captain Merlotte to go back to the tent to my patron the Spaniard, and the Spanish doctor, who had not so much share in the curiosity. He did so, and they followed fair and softly.

When we came to the place we saw such a sight, indeed, as I never saw before; for there they were sitting down round a little puddle, or hole, as I might call it, of water, where, in the time of rain, the water running hastily from a piece of the rock, about two feet higher than the rest, had made a pit under it with the fall like the tail of a mill, only much less.

Here they took up the sand, or gravel, with their hands, and every handful brought up with it such a quantity of gold as was surprising; for there they sat picking it out just as the boys in London that go with a broom and a hat, pick

old iron, nails, and pins out of the channels, and it lay as thick.

I stood and looked at them awhile, and, it must be confessed, it was a pleasant sight enough. But reflecting immediately that there was no end of this, and that we were only upon the inquiry, "Come away," says I, laughing to my men, "and do not stand picking up of trash there all day; do you know how far we have to go to our lodging?"

I can make no guess what quantity might have been found here in places, which had, for hundreds of years, washed gold from the hills, and, perhaps, never had a man come to pick any of it up before; but I was soon satisfied here was enough even to make all the world say they had enough; and so I called off my people, and came away.

It seems the quantity of gold which is thus washed down is not small, since my men, inquiring afterwards among the Chilians, heard them talk of the great lake of water which I mentioned just now that we saw at a distance, which they call the Golden lake, and where was, as they said, prodigious quantities of it; not that our men supposed any gold was there in mines, or in the ordinary soil, but that the waters from the hills, running with very rapid currents at certain times in the rainy seasons, and after the melting of the snows, had carried the gold so far as that lake; and as it has been so, perhaps, from the days of the general deluge, no people ever applying themselves to gather the least grain of it up again, it might well be increased to such a quantity as might entitle that water to the name of the Golden lake, and all the little streams and sluices of water that run into it deserved the name of Golden rivers, as much as that of the Golden lake.

But my business was to know if the gold was here, not to trouble myself to pick it up; my views lay another way, and my end was fully answered; so I came back to my patron, and brought all my men with me. "You live in a golden country, seignior," says I; "my men are stark mad to see so much gold, and nobody to pick it up; should the world know what treasure you have here, I would not answer for it that they should not flock hither in armies, and drive you all away."—"They need not do that, seignior," says he, "for here is enough for them and for us too."

We now packed up, and began our return, but it was not without regret that I turned my back upon this pleasant country, the most agreeable place of its kind that ever I was at in all my life, or ever shall be in again. A country rich, pleasant, fruitful, wholesome, and capable of everything for the life of man that the heart could entertain a wish for.

But my present work was to return; so we mounted our mules, and had, in the meantime, the pleasure of contemplating what we had seen, and applying ourselves to such farther measures as we had concerted among us. In about four hours we returned to our camp, as I called it, and by the way we found, to our no little pain, that though we had come down hill easily, and insensibly to the opening for some miles, yet we had a hard pull up hill to go back again. How-

ever, we reached to our tents in good time, and made our first encampment with pleasure enough, for we were very weary with the fatigue of a hard day's journey.

The next day we reached our good Chilian's mansion house, or palace, for such it might be called, considering the place, and considering the entertainment; for now he had some time to provide for us, knowing we would come back again.

He met us with three mules, and two servants, about a mile before we came to the descent going down to his house, of which I took notice before, and this he did to guide us a way round to his house, without going down those uneasy steps; so we came on our mules to his door, that is to say, on his mules, for he would have my patron, the Spaniard, to whom I observed he showed an excellent respect, and Captain Merlotte and myself, mount his fresh mules to carry us to his house.

When we came thither I observed he wanted the assistance of my patron's servants for his cookery; for though he had provided abundance of food, he owned he knew not how to prepare it to our liking; so they assisted him, and one of my midshipmen pretending to cook too, made them roast a piece of venison, and a piece of a kid or young goat, admirably well, and putting no garlic or onions into the sauce but their own juices, with a little wine, it pleased the Spaniard so well, that my man passed for an extraordinary cook, and had the favour asked of him to dress some more after the same manner when we came back to the Spaniard's house.

We had here several sorts of wild fowl which the Chilian had shot while we were gone; but I knew none of them by any of the kinds we have in England, except some teal. However, they were very good.

The day was very agreeable and pleasant here; but the night dreadful, as before, being all fire and flame; and though we understood both what it was, and where, yet I could not make it familiar to me for my life. The Chilian persuaded us to stay all the next day, and did his endeavour to divert us as much as possible. My two midshipmen went out with him a-hunting, as he called it, that is, a-shooting; but though he was a man of fifty years of age he would have killed ten of them at his sport, running up the hills, and leaping from rock to rock like a boy of seventeen. At his gun he was so sure a marksman that he seldom missed anything he shot at, whether running, flying, or sitting.

They brought home with them several fowls, two fawns, and full grown deer, and we had nothing but boiling, stewing, and broiling all that evening. In the afternoon we walked out to view the hills and to see the stupendous precipices which surrounded us. As for looking for gold, we saw the places where there was enough to be had, but that was become now so familiar to us that we troubled not ourselves about it, as a thing not much worth while; but our two midshipmen I think got about the quantity of five or six ounces a-piece while we were chatting, or reposing in the Chilian's house.

Here it was that I entered into a confidence with my patron the Spaniard, concerning my grand

design. I told him, in the first place, that my view of the open country beyond these hills, and the particular account he had given me of it also, had raised a curiosity in me that I could scarce withstand; and that I had thereupon formed a design which, if he would further me with his assistance, I had a very great mind to put in practice, and that, though I was to perish in the attempt.

He told me very readily nothing should be wanting on his part to give me any assistance he could, either by himself or any of his servants; but smiling, and with abundance of good humour, "Seignior," says he, "I believe I guess at the design you speak of; you are fired now with a desire to traverse this great country to the Coasta Deserta and the North Seas. That is a very great undertaking, and you will be well advised before you undertake it."

"Truly, seignior," said I, "you have guessed my design, and were it not that I have two ships under my care and some cargo of value on board, I would bring my whole ship's company on shore and make the adventure, and perhaps we might be strong enough to defend ourselves against whatever might happen by the way."

"As to that, seignior," says he, "you would be in no danger that would require so many men, for you will find but few inhabitants anywhere, and those not in numbers sufficient to give you any trouble. Fifty men would be as many as you would either want or desire, and perhaps as you would find provisions for; and for fifty men we might be able to carry provisions with us to keep them from distress; but if you will accept of my advice as well as assistance, seignior," says he, "choose a faithful strong fellow out of your ship on whom you can depend, and give him fifty men with him, or thereabouts, and such instructions as you may find needful as to the place on the coast where you would have them fix their stay, and let them take the first hazards of the adventure, and as you are going round by sea you will, if success follows, meet them on the shore; and if the account they give of their journey encourage you, you may come afterwards yourself up to these very mountains, and take a further view. In which case," he added, with a solemn protestation, "cost what it will, I will come and meet you one hundred miles beyond the hills, with supplies of provisions and mules for your assistance."

This was such wholesome and friendly advice, and he offered it so sincerely, that though it was very little differing from my own design, yet I would not be seen so to lessen his prudence in the measures of his friendship in advising it, as to say that I had resolved to do so. But making all possible acknowledgment to him for his kind offers, I told him I would take his advice, and that I would act just according to the measures he had prescribed; and at the same time I assured him that if I found a convenient port to settle and fortify in, I would not fail to come again from France (for we passed always as acting from France, whatever nation we were of) to relieve and supply them; and that if ever I returned safe I would not fail to correspond with him by the passages of the mountains, and make a better acknowledgment for his kindness than I had been able to do yet."

He was going to break off the discourse upon

the occasion of the Chilian's returning, who was just come in from his hunting, telling me we would talk farther of it by the way; but I told him I could not quite dismiss the subject, because I must bespeak him to make some mention of it to the Chilian, that he might on his account be an assistant to our men, as we saw he was capable of being, in their passing by those difficult ways, and for their supply of provision, &c. "Trouble not yourself with that, seignior," said he, "for when your men come the care shall be mine. I'll come myself as far as this wealthy Chilian's and procure them all the assistance this place can afford them, and do anything that offers to forward them in the undertaking."

This was so generous and so extraordinary that I had nothing to say more, but to please myself with the apparent success of my attempt, and acknowledge the happiness of having an opportunity to oblige so generous a spirited and grateful a person.

I would, however, have made some farther acknowledgment to our Chilian benefactor; but I had nothing left except a couple of hats and three pair of English stockings, one pair silk and the other two worsted, and those I gave him, and made him a great many acknowledgments for the favours he had shown us, and the next morning came away.

We made little stay anywhere else in our return; but making much such stages back as we did forward we came the fourteenth day to our patron's house, having made the passage through in something less than sixteen days, and the like back in fifteen days, including our stay at the Chilian's one day. The length of the way, according to the best of my calculations, I reckoned to be about one hundred and seventy-five English miles, taking it with all its windings and turnings, which were not a few; but which had this conveniency with them, that they gave a more easy and agreeable passage, and made the English proverb abundantly good, namely, that the farthest way was the nearest way.

The civilities I received after this from my generous Spaniard were agreeable to the rest of his usage of me; but we, that had so great a charge upon us at the sea-side, could not spare long time in those ceremonies any more than I can do now for relating them; it is enough to mention, that he would not be excused at parting from going back with us quite to the ships, and when I would have excused it, he said, "Nay, seignior, give me leave to go and fetch my hostages." In short, there was no resisting him, so we went all together, having stayed two days more at his house, and came all safe to our ships, having been gone forty-six days from them.

We found the ships in very good condition, all safe on board and well, except that the men seemed to have contracted something of the scurvy; which our Spanish doctor, however, soon recovered them off.

Here we found the two Spanish youths, our patron's hostages, very well also, and very well pleased with their entertainment. One of our lieutenants had been teaching them navigation and something of the mathematics, and they had made very good improvement in those things, considering the time they had been there; and

the Spaniard, their father, was so pleased with it, that having not gold enough to offer the lieutenant as an acknowledgment for his teaching them, he gave him a very good ring from his finger, having a fine large emerald in it of good value, and made him a long Spanish compliment for having nothing of better value to offer him.

We now made preparations for sailing, and our men in my absence had laid in a very considerable supply of provisions, particularly excellent pork, and pretty tolerable beef, and a great number of goats and hogs alive, as many as we could stow

But I had now my main undertaking to manage, I mean that of sending out my little army for discovery, and having communicated my design to the supercargo, and the person who I intrusted with him in the command of the ships, they unanimously approved of the thing. My next business was to resolve upon whom to confer the command of the expedition; and this by general consent fell upon the lieutenant of the Madagascar ship, who had taught the young Spaniards navigation; and this the rather, because he was naturally a bold, enterprising man, and also an excellent geographer: indeed, he was a general artist, and a man faithful and vigilant in whatever he undertook, nor was it a little consideration with me that he was so agreeable to the Spaniard and his sons, of whose aid we knew he would stand in so much need.

When I had communicated to him the design, and he had both approved the thing itself and accepted the command, we constituted him captain, and the two midshipmen we made lieutenants for the expedition, promising each of them five hundred pounds if they performed it. As for the captain, we came to a good agreement with him for his reward, for I engaged to give him one thousand pounds in gold as soon as we met, if the journey was performed effectually.

We then laid open the undertaking to the men, and left it to every one's choice to go, or not to go, as they pleased; but instead of wanting men to go volunteer we were fain to decide it by lot, among some of them, they were all so eager to undertake it.

Then I gave them articles and conditions, which they who ventured should engage themselves to comply with, and particularly that they should not mutiny, upon pain of being shot to death when we met, or upon the spot, if the captain thought it necessary; that they should not straggle from their company, nor be tempted by the view of picking up gold to stay behind, when the company beat to march; that all the gold they found in the way should be in common, should be put together in bulk every night, and be divided faithfully and equally at the end of the journey, allowing only five shares to each ship, to be divided as I should direct; besides which, upon condition that every man behaved himself faithfully and quietly, and did their duty, I promised, that besides the gold they might get by the way I would give them every man one hundred pounds at our meeting; and if any man was sick or maimed by the way, they were to engage not to forsake and leave him on any account whatsoever, death only excepted; and if any man died except by any violence from the

rest, his share of the gold which was gotten should be faithfully kept for his family, if he had any; but his reward of one hundred pounds, which was not due because he did not live to demand it, should be divided among the rest; so that by this agreement the undertaking was not so dear to me as I had expected; for the pay of the men amounted to no more than the sum following, viz.

	£.
To the lieut. now made captain . . .	1,000
To the midshipmen, now made lieutenants, each 500 <i>l</i>	1,000
To fifty men, each 100 <i>l</i>	5,000
To the surgeon, 200 <i>l</i> ., and his servant, 100 <i>l</i> . over and above their 100 <i>l</i> . as being part of the fifty men . . .	300
	£7,300

Having pitched upon the men I landed them, and made them encamp on shore; but first of all I made them every one make wills or letters of attorney, or other dispositions of their effects, to such persons as they thought fit, with an account under their hands endorsed on the back of the said wills, &c., intimating what chests or cases or other things they had on board, and what was in them, and what pay was due to them; and those chests, &c. were sealed up before their faces with my seal, and writings signed by me, the contents unknown. Thus they were secure that all they had left in the ships, and all that was due to them, should be punctually and carefully kept and delivered as it was designed and directed by themselves, and this was greatly to their satisfaction.

As to the reward of one hundred pounds a man, and the articles about keeping together, obeying orders, gathering up gold, and the like, I did not read to them till they were all on shore, and till I was ready to leave them, because, if the rest of the men had heard it, I should have kept nobody with me to have sailed the ships.

There was as stout a company of bold, young brisk fellows of them as ever went upon any expedition, fifty-three in number, among them a surgeon and his mate, very skilful and honest men both of them; a trumpeter and a drummer, three ship carpenters, a cook, who was also a butcher by trade, and a barber; two shoemakers, who had been soldiers among the pirates; a smith, and a tailor, of the same; so that they wanted no mechanics, whatever might happen to them.

Give the fellows their due, they took but little baggage with them; but, however, what they had, I took care, with the assistance of my good patron, the Spaniard, should be as much carried for them as possible. I provided them three large tents, made of a cotton stuff, which I bought in the country, and which we made up on board, which tents were large enough to cover them all in case of rain or heat, but as for beds or bedding, they had only seven hammocks, in case any man was sick; for the rest, they were to shift as well as they could; the season was hot and the climate good, their way lay in the latitude of forty to fifty, and they set out in the latter end of the month of October, which, on that side of

the line, is the same as our April, so that the covering was more to keep them from the heat than the cold.

It was needful, in order to their defence, to furnish them with arms and ammunition, so I gave to every man a musket or fusee, a pistol, and a sword, with cartouches and a good stock of ammunition, powder and shot, with three small barrels of fine powder for store, and lead in proportion; and these things were, indeed, the heaviest part of their baggage, excepting the carpenter's tools and the surgeon's box of medicines. As for carrying all these things, they might easily furnish themselves with mules or horses for carriage, while they had money to pay for them, and you may judge how that could be wanting by what has been said of the country.

We gave them, however, a good large pack of European goods, to make agreeable presents where they received favours, such as black baize, pieces of saye, serge, calamanco, drugget, hats and stockings, not forgetting another pack of hatchets, knives, scissars, beads, toys, and such things, to please the natives of the plain country if they should meet with any.

They desired a few hand grenades, and we gave them about a dozen but as they were heavy it would have been very troublesome to have carried more.

The Spaniard stayed till all this was done, and till the men were ready to march, and then told us privately that it would not be proper for him to march along with them or to appear openly to countenance the enterprise. That my two lieutenants knew the way perfectly well, and that he would go before to his own house, and they should hear of him by the way.

All the mules and horses which he had lent us to bring us back, he left with them to carry their baggage, and our new captain had bought six more privately in the country. The last instructions I gave to our men was, that they should make the best of their way over the country beyond the mountains; that they should take the exact distances of places, and keep a journal of their march, set up crosses and marks at all proper places, and that they should steer their course as near as they could between the latitude of forty (where they would enter the country,) and the latitude of forty-five S., so that they would go an E. S. E. course most of the way, and that wherever they made the shore they should seek for a creek or port where the ships might come to an anchor, and look out day and night for the ships; the signals also were agreed on, and they had two dozen of rockets to throw up if they discovered us at sea; they had all necessary instruments for observation also, and perspective glasses, pocket compasses, &c., and thus they set out on the 24th October 1715.

We stayed five days after they began their march, by agreement, that if any opposition had been offered them in the country, or any umbrage taken at their design, so that it could not be executed, we might have notice. But as the Spaniards in the country (who are the most supinely negligent people in the world) had not the least shadow of intelligence, and took them only to be French seamen belonging to the two French ships (such we passed for) who had lain

there so long, they knew nothing when they went away, much less whither; but, no question, they believed that they were all gone on board again.

We stayed three days longer than we appointed, and hearing nothing amiss from them we were satisfied that all was right, so we put to sea, standing off to the west till we were out of sight of the shore, and then we stood away due south, with a fresh gale at N. W. by W. and fair weather, though the wind chopped about soon after, and we had calms and hot weather, that did us no good, but made our men sick and lazy.

The supposed journey of our travellers, their march, and the adventures they should meet with by the way, were indeed sufficient diversion, and employed us all with discourse, as well in the great cabin and roundhouse as before the mast, and wagers were very rife amongst us who should come first to the shore of Patagonia, for so we called it. As for the place, neither they nor we could make any guess at what part of the country they should make the sea; but as for us, we resolved to make the Port St Julian our first place to put in at, which is in the latitude of fifty degrees five minutes, and that then, as wind and water would permit, we would keep the coast as near as we could till we came to Punta de St Helena, where we would ride for some time, and, if possible, till we heard of them.

We had but a cross voyage to the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, having contrary winds, as I have said, and sometimes bad weather, so that it was the 13th of December when we made an observation, and found ourselves in the latitude of fifty-two degrees thirty minutes, which is just the height of Cape Victoria, at the mouth of the passage. Some of our officers were very much for passing the straits and not going about by Cape Horn; but the uncertainty of the winds in the passage, the danger of the currents, &c., made it by no means advisable, so we resolved to keep good sea-room.

The 25th of December we found ourselves in the latitude of sixty-two degrees thirty minutes, and being Christmas-day I feasted the men, and drank the health of our travellers. Our course was S. E. by S., the wind S. W., then we changed our course and went away E. for eight days, and having made fresh way, stood away without observation E. N. E., and in two days more made the land on E. of the Strait de la Mare, so that we were obliged to stand away E. S. E. to take more sea-room, when the wind veering to the S. E. a fresh gale, we stood boldly away due N., and running large soon found that we had entered the North Sea on Twelfth-day. For joy of which, and to celebrate the day, I gave every mess a piece of good English beef and a piece of Chilian pork, and made a great bowl of punch before the mast as well as in the great cabin, which made our men very cheerful, and, instead of a twelfth cake I gave the cook order to make every mess a good plumb-pudding, which pleased them all as well.

But while we were at our liquor and merry, the wind came about to the N. E. and blew very hard, threatening us with a storm, and as the shore lay on our leeward quarter, we were not without apprehensions of being driven on some dangerous places, and forced to ride upon life and

death, where we could have no shelter; I therefore altered my course and ran away E. all night, to have as much sea-room as possible. The next day the wind abated, and hauling away to E. we stood N. again, and then N.W. in three days more, and we made land, which appeared to be the head island of Port St Julian, on the north side of the port where we ran in, and about an hour before sunset came to an anchor in eleven fathom good holding ground, latitude forty-nine degrees eighteen minutes.

We wanted fresh water, otherwise we would not have made any stay here at all, for we knew we were a little too far to the south; however, we were obliged to fill fresh water here for three days together, the watering-place being a good way up the river, and the swell of the sea running very high.

During this interval Captain Merlotte and I went on shore, with about thirty men, and marched up the country near twenty miles, getting up to the top of the hills, where we made fires, and at the farthest hill we encamped all night, and threw up five rockets, which was our signal; but we saw nothing to answer it, nor any sign either of English people or natives in all the country.

We saw a noble champaign country, the plains all smooth and covered with grass, like Salisbury Plain, very little wood to be seen anywhere, inasmuch that we could not get anything but grass to make a smoke with, which was another of our signals. We shot some fowls here, and five or six hares; the hares are as large as an English fox, and burrow in the earth like a rabbit. The fowls we shot were duck and mallard, teal and widgeon, the same as in England in shape and size, only the colour generally grey, with white in the breast and green heads, the flesh the same as ours, and very good.

We saw wild geese and wild swans, but shot none. We saw also guinacoes, or Peruvian sheep, as large as small mules, but could not come at them either, for as soon as we stepped towards them they would call to one another to give notice of us, and then troop altogether and be gone.

This is an excellent country for feeding and breeding of sheep and horses, the grass being short, but very sweet and good, on the plains, and very long and rich near the fresh rivers, and were it cultivated and stocked with cattle, would without doubt produce excellent kinds of all sorts of cattle; nor could it fail of producing excellent corn, as well wheat as barley and oats; and as for peas, they grow wild all over the country, and nourish an infinite number of birds like pigeons, which fly in flights so great that they seem in the air like clouds at a great distance.

As for the soil, that of the hills is gravel and some stony, but that of the plains is a light, black mould, and in some places a rich loam, and some marle, all of which are tokens of fruitfulness, such as indeed never fail.

The 14th of January (the weather being hot, and days long, for this was their July) we weighed and stood northerly along the shore, the coast running from Port St Julian N.N.E. till we arrived at the famous islands called Penguin islands, and here we came to an anchor again,

in the same round bay which Sir John Narborough called Port Desire, it being the 17th of January.

Here we found a post or cross erected by Sir John Narborough, with a plate of copper nailed to it, and an inscription signifying that he had taken possession of that country in the name of King Charles II. Our men raised a shout for joy that they were in their king's own dominions, or, as they said, in their own country; and indeed, excepting that they were not inhabited by Englishmen, and cultivated, planted, and enclosed after the English manner, I never saw a country in the world so like England.

Here we victualled our ships with a new kind of food; for we loaded ourselves with seals, of which here are an infinite number, and which we salted and eat, and our men liked them wonderfully for a while; but they soon began to be weary of them: also the penguins are a very wholesome diet, and very pleasant, especially when a little salted; and as for salt, we could have loaded our ship with it, being very good and white, made by the sun, and found in standing ponds of salt water near the shore.

The penguins are so easily killed, and are found in such vast multitudes on that island (which, for that reason, is so called), that our men loaded the long boat with them twice in one day, and we reckoned there were no less than seven thousand in the boat each time.

Here we travelled up into the country in search of our men, and made our signals, but had no answer to them, nor heard any intelligence of them. We saw some people here at a distance, scattering about; but they were but few, nor would they be brought by any means to converse with us, or come near us.

We spread ourselves over the country far and wide; and here we shot hares and wild fowl again in abundance, the country being much the same as before, but something more bushy, and here and there a few trees, but they were a great way off. There is a large river which empties itself into this bay.

Finding no news here of our men, I ordered the Madagascar ship to weigh and stand farther north, keeping as near the shore as he might with safety, and causing his men to look out for the signals, which, if they discovered, they should give us notice by firing three guns.

They sailed the height of Cape Blanco, where the land falling back, makes a deep bay, and the sea receives into it a great river at several mouths, some of them twenty leagues from the other, all farther north. Here they stood into the bay till they made the land again; for at the first opening of the bay they could not see the bottom of it, the land lying very low.

The captain was doubtful what he should do upon the appearance of so large a bay, and was loth to stand farther in, lest the land, pushing out into the sea again afterwards, and a gale springing up from seaward, they might be shut into a bay where they had no knowledge of the ground; and upon this caution they resolved among themselves to come to an anchor for that evening, and to put farther out to sea the next morning.

Accordingly, the next morning he weighed and

stood off to sea; but the weather being very fine, and the little wind that blew being S. W. by S., he ventured to stand in for the shore, where he found two or three small creeks and one large river; and, sending in his shallop to sound and find out a good place to ride in, upon their making the signal that they had found such a place, he stood in and came to an anchor in eleven fathom good ground, half a league from the shore, and well defended from the northerly and easterly winds, which were the winds we had any reason to fear.

Having thus brought his ship to an anchor, he sent his shallop along the shore to give me an account of it, and desire me to come up to him, which accordingly we did; and here we resolved to ride for some time in hopes to hear from our little army. We went on shore, some or other of us, every day, and especially when five of our men, going on shore on the north side of the river, had shot three Peruvian sheep and a black wild bull; for after that they ranged the country far and near to find more, but could never come within shot of them, except three bulls and a cow, which they killed after a long chase.

We lay here till the 16th of February without any news of our travellers, as I called them. All the hope we had was, that five of our men, asking my leave to travel, swore to me they would go quite up to the Andes but they would find them; nay, they would go to the Spanish gentleman himself if they did not hear of them, and obliged me to stay twenty days for them, and no longer. This I promised them, and giving them everything they asked and two of the Peruvian sheep to carry their ammunition, with two dozen of rockets for signals, a speaking-trumpet, and a good perspective glass, away they went; and from them we had yet heard no news, so that was our present hope.

They travelled, as they afterwards gave an account, one hundred and twenty miles up the country, till they were at last forced to resolve to kill one of their guinacos, or sheep, to satisfy their hunger, which was a great grief to them, for their luggage was heavy to carry; but, I say, they only resolved on it, for just as they were going to do it, one of them roused a deer with a fawn, and, by great good luck, shot them both; for, having killed the doe, the fawn stood still by her till he had loaded his piece again and shot that also.

This supplied them for four or five days plentifully, and the last day one of my men being by the bank of the river, for they kept as near the river as they could, in hopes to hear of them that way, saw something black come driving down the stream; he could not reach it, but calling one of his fellows, their curiosity was such that the other, being a good swimmer, stripped, and put off to it, and when he came to it he found it was a man's hat; this made them conclude their fellows were not far off, and that they were coming by water.

Upon this they made to the first rising ground they could come at, and there they encamped, and at night fired some rockets (they kept looking out you may be sure), and after the third rocket was fired they, to their great joy,

saw two rockets rise up from the westward, and soon after that a third; and in two days more they all joyfully met, as you shall hear.

We had been here, as I have said, impatiently expecting them a great while; but at last the man at the main-top, who was ordered to look out, called aloud to us below that he saw a flash of fire, and immediately the men looking to landward, they saw two rockets rise up in the air at a great distance, which we answered by firing three rockets again, and they returned by one rocket, to signify that they saw our men's signal.

This was a joyful exchange of distant language to both sides, but I was not there; for being impatient, I had put out, and sailed about ten leagues farther; but our ship fired three guns to give me notice, which, however, we heard not, and yet we knew they fired too; for, it being in the night, our men, who were very attentive with their eyes, as well as ears, saw plainly the three flashes of the guns, though they could not hear the report, the wind being contrary. This was such certain intelligence to me, and I was so impatient to know how things went, that, having also a small gale of wind, I weighed immediately, and stood back again to our other ship; it was not, however, till the second day after we weighed that we came up to them, having little or no wind all the first day; the next day, in the morning, they spied us, and fired the three guns again, being the signal that they had got news of our friends.

Nothing could be more to my satisfaction than to hear that they had got news, and it was as much to their satisfaction as to ours, to be sure, I mean our little army; for if any disaster had happened to us they had been in a very odd condition; and though they might have found means to subsist, yet they would have been out of all hope of ever returning to their own country.

Upon the signal I stood into the bay, and came to an anchor at about a league to the northward of our other ship, and as far from the shore; and, as it were, in the mouth of the river, waiting for another signal from our men, by which we might judge which side of the river to go a-shore at, and might take some proper measures to come at them.

About five o'clock in the evening our eyes, being all up in the air, and towards the hills for the appointed signals, beheld, to our great surprise, a canoe come rowing to us out of the mouth of the river; immediately we went to work with our perspective glasses. One said it was one thing, and one said it was another, till I fetched out a large telescope out of the cabin, and with that I could easily see they were my own men, and it was to our inexpressible satisfaction that they soon after came directly on board.

It might very well take up another volume as large as this to give a farther account of the particulars of their journey, or rather their journey and voyage; how they got through the hills, and were entertained by the generous Spaniard, and afterwards by the wealthy Chilian; how the men, greedy for gold, were hardly brought away from the mountains; and how once they had much ado to persuade them not

to rob the honest Chilian who had used them so well, till my lieutenant, then their captain, by a stratagem seized on all their weapons, and threatened to speak to the Spaniard to raise all the Chilians in the mountains, and have all their throats cut; and yet that even this did not suffice, till the two midshipmen, then their lieutenants, assured them that at the first opening of the hills, and in the rivers beyond, they would have plenty of gold; and one of the midshipmen told them that if he did not see them have so much gold that they would not stoop to take up any more, they should have all his share to be divided among them, and should leave him behind in the first desolate place they could find.

How this appeased them till they came to the outer edge of the mountains, where I had been, and where my patron the Spaniard left them, having supplied them with sixteen mules to carry their baggage, and some guinacoes, or sheep of Peru, which would carry burthens, and be good to eat also.

Also how here they mutinied again, and would not be drawn away, being insatiable in their thirst after the gold, till about twenty, more reasonable than the rest, were content to move forward; and after some time the rest followed, though not till they were assured that the picking up of gold continued all along the river, which began at the bottom of the mountains, and that it was likely to continue a great way farther.

How they worked their way down these streams with still an insatiable avarice and thirst after the gold to the lake called the Golden lake, and how here they were astonished at the quantity they found; how after this they had great difficulty to furnish themselves with provisions, and greater still in carrying it along with them till they found more.

I say all these accounts might suffice to make a volume as large as all the rest. How, at the farther end of this lake they found that it evacuated itself into a large river which, running away with a strong current to the S. S. E., and afterwards to the S. by E., encouraged them to build canoes, in which they embarked, and which river brought them down to the very bay where we found them; but that they met with many difficulties, sunk, and staved their canoes several times, by which they lost some of their baggage, and, in one disaster, lost a great parcel of their gold, to their great surprise and mortification. How, at one place, they split two of their canoes, where they could find no timber to build new ones; and the many hardships they were put to before they got other canoes; but I shall give a brief account of it all, and bring it into as narrow a compass as I can.

They set out, as I have said, with mules and horses to carry their baggage, and the Spaniard gave them a servant with them for a guide, who, carrying them by-ways, and unfrequented, so that they might give no alarm at the town of Villa Rica, or any where else, they came to the mouth of the entrance into the mountains, and there they pitched their tent.

N.B. The lieutenant who kept their journal, giving an account of this merrily in his sea language, expresses it thus:—"Being all come safe into the opening that is in the entrance of

the mountains, and being there free from the observation of the country, we called it our first port, so we brought too, and came to an anchor.

Here the generous Spaniard, who, at his own request, was gone before, sent his gentleman and one of his sons to them, and sent them plenty of provisions, as also caused their mules to be changed for others that were fresh, and had not been fatigued with any of the other part of the journey.

These things being done, the Spaniard's gentleman caused them to decamp, and march two days farther into the mountains, and then they encamped again, where the Spaniard himself came incognito to them, and with the utmost kindness and generosity was their guide himself, and their purveyor also, though two or three times the fellows were so rude, so ungovernable, and unbounded in their hunting after gold, that the Spaniard was almost frightened at them, and told the captain of it. Nor indeed was it altogether without cause; for the dogs were so ungrateful that they robbed two of the houses of the Chilians, and took what gold they had, which was not much indeed, but it hazarded so much the alarming the country, and raising all the mountaineers upon them, that the Spaniard was upon the point of flying from them, in spite of all their fire-arms and courage.

But the captain begged him to stay one night more, and promised to have the fellows punished, and satisfaction to be made; and so he brought all his men together, and talked to them, and inquired who it was; but never was such a piece of work in the world. When the new captain came to talk of who did it, and of punishment, they cried, they all did it, and they did not value all the Spaniards and Indians in the country; they would have all the gold in the whole mountain, ay, that they would, by —, and swore to it, and if the Spaniard offered to speak a word to them they would whip his head off, and the like.

However, a little reasoning with them brought some of the men to their senses, and the captain, who was a man of sense and of a smooth tongue, managed so well that he brought about twenty-two of the men, and the two lieutenants and surgeons to declare for his opinion, and that they would act better for the future; and with these he clapt in between the other fellows, and separated about eighteen of them from their arms, for they had run scattering among the rocks to hunt for gold, and when they were called to this parley, had not their weapons with them. By this stratagem he seized eleven of the thieves and made them prisoners; and then he told the rest in so many words, that if they would not comply to keep order and obey the rules they were at first sworn to and had promised, he would force them to it, for he would deliver them, bound hand and foot, to the Spaniards, and they should do the poor Chilians justice upon them; for that, in short, he would not have the rest murdered for them; upon this he ordered his men to draw up, to show them he would be as good as his word, but they considered of it, and submitted.

But the Spaniard had taken a wiser course than this, or perhaps they had been all murdered for he ran to the two Chilian houses

where the rogues had plundered, and where, in short, there was a kind of little hubbub about it, and with good words, promising to give them as much gold as they lost, and the price of some other things that were taken away, he appeased the people; and so our men were not ruined, as they would certainly have been, if the mountaineers had taken the alarm.

After this they grew a little more governable; but, in short, the sight of the gold, and the easy getting it, for they picked it up in abundance of places; I say, the sight of the gold made them stark mad; for now they were not as they were before, trafficking for the owners and for the voyage. But as I had promised the gold they got should be their own, and that they were now working for themselves, there was no getting them to go on, but, in short, they would dwell here; and this was as fatal a humour as the other.

But to bring this part of the voyage to an end, after eight days they came to the hospitable, wealthy Chilian's house, who I mentioned before; and here, as the Spaniard had contrived it, they found all kind of needful stores for provisions laid up, as it were, on purpose: and, in a word, here they were not fed only but feasted.

Here again the captain discovered a cursed conspiracy, which, had it taken effect, would, besides the baseness of the fact, have ended in their total destruction; in short, they had resolved to rob this Chilian who was so kind to them; but, as I said, one of the lieutenants discovered and detected this villanous contrivance, and quashed it, so as never to let the Spaniard know of it.

But, I say, to end this part. They were one-and-twenty days in this traverse, for they could not go on so easy and so fast now they were a little army, as we did, who were but six or seven. At length they came to the view of the open country, and, being all encamped at the edge of a descent, the generous Spaniard, with his three servants, took his leave, wishing them a good journey, and so went back, having the day before brought them some deer, five or six cows, and some sheep, for their subsisting at their entrance into and travel through the plain country.

And now they began to descend towards the plain, but they met with more difficulty here than they expected; for, as I observed, that the way for some miles went with an ascent towards the farthest part of the hill, that continued ascent had, by degrees, brought them to a very great, and in some places an unpassable, descent; so that, however my guide found his way down, when I was through, it was not so easy for them to do it, who were so many in number, and encumbered with mules and horses, and with their baggage, so that they knew not what to do; and if they had known that our ships were gone away, there had been some odds but, like the old Israelites, they would have murmured against their leader, and have all gone back to Egypt. In a word, they were at their wit's end, and knew not what course to take for two or three days, trying and essaying to get down here and there, and then frightened with precipices and rocks, and climbing up to get back again; the whole of the matter was, that they had missed a narrow way, where they should have turned off to the

south-east, the marks which our men had made before, having not been so regular and exact just there as in other parts of the way, or some other turning being so very like the same, that they took one for the other; and thus going straight forward too far before they turned, they came to an opening indeed, and saw the plain country under them as they had done before, but the descent was not so practicable.

After they had puzzled themselves here, as I said, two or three days, one of the lieutenants and a man with him, seeing a hut or house of a Chilian at some distance, rode away towards it; but passing into a valley that lay between, he met with a river which he could by no means get over with the mules, so he came back again in despair. The captain then resolved to send back to the honest, rich Chilian, who had entertained them so well, for a guide, or to desire him to give them such directions as they might not mistake.

But as the person sent back was one of those who had taken the journal which I mentioned, and was therefore greatly vexed at missing his way in such a manner, so he had his eyes in every corner, and pulled out his pocket-book at every turning, to see how the marks of the places agreed; and at last, the very next morning after he set out, he espied the turning where they should all have gone in, to have come to the place which they were at before. This being so remarkable a discovery, he came back again directly without going to the Chilian's house, which was two days' journey further.

Our men were revived with this discovery, and all agreed to march back; so, having lost about six days in this false step, they got into the right way, and in four more came to the descent where I had been before.

Here the hill was still very high, and the passage down was steep and difficult enough; but still it was practicable, and our men could see the marks of cattle having passed there, as if they had gone in drifts or droves; also it was apparent that, by some help and labour of hands, the way might be led winding and turning on the slope of the hill, so as to make it much easier to get down than it was now.

It cost them no small labour, however, to get down, chiefly because of the mules, which very often fell down with their loads, and our men said they believed they could, with much more ease, have mounted up from the east side to the top than they came from the west side to the bottom.

They encamped one night on the declivity of the hill, but got up early and was at the bottom and on the plain ground by noon. As soon as they came there, they encamped and refreshed themselves, that is to say, went to dinner; but it being very hot there, the cool breezes of the mountains having now left them, they were more inclined to sleep than to eat; so the captain ordered the tent to be set up, and they made the whole day of it, calling a council in the morning to consider what course they should steer, and how they should go on.

Here they came to this resolution, that they should send a man or two a considerable way up the hill again, to take the strictest observation

he could of the plain, with the largest glasses they had, and to mark which way the nearest river or water was to be seen, and they should direct their course, first to the water, and that if the course of it lay south, or any way to the east of the south, they would follow on the bank of it, and as soon as it was large enough to carry them, they would make them some canoes or shallops, or what they could do with the most ease, to carry them on by water; also they directed him to observe if he could see any cattle feeding at a distance, or the like.

The messenger returned, and brought them word that all the way to the east, and so on to south-east, they could discover nothing of water, but that they had seen a great lake or lough of water at a great distance, which looked like a sea, and lay from them to the northward of the east, about two points; adding, that they did not know but it might afterwards empty itself to the eastward, and it was their opinion to make the best of their way thither.

Accordingly the next morning they decamped and marched east-north-east very cheerfully, but found the way much longer than they expected, for, though from the mountains the country seemed to lie flat and plain, yet, when they came to measure it by their feet, they found a great many little hills. Little, I say, compared to the great mountains, but great to them who were to travel over them in the heat, and with but very indifferent support as to provisions; so that, in a word, the captain very prudently ordered that they should travel one three hours in the morning, and three hours in the evening, and encamp in the heat of the day, to refresh themselves as well as they could.

The best thing they met with in that part of the country was, that they had plenty of water, for though they were not yet come to any large, considerable river, yet every low piece of ground had a small rill of water in it, and the springs coming out from the rising grounds on the sides of the mountains being innumerable, made many such small brooks.

It cost them six days' travel, with two days' resting between, to advance to that river of water, which, from the height of the mountains, seemed to be but a little way off. They could not march, by their computation, above ten or twelve miles a day, and rest every third day too, for their luggage was heavy, and their mules but few; also some of their mules tired and jaded by their long march, or fell lame, and were good for nothing.

Besides all this, the days which I call days of rest were really not so to them, for those intervals were employed to range about and hunt for food, and it was for that more than for want of rest that they halted every third day.

In this exercise they did, however, meet with such success that they made shift to kill one sort of creature or another every day, sufficient to keep them from famishing; sometimes they met with some deer, other times with the guinacoes or Peruvian sheep, and sometimes with fowls of several kinds, so that they did pretty well for food. At length, viz. the seventh day, they came to a river, which was at first small, but having received another small river or two from the

northern part of the country, began to seem large enough for their purpose, and as it ran east-south-east they concluded it would run into the lake, and that they might float down this river if they could make anything to carry them.

But their first discouragement was, the country was all open, with very little wood and no trees, or very few, to be found large enough to make canoes, or boats of any sort; but the skill of their carpenters, of which they had four, soon conquered this difficulty, for, coming to a low swampy ground on the side of the river, they found a tree something like a beech, very firm good sort of wood, and yet soft enough to work easy; and they went to work with this, and at first made them some rafts, which they thought might carry them along till the river was bigger.

While this was doing (which took up two or three days) the men straggled up and down; some with their guns to shoot fowls, some with contrivances to catch fish, some one thing, some another; when on a sudden one of their fishermen, not in the river, but in a little brook which afterwards runs into the river, found a little bit of shining stuff among the sand, or earth, in the bank, and one cried he had found a piece of gold. Now it seems all was not gold that glittered, for the lump had no gold in it, whatever it was; but the word being given out at first, it immediately set all our men a-rummaging the shores of every little rill of water they came at, to see if there was no gold; and they had not looked long but they found several little grains of gold, very small and fine, not only in this brook but in several others. So they spent their time the more cheerfully because they made some purchase.

All this while they saw no people, nor any signals of any, except once on the other side of the river, at a great distance, they thought they saw about thirty together, but whether men or women, or how many of each, they could not tell, nor would they come any nearer, only stood and gazed at our people at a distance.

They were now ready to quit their camp and embark, intending to lay all their baggage on the rafts, with three or four sick men, and so the rest to march by the river-side, and as many as could to ride upon the mules; when, on a sudden, all their navigation was put to a stop, and their new vessels, such as they were, suffered a wreck. The case was thus: they had observed a great many black clouds to hang over the tops of the mountains, and some of them even below the tops, and they did believe it rained among the hills; but in the plain where they lay, and all about them, it was fair and the weather fine.

But in the night the carpenters and their assistants, who had set up a little tent near the river-side, were alarmed with a great roaring noise (as they thought) in the river, though at a distance upwards; presently after they found the water begin to come into their tent, when, running out, they found the river was swelling over its banks, and all the low grounds on both sides of them.

To their great satisfaction it was just break of day, so that they could see enough to make their way from the water; and the land very happily rising a little to the south of the river, they im-

mediately fled thither; two of them had so much presence of mind with them as to pick up their working tools, at least some of them, and carry off, and the water rising gradually, the other two carpenters ventured back to save the rest; but they were put to it to get back again with them; in a word, the water rose to such a height that it carried away their tent and everything that was in it, and, which was worse, their rafts (for they had almost finished four large rafts) were all lifted off from the place where they were framed, which was a kind of dry dock, and dashed all to pieces, and the timber, such as it was, all carried away; the smaller brooks also swelled in proportion to the larger river, so that, in a word, our men lay, as it were, surrounded with water, and began to be in a terrible consternation; for, though they lay in a hard dry piece of ground, too high for the land-flood to reach them, yet had the rains continued in the mountains they might have lain there till they had been obliged to eat one another, and so there had been an end of our new discovery.

But the weather cleared up among the hills the next day, which heartened them up again; and as the flood rose so soon, so the current, being furiously rapid, the waters ran off again as easily as they came on, and in two days the water was all gone again. But our little float was shipwrecked, as I have said, and the carpenters finding how dangerous such great unwieldy rafts would be, resolved to set to it and build one large float with sides to it like a punt or ferry-boat. They worked so hard at this, ten of the men always working with them to help, that in five days they had her finished. The only thing they wanted was pitch and tar to make her upper work keep out the water; and they made a shift to fetch a juice out of some of the wood they had cut, by help of fire, that answered the end tolerably well.

But that which made this disappointment less afflicting was, that our other men, hunting about the small streams where this water had come down so furiously, found that there was more gold, and the more for the late flood. This made them run straggling up the streams; and, as the captain said, he thought once they would run quite back to the mountains again.

But that was his ignorance too, for after awhile, and the nearer they came to the rising of the hills, the quantity abated; for where the streams were so furious the water washed it all away, and carried it down with it, so that by the end of five days the men found but little, and began to come back again.

But then they discovered that though there was less in the higher part of the rivers, there was more farther down, and they found it so well worth while, that they went fishing along for gold all the way towards the lake, and left their fellows and the boat to come after.

At last, when nothing else would do it, hunger called them off, and so, once more, they got all their company together again; and now they began to load the float, indeed it might be called a luggage-boat; however, it answered very well, and was a great relief to our men; but when they came to load it, they found it would not carry so much by a great deal as they had to

put in it; besides, that they would be all obliged to march on foot by the shore, which had this particular inconvenience in it, that whenever they came to any small river or brook which runs into the other, as was very often the case, they would be forced to march up a great way to get over it, or unload the great float to make a ferry-boat of it to waft them over.

Upon this they resolved that the first place they came at where stuff was to be had for building, they would go to work again, and make two or three more floats not so big as the other, that so they might embark themselves and their stuff, and their provisions too, altogether, and take the full benefit of the river where it would afford them help, and not some sail on the water and some go on foot upon the land, which was very fatiguing.

Upon this, as soon as they found stuff, as I have said, and a convenient place, they went all hands to work to build more floats, or boats, call them as you will. While this was doing all the spare men, and all the men at spare hours, spent their time and pains in hunting about for gold in the brooks and small streams, as well those they had been at before as others; and that after they had, as it were, plundered them at the first discovery, for as they had found some gold after the hasty rain, they were loth to give it over, though they had been assured there was more to be found in the lake where they were yet to come than in the brooks.

All this while their making the floats went slowly on, for the men thought it a great hardship to keep chopping of blocks, as they called it, while their fellows were picking up of gold, though they knew they were to have their share of what they found, as much as if they had been all the while with them. But it seems there is a kind of satisfaction in the work of picking up gold, besides the mere gain.

However, at length the gold failing, they began to think of their more immediate work, which was going forward; and the carpenters having made three more floats like flat-bottomed barges, which they brought to be able to carry their baggage and themselves too, if they thought fit, they began to embark and fall down the river, but they grew sick of their navigation in a very few days; for before they got to the lake, which was but three days going, they run several times on ground, and were obliged to lighten them to get them off again, then load again, and lighten again, and so off and on, till they were so tired of them that they would much rather have carried all their baggage, and have travelled by land; and at last they were forced to cast off two of them, and put all their baggage on board the other two, which at best, though large, were but very poor crazy things.

At length they came in sight of their beloved lake, and the next day they entered into the open part or sea of it, which they found was very large, and in some places very deep.

Their floats, or what they might be called, were by no means fit to carry them upon this inland sea; for as, if the water had been stirred by the least gust of wind, it would presently have washed over them, and have spoiled, if not sunk, their baggage; so they had no way to steer

or guide them whenever they came into deep water, where they could not reach the ground with their poles.

This obliged them, as soon as they came into the open lake, to keep close under one shore, that is to say, to the right hand, where the land falling away to the S., and the S. by E., seemed to carry them still forward on their way; the other side widening to the N. made the lake seem there to be really a sea, for they could not see over it unless they went on shore, and got up upon some rising ground.

Here, at first, they found the shore steep too, and a great depth of water close to the land, which made them very uneasy; for if the least gale of wind had disturbed the water, especially blowing from off the lake, they would have been shipwrecked close to the shore. However, after they had gone for two days along the side by the help of towing and setting as well as they could, they came to a flatter shore and a fairer strand, to their great joy and satisfaction.

But if the shore proved to their satisfaction for its safety, it was much more so on another account; for they had not long been here before they found the sands or shore infinitely rich in gold, beyond all they had seen, or thought of seeing before. They had no sooner made the discovery but they resolved to fall on, as upon a lasting spoil that was to enrich them all, and they went to work with such an avaricious rage that they seemed as if they were plundering an enemy's camp, and that there was an army at hand to drive them from the place; and, as it proved they were right to do so; for in this gust of their greedy appetite they considered not where they were, and upon what tender, ticklish terms their navigation stood. They had indeed drawn their two floats to the shore as well as they could, and with pieces of wood, like piles, stuck in on every side, brought them to ride easy, but had not taken the least thought about change of weather, though they knew they had neither anchor or cable, nor so much as a rope large enough to fasten them on the shore.

But they were taught more wit to their cost in two or three days, for the very second night they felt a little unusual rising of the water, as they thought, though without any wind, and the next morning they found the water of the lake was swelled about two feet perpendicular, and that their floats, by that means, lay a great way further from the shore than they did before, the water still increasing.

This made them at first imagine there was a tide in the lake, and that after a little time it would abate again, but they soon found their mistake, for after some time they perceived the water, which was perfectly fine and clear before, grew by degrees of a paler colour, thick, and whitish, till at last it was quite white and muddy, as is usual in land floods, and as it still continued rising, so they continued thrusting in their floats farther and farther towards the shore, till they had, in short, lost all the fine golden sands they were upon before, and found the lake overflowed the land so far beyond them, that in short they seemed to be in the middle of the lake, for they could scarce see to the end of the water, even

on that very side where, but a few hours before, they were fast on shore.

You may easily judge that this put them into a great consternation, and they might well conclude that they should be all drowned and lost, for they were now as it were in the middle of the sea upon two open floats or rafts, fenced nowhere from the least surge or swell of the water, except by a kind of waste board about two feet high built up on the sides, without any caulking or pitching, or anything to keep out the water. They had neither mast or sail, anchor or cable, head or stern, no bows to fence off the waves or rudder to steer any course, or oars to give any motion, but, like a flat-bottomed punt, they thrust them along with such poles as they had, some of which were about eight or ten feet long, and which gave them a little way, but very slowly. All the remedy they had in this case, was to set on with their poles towards the shore and to observe by their pocket compasses which way it lay; and this they laboured hard at lest they should be lost in the night and not know which way to go.

Their carpenters in the mean time with some spare boards which they had, or rather made, raised their sides as well as they could to keep off the wash of the sea, if any wind should rise so as to make the water rough, and thus they fenced against every danger as well as they could, though all put together they were in but a very sorry condition.

Now they had time to reflect upon their voracious fury in ranging the shore to pick up gold, without considering where and in what condition they were, and without looking out on shore for a place of safety. Nay, they might now have reflected on the madness of venturing out into a lake or inland sea of that vast extent, in such pitiful bottoms as they had under them. Their business, doubtless, had been to have stopped within the mouth of the river and found a convenient place to land their goods and secure their lives; and when they had pitched their camp upon any safe high ground, where they might be sure they could neither be overflowed or surrounded with water, they might have searched the shores of the lake as far as they thought fit; but thus to launch out into an unknown water, and in such a condition as to their vessels as is described above, was most unaccountably inconsiderate.

Never was a crew of fifty men, all able and experienced sailors, so embarked, or drawn into such a snare, for they were surrounded with water for three or four miles in breadth on the nearest shore, and this all on a sudden, the country lying low and flat for such a breadth, all of which appeared dry land and green like the fields but the day before, and without question they were sufficiently surprised.

Now they would have given all the gold they had got, which was very considerable too, to have been on shore on the wildest and most barren part of the country, and would have trusted to their own diligence to get food; but here, besides the imminent danger of drowning they might also be in danger of starving; for had their floats grounded but upon any little hillock, they might have stuck there till they had starved and

perished for hunger. Then they were in the utmost anxiety, too, for fear of wetting their powder, which, if it happened, they could never have made serviceable again, and without it they could not have killed anything for food if they had got to the shore.

They had in this exigence some comforts, however, which might a little uphold their spirits, and without which, indeed, their condition must have been deplorable and desperate. 1st—It was hot weather, so that, as they had no shelter against the cold if it had come, they had no cold to afflict them; but they rather wanted awnings to keep off the sun than houses to keep off the cold. 2nd—The water of the lake was all fresh and very good, even when it looked white and thick, yet it was very sweet and drank wholesome and good-tasted. Had it been salt water and they thus in the middle of it, they must have perished for thirst. 3rd—They being now floating over the drowned lands only, the water was not very deep, so that they could reach ground and set along their rafts with their poles; and this to be sure they failed not to do with the utmost diligence.

They had also the satisfaction to observe, though it was not without toiling in an inexpressible manner, that they did gain upon the shore, and there was a high land before them, which they did draw towards, though very slowly and at a very great distance.

But then they had another discouragement, namely, that they saw the day declined, and night came on apace, and, in short, that it was impossible they could reach the high land which they saw, by daylight, nor did they know what to do or how to go on in the night.

At length two bold fellows offered themselves to strip and go off, either to wade or swim to the shore, which they had yet daylight enough to do, being as they judged about three miles, though they found it about four miles; and from thence to find means to make a fire or light to guide them to the shore in the dark.

This was indeed a desperate attempt, but the two fellows being good swimmers, and willing to venture, it was not impracticable. They had light linen drawers on, open at the knees, and their shirts; and they took a little bottle each in their pockets with some gunpowder in them close stopped, with other materials for kindling a fire; weapons they had none, but each man a knife and a hatchet fastened round their waist in a little belt, and a light pole in their hands to help when they waded, which they expected to do most part of the way. They had no provisions with them but a bottle with some good brandy in their pockets.

When they went off you are to suppose the water about four feet to five feet deep, so they chose to swim rather than wade, and, as it was very seldom much deeper, they had often opportunity to stand on the firm ground to rest themselves.

In this posture they went on directly towards the land, and after they had by swimming and wading together advanced about a mile they found the water grew shallower, which was a signal to them that they should reach the hard ground in a little time, so they walked cheer-

fully on in about three feet water for near a mile more.

Their companions soon lost sight of them, for they being in white, and the water white too and the light declining, they could not see them at a mile's distance; after this they found the ground falling lower, so that they had deeper water for half a mile more all the way; after which, they came to flat ground again for near two miles more, and at length to the dry land, to their great satisfaction, though it was then quite night.

Their comrades had been near an hour in the dark, that is to say, with only a dusky light, and began to be greatly at a loss, not being able to see the compass; they had made shift to get over the half mile of deeper water pretty well; for though it was too deep for the men to wade as above, yet they could reach the bottom with their poles, and at that time they happened to feel a little breeze of wind fair in their way, which both refreshed them with its cool breath, and also gave them a kind of a jog on their way towards the shore.

At length, to their great joy, they saw a light; and it was the more to their joy because they saw it just before them, or as the seamen call it, right a head, by which they had the satisfaction to know they had not varied their course in the dark. It seems their two men had landed upon a fair rising ground, where they found some low bushes and trees, and where they had good hard dry standing, and they soon found means to pick out a few withered dry sticks, with which they made a blaze for the present, having struck fire with the tools they were furnished with, as above.

By the light of this blaze they gave the first notice to their comrades, as above, that they were landed; and they again, as was agreed beforehand, fired two guns as a signal that they saw it and were all safe; also by the light of this fire they gave themselves so much light as to find more dry wood, and afterwards their fire was so strong and good that they made the green wood burn as well as the dry.

Their companions were now come into the shoal water, in which, as I said, the men waded, but as their floats did not draw above a foot or eighteen inches water at most they went on still; but at length, being within about half a mile of the hillock where the two men were they found the water so shallow that their floats would not swim. Upon this more of the men went overboard with poles in their hands, sounding, as we may call it, for deeper water; and with long puddling about they found the ground fall off a little in one place, by which they got their floats about a quarter of a mile farther, but then the water was shallow again, not above a foot water. So, in a word, they were fain to be content, and running fast a-ground they immediately began, though dark and themselves very much fatigued, to unload their ships, and carry all on shore on their backs.

The first thing they took care to land was their ammunition, their gunpowder, and arms, not forgetting the ammunition *de bouche*, as the French call it, I mean their victuals, and with great joy they got to their two comrades; then they fetched their proper materials for their tent

and set it up, and having refreshed themselves they went all to sleep, as they said, without so much as a sentinel placed for their guard; for, as they saw no inhabitants, so they feared no enemies; and it may be supposed they were weary enough to make them want rest, even in the extremest manner.

In the morning they had time enough to reflect upon the madness of such rash adventures, as you shall hear. Their floats, indeed, remained as they had left them, and the water was ebbd away from them above two miles, that is to say, almost to the deep half mile mentioned above; but they heard a surprising noise and roaring of the water on the lake itself, the body of which was now above seven miles from them.

They could not imagine what this roaring should mean, for they felt no wind, nor could they perceive any clouds at a distance that looked as if they brought any squalls of wind with them, as they are often observed to do, but when they came nearer the water they found it had a kind of swell, and that there was certainly some more violent motion at the farther distance; and in a little while looking behind them towards the shore where their comrades were, they found the water began to spread over the flat ground again, upon which they hastened back, but having a good way to go, they were obliged to go knee-deep before they reached to the hillock where their tent stood.

They had not been many hours on shore before they found the wind began to rise, and the roaring which before they heard at a distance grew louder and nearer, till at length the floats were lifted up and driven on shore by the wind, which increased to a storm; and the water swelled and grew rough, and as they were upon the lee shore the floats were soon broken in pieces, and went some one way and some another.

In the evening it overcast and grew cloudy, and about midnight they had their share of a violent rain, which yet they could see was more violent towards the mountains of the Andes and towards the course of the river which they came down in the floats.

The consequence of this was, naturally, that the third day the waters of the lake swelled again to a frightful height, that is to say, it would have been frightful to them if they had been upon it, for they suppose it rose about two fathoms perpendicular, and the wind continuing fresh the water was all a white foam of froth; so that had they had a good large boat under them she would scarce have lived there.

Their tent kept them dry, and as they were on dry land and too high to be reached by any inundation they had no concern upon them about their safety. But, to be sure, took this for sufficient notice not to come up the lake again in haste unless they were better provided with boats to ride out a storm.

Our men began now to think they had taken their leave of the Golden Lake, and yet they knew not how to think of leaving it so soon. They were now fourteen or fifteen leagues off of that fine golden shore where they took up so much, nor did they know the way to it by land, and as for going by water that they were unprovided for several ways, besides, the waters kept

up to a considerable height, and the winds blew fresh for six or eight days together.

All these obstructions joined together put them upon considering of pursuing their march by land, in which, however, they resolved to coast the lake as near as they could to the eastward, till, if possible, they should find that the waters had some outlet, that is to say, that the lake emptied itself by some river towards the sea, as they concluded it certainly must.

They had not yet seen any inhabitants, or any sign of them, at least not near them; they did, or it is thought they fancied they did, see some on the other side of the river, but they would not come within reach of them on any account, so that it is doubtful whether they really saw them or no.

Before they decamped for a march, it was needful to get some provisions, if possible, and this made them the more desirous of finding out some conversable creatures, but it was in vain. They killed a wild cow and a deer, and this was all they could get for some time; and with this they set forward, taking their course east, and rather northerly, in order to come into the same latitude they set out in at their first embarking on the river.

After they had marched thus for about three days, keeping the lake on the north side of them, and always in view; at length, on the third day, in the evening, coming to a little hill which gave them the prospect of the country for some length N.E., they saw plainly a river issuing out of the lake, and running first east, then bending to the south, it was also easy to perceive that this river was at that time much broader than in its usual course, for that they could see a great many trees, which probably grew on the bank of the river, standing, as it were, in the middle of the water, the banks being overflowed both ways very considerably.

But as they mounted the hill which they stood on to a greater height, they discovered farther north, at the distance of five or six miles, according to their account, a much larger river, which looked, compared to the first river, rather like a sea than a river, which likewise issued out of the lake and run E. by S. towards the sea, which river they supposed to be in the same manner swelled with a land water, or fresh, as the lake was, to a prodigious degree.

This prospect brought them to a more serious consultation, as to the measures they should take to proceed on their journey; and, as they could easily see there was little or no use to be made of the rivers for their travelling, while the water was thus above the ordinary banks, so that they could not know the proper channels, and also that the currents were exceeding swift; so they resolved to stock themselves with provisions, if possible, and continue their journey by land.

To this purpose they first made it their business to catch some more guinacos, or large sheep, which they knew would not only feed them, but also carry their luggage, which was still heavy and very troublesome to them, and yet absolutely necessary too. But all their endeavour was in vain, for though they saw several, and found that the country was pretty full of them, and some they killed, yet they could not

take one alive (which was the thing they chiefly wanted) by any means that they could contrive.

Among the rest of the creatures that they shot for food they very often found wild cows and bulls, and especially, as they found afterwards, on the north side of the river; but the most surprising thing to them that they had yet met with was still to come. They had descended from the hill, where they at first discovered the smaller river, and where they had set up their tent, resolving to march on the lower grounds, as near the river as they could, so as to be out of danger of the water, that they might find, if possible, some way over to come at the great river, which they judged to be the stream most proper for their business.

Here they found a rich pleasant country, level and fruitful; not so low as to be exposed to the overflowing of the river, and not so high as to be dry and barren. Several little brooks and streams of water, rising on the side of the hill they came from, ran winding this way and that, as if to find out the river, and near the river were some woods of very large trees.

The men, not forgetting the main chance, fell to washing and searching the sand and gravel in these brooks for gold: but the harvest of gold seemed to be over, for here they found none. They had also an occasion to discover, that till the land waters were abated, there was no stirring for them, no, not so much as to cross the first river; nor, if they did, could they find in their hearts to venture, not knowing but the waters might still rise higher, and that the two rivers might swell into one, and so they should be swallowed up, or if not, they might be surrounded on some island, where they should perish for want of provisions; so they resolved to fetch their baggage from the hill, as well as they could, and encamp in those pleasant plains, as near the river as they could, till the water should abate.

While they stayed here, they were so far from having hopes that the waters would abate, that it rained violently for almost three days and nights together; and one of those rainy mornings, looking out at their tent door (for they could not stir abroad for the rain) they were surprised when, looking towards the river, which was just below them, they saw a prodigious number of black creatures in the water, and swimming towards the shore where they were.

They at first imagined they were porpoises, but could not suggest anything of that kind at such a distance from the sea, when one of the men, looking at them through a glass, cried out, they were all black cattle, and that he could perceive their horns and their heads. Upon this, others looking with their glasses also, said the same. Immediately every man ran to his gun, and, notwithstanding it rained hard, away they marched down the river's side with all the speed they could make.

By that time they reached the river-bank, their wonder increased, for they found it was a vast multitude of black cattle, who, finding the waters rise between the two rivers, and by a natural sagacity, apprehensive of being swept away with the flood, had, one and all, took the waters, and were swimming over to this side for safety.

You may very well suppose the fellows, though they wanted a few such guests as these, yet were terrified with their multitude, and began to consider what course to take when the creatures should come to land, for there was a monstrous many of them. Upon the whole, after a short consultation, for the creatures came on apace, they resolved to get into a low ground, where they perceived they directed their course, and in which there were a great many trees, and that they would all get up into the trees, and so lie ready to shoot among them as they landed.

Accordingly they did so, except that five of them, cutting down some large boughs of a tree, got into a little thicket close to the water, which they so fortified with the boughs of the trees, that they thought themselves secure within, and there they posted themselves, resolving to expect them and take their hazard.

When the creatures came to land, it was wonderful to observe how they lowed and roared, as it were, to bid one another welcome on shore, and spreading themselves upon the neighbouring plain, immediately lay down, and rolling and stretching themselves, gave our people notice that, in short, they had swam a great way and were very much tired.

Our fellows, you may suppose, laid about them, and the five men that fixed themselves in the thicket had the fairest opportunity, for they killed eleven or twelve of them as soon as they set their foot on shore, and lamed as many.

And now they had a trial of skill, for as they killed as many as they knew what to do with, and had their choice of beef, if they killed a bull, they let him lie, as having no use for him, but chose the cows, as what they thought was only fit for eating.

But, I say, now they had a trial of skill, namely, to see if they could maim some of them, so as not to kill them, and might bring them to carry their luggage. This was a kind of a fruitless attempt, as we afterwards told them, to make a baggage-horse of a wild bull.

However, they brought it so far to pass that having wounded several young bulls very much, after they had run roaring about with the hurt, they lay down and bled so as that it was likely they would bleed to death, as several of them really did: but the surgeon observing two of them to be low enough that he might go to them, and do what he would with them, he soon stopped the bleeding, and, in a word, healed the wounds. All the while he was doing this, he caused food, that is to say, grass and boughs of trees, to be brought to them for food, and in four or five days the creatures were very well. Then he caused them to be hampered with ropes and tied together, so that they could neither fight with their heads or run away with their heels; and having thus brought them to a place just by their tent, he caused them to be kept so hungry, and almost starved, that when meat was carried them, they were so tame and thankful, that, at last, they would eat out of his hand, and stretch out their heads for it, and when they were let a little looser, would follow him about for a handful of grass, like a dog for a bone.

When he had brought them thus to hand, he by degrees loaded them, and taught them to

carry; and if they were unruly, as they were at first, he would load them with more than they could well carry, and make them stand under that load two or three hours, and then come himself and bring them meat and take the load off; and thus in a few days they knew him so well that they would let him do anything with them.

When they came to decamp they tied them both together with such ropes as they had, and made them carry a very great weight. They tried the same experiment with two more but they failed, one died and the other proved untractable, sullen, and outrageous.

They had now lain here twelve days, having plenty of provisions, in which time the weather proving fair, the land waters run off and the rivers came to their old channels, clear and calm: the men would gladly have gone back to the sands and flat shore of the lake, or to some other part, to look for gold; but that was impracticable now, so they marched on, and in about two days they found the first river seemed to turn so much to the south, that they thought it would carry them too far out of their way, for their orders were to keep about the latitude of forty to fifty degrees, as is said before, so they resolved to get over the first river as soon as they could; they had not gone far, but they found the river so shallow that they easily forded it, bulls and all, and being safely landed they travelled cross the country directly to the great river, which they found also very low, though not like to be forded as the other was.

Now they thought they were in the way of their business, and here they resolved to see if a tree or two might be found, big enough to make a large canoe to carry them down this river, which, as it seemed large, so the current seemed to be less rapid and furious, the channel being deep and full.

They had not searched long but they found three trees, as they thought, large enough, and they immediately went to work with them, felled them and shaped them, and in four days' time they had three handsome canoes, one larger than the rest, and able to carry in all fifteen or sixteen men; but this was not enough, so they were forced to look out farther for two trees more, and this took them up more time. However in about a week they launched them all: as for days, they had lost their account of time; so that as they had sometimes no room to distinguish one day from another, so they, after some time, quite forgot the days and knew not a Sunday from a working day any more.

While these canoes were making, the men, according to the old trade, fell to rummaging the shores of this river, as they had done the other, for gold, nor did they wholly lose their labour, for in several places they found a pretty deal; and here it was that a certain number of them, taking one of the canoes that were first made, took a voyage of their own heads, not only without command but against command; and having made a little mast and sail to it, went up towards the lake, resolving to go quite into the lake to find another golden shore or gold coast, as they called it.

To give a particular account of this wild undertaking would be too long, nor would the rogues

give much account of it themselves; only in short that they found a sand pretty rich in gold, worked upon it five days indefatigably, and got a good deal, sufficient, had they brought it back, to have tempted the rest to have gave all away to the same place: but at the end of the five days, some were for returning and others for staying longer, till the majority prevailed to come back, representing to the rest that their friends would be gone, and they should be left to starve in that wild country and should never get home; so they all got into the canoe again, but quarrelled when they were in, and that to such an unreasonable height that, in short, they fought, over-set the boat, lost all their gold and their arms, except three muskets, which were lashed under the thouts or benches of the canoe, spoiled their ammunition and provision, and drowned one of their company; so they came home to the rest by weeping cross, wet and almost famished.

This was a baulk to them, you may be sure, and put a damp to their new projects; and yet six of the same men were so bold afterwards as to demand to be dismissed and a canoe given them, and they would go back, they said, to the Golden Lake, where, they did not doubt, they should load the canoe with gold; and if they found when they came back we were gone, they would find their way back through the mountains and go to the rich Spaniard, who they did not doubt would get them license to go back to Europe with the galleons, and perhaps, they said, they might be in England before us.

But the captain quelled this mutiny, though there were four or five more come into it, and showing them the agreement they had made with me, their commander; the obligation they were under, and the madness of their other proposals, prevailed with them to go forward with the rest and pursue the voyage, which he now represented to be very easy, being as it were all the way down hill, that is to say with the stream, for they all knew the river they were in must go to the sea, and that in or near the latitude which they knew the ship had appointed to wait for them. However, to soften them a little and, in some measure, to please them, he promised that if they met with any success in the search after gold in the river they were in, as he did not question but they should, he would consent to any reasonable stop that they should propose, not exceeding five days in a place, and the places to be not less than five leagues off from one another.

Upon these terms they consented, and all embarked and came away, though extremely mortified for the loss of one of their companions, who was a brave stout fellow, very well beloved by all the company, but there was no remedy; so they came on in five canoes, and with a good stock of provisions, such as it was, viz. good fresh beef cured in the sun, and fifteen Peruvian sheep alive, for when they got into the country, between the two rivers, they found it easy to catch those creatures, who, before that, would not come near them.

And now they came down the river apace, till they came to another golden shore, where, finding some quantity of gold, they claimed their captain's promise, and accordingly they went all on shore to work, and pretty good success they

had, picking up from among the sands a considerable quantity of gold; and having stayed four of the five days, they found they had cleared the place, which was not of a long extent, and so they cheerfully came on.

They came on now for eleven days together very willingly, but then found the channel of the river divided itself, and one went away to the left, and the other to the right; they could not judge which was the best to take; but not questioning but that they would meet again soon, they took the southernmost channel, as being most direct in their latitude; and thus they proceeded for three or four days more, when they were obliged to put into the mouth of a little river that fell into the other, and made a good harbour for their little fleet.

Here, I say, they were obliged to put in for want of provisions, for they had eat up all their guiancos, and their two tame bulls too, the last of which they soon repented, as you will see presently.

After they had been hunting, and shot a couple of deer and a cow, with a kind of hare as big as an English fox, they set forward again very merrily, and the more so because they had another little piece of a gold coast, where, for two days, they had very good luck again; but judge how they were surprised, and in what a consternation they were, when coming farther down the same river they heard a terrible noise in the river, as of a mighty cataract, or waterfall, which increased as they came forward till it grew so loud that they could not hear themselves speak, much less hear one another.

As they approached, it was the more frightful; so at length, lest they should be hurried into it before they were aware, they went all on shore, doing all by signs and dumb postures, for it was impossible to hear any sound.

Notwithstanding this, it was near six miles to the place, which, when they perceived, some of them went back to bring on the boats, and so brought them as near the place as they durst, and run them on shore into a little hollow part of the bank just large enough to hold them. When they had thus secured the boats they went to view the waterfall; but how was they astonished when they found that there were not one, but five waterfalls, at the distance of about two miles from one another, some more, some less; that the water fell a prodigious height, so that it was impossible any boat could bear to launch down the cataract and not be dashed in pieces.

They now saw there was no remedy, but that they must lose the benefit of their five canoes, which had been so comfortable to them, and by which they had come above four hundred miles in a little time with safety and pleasure.

These cataracts made the river perfectly useless to them for above twenty miles, and it was impossible to drag their canoes that length over land; so, in short, they unloaded them, and for their own satisfaction they turned one, the biggest of them, adrift, and let it go to the first cataract, placing themselves so beyond that they might see it come down, which they did, and had the pleasure of seeing it dashed in pieces on the rocks below.

Well, there was no remedy, but they must

leave their boats behind them; and now, as I have said, they had time to repent killing their two tame bulls, who would have done them good service; but it was too late to look back upon what was done and over so many days before. They had now no remedy, if they would go forward, but to take up their baggage upon their shoulders and walk on foot. The only help they had was, that they had gotten five guinacos more, which, though they were hungry, and would fain have eaten, yet as they carried at least five hundred weight of their luggage, they chose to fast and walk rather than feast and work; so they went on as well as they could till they got past these falls, which, though not above twenty miles, cost them five days' labour.

Then they encamped again to refresh themselves, and consider of what was next to be done. They were thus long upon this short journey for many reasons:

1. Because they were obliged to employ the best part of two days in hunting for their food, in which time five of them, swimming over the river to shoot at some black cattle, extremely fatigued themselves in pursuing them, but did, however, shoot five cows and bulls; but then it was at such a distance that it was more pains to drag the flesh along to the river's side than it was worth to have it, only that they were indeed hunger-starved and must have it.

2. They found still some little quantity of gold in the water; that is to say, below the falls, where the water, after, by falling with such force it had made a pit or hole of a vast depth, as is usual at a mill-tail, had thrown up a shoal again at perhaps a mile distance; there they took up some gold whenever the water was low enough to come to the shoal.

3. The weight of their baggage made them travel heavy, and seldom above five or six miles a day.

Being now come to the open river, they thought of building more floats, but they were discouraged from this consideration; that they did not know but in a few days' march, there might be more waterfalls, and then all their labour would be lost; so they took up their tent and began to travel again.

But here, as they kept the river close on board, as the seamen call it, they were at a full stop, by the coming in of another river from the S.W. which, when it joined the river they went along by, was above a quarter of a mile broad, and how to get over it they knew not. They sent two men up the additional river some length, and he brought word that it was, indeed, narrower by much, but nowhere fordable, but deep and rapid.

At the same time they sent two more nimble fellows down the coast of the great river, to see if there were no more waterfalls, who brought them word, there were none for sixty miles.

While they lay here, at the point of the influx, expecting the return of their scouts, they used what diligence they could in getting provisions; and among the rest, they killed three cows and a bull on the other side of the biggest river; but not knowing how to bring them over, they concluded to go over, as many as could swim, which was the better half of them, and sit down by it, and roast and boil upon the spot, as much as

they could eat, and then bring over as much as they could for their fellows.

They got boughs of trees, and bound them together, then wrapped the meat in the hides, and laid it on the wood, and made a hundred little contrivances to get it over; so that on one side or other, they got all the meat eaten or brought over. What they got on their own side the river they made better shift with.

On the return of their scouts, they found there was no remedy but to build some new vessels of one kind or another, to take in their baggage and provision, which they did, after the manner of their first floats, for they found no trees big enough to make canoes. When, therefore, they had made one great float, they resolved to make two small boats, like yauls or skiffs, with which they might tow their large float or barge; and as this they might do with small stuff, so they found means to line them within and without with the bull's hides, and that, so dexterously joined, and lapped or rolled one over another, that no water came through, or but very little.

With these two boats they ferried over the small rivers with ease, each boat carrying six men, besides two to row; and when they were over the small rivers, the two boats served to tow their great punt or barge close by the shore.

The greatest difficulty was for tow-lines to draw the boats by, and that they supplied by twisting a strong tough kind of flag or rush, which they found in the river, of which, with great application, they made a kind of rope-yarn, and then twisting it again, made it very strong.

This was the voiture with which they carried themselves down quite to the sea; and one of these boats it was, that we spied, as above, coming to us in the bay.

They had yet above four hundred and fifty miles to the sea, nor could they at any time tell or guess how far off it might be. They went on more or less every day, but it was but slowly, and not without great labour, both of rowing and towing. Their provisions also cost them much labour, and it was a great deal of difficulty that they were obliged, first to hunt and kill it, and then to bring it to the camp, which was always close to the river's side.

After they had travelled thus some time, following the course of the river, behold they came to a place, where of a sudden they could see no farther bank of the river, but it looked all water like the sea; they could not imagine what it must be so the next day they rowed towards it with one of their little boats, when they were surprised to find that it was the northern branch of the river which they had seen go off before they came at the waterfalls, which river being now increased with many other great waters, was now so great that the mouth of it might be said to be four or five miles over, and rather received this river which they were on into it than ran into this; but after this it contracted itself again, though still it was supposed to be a mile and a half over.

They were not glad of this conjunction of the waters at all, because the great water being thus joined, they found the stream or current more violent, and the water upon the least stirring of the wind much more turbulent than it was before; and as their great float drew but little water, and

swam flat upon the surface, she was ready to founder upon every occasion. This obliged them almost every night to seek for some little cove or creek to run her into, as into a harbour to preserve her; for if the wind blew off shore, they had enough to do to keep her from driving off; if it blew off from the river, though it were otherwise little wind enough, yet it made a rippling or chopping of the waters that they had much difficulty to keep it from filling her.

All the country on the side of this river was a little higher ground than ordinary, which was its security from land-floods, and their security too; for sometimes the river was seen to rise, and that so as to overflow a great extent of land on the other side. Hence, perhaps, the other side might be esteemed the most fruitful, and, perhaps, might be the better land, if it had but half of the art and industry of an European nation to assist the natural fertility of the soil, by keeping the water in its bounds, banking and fencing the meadows from the inundations and freshes which were frequently sent down from the Andes, and from the country adjoining.

But as it now was, those lower lands lay great part of the year under water, whether it was the better or the worse for the soil, that no judgment can be made of till some people come to settle there, to whom it shall be worth while to make experiments of that kind.

This part of the country they were now in resembled, as they hinted, the county of Dorsetshire and the downs about Salisbury, only not lying so high from the surface of the water, and the soil being a good fruitful dark mould, not a chalky solid rock as in the county about Salisbury, &c.

Here they found a greater quantity of deer than they had seen in all their journey, which they often had the good luck to kill for their supply of food, the creatures not being so shy and wild as they had found farther within the country.

It may be noted here, and it is very observable, that in all this journey I do not learn, that they saw either wolf or fox, bear or lion, or indeed any other ravenous creature, which they had the least reason to be shy or afraid of, or which indeed were frightful to the deer; and this, perhaps, may be the reason why the number of those creatures is so great, which, as I have said, is greater there than at other places.

After they had feasted themselves here, as above, for some days, they resolved to begin their new kind of navigation, and see what they could make of it; but they went very heavily along, and every now and then, as I have said above, the water was too rough for them, and they were fain to put into harbour, and sometimes lie two and three days; however, they plied their time as well as they could, and sometimes the current setting over to their side and running strong by the shore, they would go at a great rate, inso-much, that one time they said they went above thirty miles in a day, having, besides the current, a little gale of wind right a-stern.

They reckoned that they went near two hundred miles in this manner, for they made the best of it; and at the end of this two hundred miles, it was by their reckoning that our five men who travelled into the country so far, found them,

when they saw the hat swimming down the stream; which hat, it seems, one of them let fall over-board in the night.

They had, I say, travelled thus far with great difficulty, the river being so large; but as they observed it growing larger and larger, the farther they went, so they said they did not doubt but that in a little more they should come to the sea.

They also observed, that now as they found the waters larger, and the rivers wider, they killed more fowls than formerly, and particularly more of the duck-foot kind, though they could not perceive any sea-fowls, or such as they had been used to. They saw a great many wild swans and some geese, as also duck, and mallard, and teal; and these, I say, increased as they drew nearer the sea.

They could give very little account of the fish which the rivers produced, though they sometimes caught a few in the smaller river, but as they had neither fishing hook or nets, which was the only omission in my fitting them out, they had no opportunity to furnish themselves.

They had, likewise, no salt, neither was it possible to furnish them with salt, so they cured their meat in the sun, and seasoned it with that excellent sauce called hunger.

The account they gave of discovering our five men was thus, in short: They had been for two days pretty successful in their navigation, as I have described it, but were obliged to stop and put in at the mouth of a little river, which made them a good harbour; the reason of their stay was, they had no victuals, so by consent they all went hunting, and at night, having shot two guinacos and a deer, they came to supper together in their great tent, and having fed heartily, you may suppose, on such good provisions, they began to be merry; and the captain and officers having a little store left, though not much, they pulled out their bottles, and drank every one a dram to their good voyage, and to the merry meeting of their ships, and gave every man a sup.

But their mirth was increased beyond expressing when two of the men who were without the tent door cried out it lightened; one said he saw the flash, he was sure, and the other said he thought he saw it too; but, as it happened, their backs were towards the east, so that they did not see the occasion.

This lightning was certainly the first flash of one of our five men's rockets, or the breaking of it, and the stars that were at the end of it, up in the air.

When the captain heard the men say it lightened, he jumped off his seat, and called aloud to them to tell him which way; but they foolishly replied, to the N.W., which was the way their faces were when they saw it; but the word was no sooner spoken but the two fellows fell a hollowing and roaring, as if they were distracted, and said they saw a rocket rise up in the air to the eastward.

So nimble were the men at this word that they were all out of the tent in a moment, and saw the last bounce or flash of the rocket with the stars, which, spreading themselves in the air, shone with the usual bright light that it is known those things give.

This made them all set up a shout of joy, as if they imagined their fellows, who were yet many miles from them, should hear them; but the captain and officers, who knew what they were to do on this occasion, ran to their baggage, and took out their own rockets and other materials, and prepared to answer the signal.

They were on a low ground, but at less than a mile's distance the land went ascending to a round crown or knoll, pretty high. Away they ran thither, and set up a frame in an instant; but, as they were making these preparations, behold, to confirm their news, they saw a third rocket rise up in the air, in the same place as before.

It was near an hour from the first flash, as they called it, before they could get all things ready; but then they fired two rockets from the adjoining hill, soon after one another, and after that, at about ten minutes' distance of time, a third, which was just as by agreement, and was perfectly understood, the rockets performing very well.

Upon this, they saw another single rocket rise up, which was to let them know that their former was seen and understood.

This was, you will conclude, a very joyful night, and the next morning they went all hands to work at the boats, getting out of the creek early, and made the best of their way; however, with all they could do, they could not go above twelve miles that day, for the current, setting over to the other shore, had left them, and in some places they would have rather an eddy stream against them, and this discouraged them a little; but depending that they were near their port, and that their friends were not far off, they were very cheerful. At night they looked out again for rockets, which failed not to rejoice their hearts again, and with this addition, that it appeared their friends were not above four or five miles off. They answered the rockets punctually, and proceeding early the next day, they met in the morning, joyfully enough, as has been said.

We were overjoyed at meeting, you may be sure; but to see the pitiful boat, or periagua, they came on board in, a little surprised us, for indeed it was a wonder they should be able to make it swim under them, especially when they came out into the open sea.

As soon as we had the boat on board, we hauled it up into the ship for a relic, and taking two of the men with us, we manned out all our ships' boats to go and fetch the rest, for they were, as these men told us, about seventeen miles up the river still, and could not come any further, their boats being not able to bring them along, and the river growing very broad and dangerous. The eldest of my midshipmen came in this first boat, but the captain and the other stayed with the men, who were very unruly, and ever and anon quarrelling and wrangling about their wealth, which, indeed, was very considerable; but they were above twice as far up the river as the men told us, having halted after the boat left them.

When our boats came to them, and took them in. I ordered they should be set on shore, and their tents put up on the shore, until I had set-

tled matters a little with them, having had an account how mutinous and fractious they had been; and I made them all stay there until I had fully adjusted everything with them about their treasure, which, indeed, was so much that they scarce knew how to govern themselves under the thought of it.

Here I proposed conditions to them at first; that all the gold should be shared before they went on board, and that it should be put on board the ship, as goods for every man's single account; that I would give them bills of lading for it; and I offered to swear to them to deliver it into every man's possession, separately, at the first port we should come to anchor at in England or France; and that, at that said port, they should every man have the one hundred pounds I had promised them, as above, for the undertaking this journey, delivered to them in money, that is to say, in gold dust; and that they alone should have full liberty to go on shore with it, and go whither they would, no man whatever but themselves, being allowed to set foot on shore in the same place, distress excepted. This they insisted on, because they had done some things, which, if I would, I might have pursued some of them for, perhaps to the gallows; but that I promised to forgive them, and to enquire no more after it.

In a word, there had been a scuffle among them, in which one of their canoes was upset, as was said, and one of their number drowned, at the same time when they lost a great part of their gold; and some were thought to have done it maliciously too.

However as I had no occasion to trouble them on that score, not being upon the spot when it was done; so having made this capitulation with them I performed it punctually, and set them all on shore, with their wealth, in the river of Garonne, in France: their gold, their one hundred pounds reward for their journey, their wages, and their share of pearl, and other advantages, made them very rich, for their cargo when cast up on shore might perhaps amount to about four hundred pounds a man. How they disposed of themselves or their money I never gave myself the trouble

to enquire, and if I had it is none of my business to give an account of it here.

We dismissed also near fourscore more of our men afterwards, in a little creek, which was at their own request; for most of them having been of the Madagascar men, and by consequence pirates, they were willing to be easy, and I was as willing to make them so, and, therefore, cleared with as many of them as desired it. But I return to our ship.

Having thus made a long capitulation with our travellers, I took them all on board, and had leisure enough to have a long narration from them of their voyage, and from which account I take the liberty to recommend that part of America as the best and most advantageous part of the whole globe for an English colony, the climate, the soil, and, above all, the easy communication with the mountains of Chili, recommending it beyond any place that I ever saw or read of, as I shall further make appear by itself.

We had nothing now to do but to make the best of our way for England, and setting sail from the mouth of the river Camerones, so the Spaniards call it, the 18th of January, in which we had a more difficult and unpleasant voyage than in any other part of our way, chiefly, because being a rich ship, and not knowing how affairs stood in Europe, I kept to the northward, as far as the banks of Newfoundland, steering thence to the coast of Galitia, where we touched as above. After which we went through the channel, and arrived safe in Dunkirk-road the 12th of April; and from thence gave private notice of our good fortune to our merchants and owners; two of whom came over to us, and received at our hands such a treasure as gave them reason to be very well satisfied with their adventure. But, to my grief, my particular friend, the merchant, who put us upon all the curiosity and all the discovery you have heard of, was dead before our return; which if it had not happened, this new scheme of a trade round the world had, perhaps, never been made public till it had been put in practice, by a set of merchants designed to be concerned in it, from the new Austrian Netherlands.



97. 3rd Sta.







Defoe, Daniel,

The Works of Daniel de Foe with a memoir of his life and writings

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